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THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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of *Die Hochzeit von Figaro* was given at the Kroll Opera, and students from the University of Halle repeated for the benefit of the congress scenes from the recently discovered comedies of Menander. An afternoon and evening were given to an excursion to Potsdam and Wannsee, and after the close of the congress many members accepted an invitation to visit Hamburg as guests of the city. Besides the festal occasions of a more general and official character, time was left free for smaller receptions and for the more intimate hospitality of many of the university professors. Especial praise should be given to the excellent arrangements which were made for the reception and entertainment of the ladies in attendance upon the congress, for whom a special local committee had prepared an elaborate series of excursions and visits to places and institutions of special feminine interest.

As at Rome, the congress was divided into eight sections, each being in charge of a Berlin professor. These were: I. Oriental history, Professor Sachau; II. History of Greece and Rome, Professor Eduard Meyer; III. Political history of the Middle Ages and modern times, Professor Dietrich Schäfer; IV. Medieval and modern *Kulturgeschichte*, Professor Roethe, with a sub-section on the history of the natural sciences under the charge of Professor von Buschka; V. Legal and economic history, Professor Gierke; VI. Church history, Professor Harnack; VII. Archaeology, divided into an ancient group under Professor Kekulé von Stradonitz and a medieval and modern group under Professor Wölfflin; VIII. Auxiliary sciences, Professor Tangl. In some respects this arrangement was an improvement on the grouping of the eight sections of the Roman congress, but the history of geography received less attention than at Rome, and the thinness, at times, of the programme in church history showed the unfortunate result of thus narrowing a field which at Rome included the history of religions and of philosophy. The subordination of economic to legal history was likewise regrettable. Overlappings were inevitable under any arrangement, and so were the conflicts of hours which prevented even the most rigid specialist from hearing all the papers which particularly interested him. At the sessions of the several sections, which either singly or in occasional joint meetings of two, occupied the morning hours, three papers were ordinarily read. Each paper was expected to lead to a discussion, but as the half-hour assigned to the reader was nearly always considerably stretched, the discussion was often of necessity omitted. At 12.30 each day the congress met in general session to listen to addresses of more general interest chosen from the various sections.

It is quite out of the question to attempt an analysis or even an enumeration of the principal papers read during the six days' meetings, and a few general impressions must suffice. The range of topics treated was remarkable, not only for the extent of time and space covered, but also for the catholic inclusion of the most varied aspects of historical study. Few, for example, will deny that the history of natural science is a subject of great importance to historical students, not only as a significant chapter in the history of ideas but as exerting a profound influence upon the material conditions of human existence; yet it is not usual for historical congresses to have a daily session in this field, nor is it often that a speaker can bring forward material of such freshness as the newly found writings of Archimedes described by their discoverer, Professor Heiberg, of Copenhagen. Again, the history of literature has been so largely studied apart from other phases of history that both historians and students of literature need more of such addresses as that of Professor Rajna of Florence on history and popular epic, or that of Professor Alexander Bugge of Christiania on the origin and credibility of the Icelandic sagas. From still another side a great chapter of human history lay behind the brilliant analysis given by Professor Cumont of Ghent of the development and spread of that astrological religion which constituted the last great phase of ancient paganism. Repeated illustrations appeared of the services being rendered by archaeological research to the advancement of historical knowledge. That seemingly inexhaustible repository of historical material, the monuments and papyri of Egypt, naturally occupied the first place, and Messrs. Maspero and Grenfell were there to tell of them; but new light was thrown on other dark corners by the excavations, described by Professor von Stern of Odessa, which reveal the strength and persistence of classical traditions in the Greek cities north of the Black Sea, and by the chapter from Sir William Ramsay's lifelong studies of the monuments of Asia Minor in which he traced social and ecclesiastical conditions in Lycaonia from the flourishing period of the fourth century to the decay which the deadening influence of the orthodox church brought about long before the Turkish conquest. An admirable example of the synthetic use of the new information derived from inscriptions and papyri was the address in which Professor Rostowzew of St. Petersburg examined the origins of an institution of far-reaching importance and, until recently, of great obscurity, the Roman colonate, and showed its derivation from the social and agrarian conditions of Egypt and Syria in Hellenistic and still earlier times.

The instances just given illustrate the general tendency of the papers toward the less-worked fields of history. In the Greek and Roman section, apart from three papers which showed the perennial interest of scholars in the origins of Rome, nearly all of the communications dealt with the Hellenistic and later Roman periods, and there was a singular absence of themes connected with the narrative sources. Most of the medieval contributions dealt with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, though a fragment discovered at the Vatican by Professor Conrat of Amsterdam showed that new matter may occasionally be found in so well-worked a field as that of Frankish institutions. In treating the political history of modern times, on the other hand—the series of topics in economic and legal history took a wide range—nearly all of the speakers limited themselves to the history of Germany and the Scandinavian countries, and in all of the sections there was a notable absence of anything relating to the history of America and the Far East or to colonial matters in general. The papers on German history were remarkably good, that of Professor Marcks of Hamburg on Bismarck's student days and that of Professor Busch of Tübingen on Bismarck and the origin of the North German Confederation being in particular among the most successful of the whole congress. The importance of a little used source for recent history was emphasized by Professor Spann of Strassburg, who made a plea for the preservation and utilization of newspapers in Germany in some such fashion as has long been usual in the principal American libraries.

Controversial topics were generally avoided, or if treated, they were handled in an objective fashion, as in Professor Finke's notable summary of conditions in Germany antecedent to the Reformation. The impartial collection of the materials for German ecclesiastical history was proposed by the director of the Prussian Historical Institute at Rome, Dr. Kehr, and Professor Brackmann of Marburg in a plan for a monumental *Germania Sacra* which should comprehend the history of German dioceses, cathedrals and monasteries from the earliest times. A touch of temperament was given to one session by Professor Merkle of Würzburg, the well-known exponent of modernism, in a spirited discussion of the attitude of the Catholic Church and its historians toward the religious *Aufklärung* of the eighteenth century in south Germany.

The international character of the congress was excellently exemplified by a number of papers which dealt with international relations, using that term in its broadest sense and not limiting it to the

diplomatic and military contact of states. Thus the well-known master of diplomatics, Professor Bresslau of Strassburg, treated in a most suggestive manner an interesting phase of internationalism as seen in the form and style of official documents in the Middle Ages, showing the widespread influence of the chanceries of the popes, the German emperors and the Anglo-Saxon kings. Professor Schybergson of Helsingfors described the relations of the Göttingen historians to those of Finland and Sweden in the later eighteenth century. Professor Pirenne of Ghent gave an admirable analysis of the forces which produced the Burgundian state out of portions of France and Germany, and showed how the Burgundian dukes solved the problem of creating a central government which later served as a model for Austria. Comparative studies on closely related themes were those of Dr. Kaser of Vienna, tracing the emergence of the modern forms of government in the German territories in the fifteenth century; of Professor Rachfahl of Gießen, dealing with problems in the comparative history of assemblies of estates; of Professor Pélissier of Montpellier on the Italian *signorie*; and of Professor Sieveking of Zürich on the development of capitalism in the Italian cities. The history of law also furnished problems of international interest, as in Professor Vinogradoff's discussion of the influence of ideas of reason and equity in the English jurisprudence of the sixteenth century, and in the study of the Germanic element in Spanish law made by Professor Hinojosa y Naveros of Madrid. A still broader subject was suggested by Prince Teano in describing the plan of his great work on Islam.

The United States was represented on the general programme by Ambassador Hill, whose paper on "The Ethical Function of the Historian" had the place of honor at the opening session. Mr. Hill, who gave added pleasure to his audience by speaking in German, discussed particularly the characteristic differences between the methods of history, which seeks qualitative knowledge, and the quantitative processes of the exact sciences. In the Oriental section the American speakers were Professor Reisner of Harvard, director of the excavations of the Egyptian government at Assouan, who described the royal tombs of the Fourth Dynasty, and Professor Haupt of Johns Hopkins, who presented some novel views on the early history of Galilee. Dr. Carter, Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, proposed in the second section a new explanation of the legend of Romulus and Remus, and in the section on medieval and modern history Professor Haskins of Harvard

discussed, especially from the point of view of English constitutional development, the institutions of Normandy under William the Conqueror. Professor Kuno Francke described the international aims and purpose of the Germanic Museum of Harvard University, and in the section of ecclesiastical history Professor McGiffert of Union Theological Seminary presented certain "Prolegomena to the History of Protestant Thought". Other Americans registered at the congress were Professors Boas and Hirth of Columbia, Richardson of Yale, Lanman and Münsterberg of Harvard, Freund of Chicago, Fish of Wisconsin, Sterrett of Cornell, Jessen of Bryn Mawr, and Klaeber of Minnesota, Drs. Robinson and Valentiner of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and Mr. Leland of the Carnegie Institution.

The problem of organization and entertainment for such a congress as that of Berlin presents, to compare greater things with smaller, some of the same difficulties which are encountered in the more frequent and more local meetings of the American Historical Association and related bodies, and one who knows something of the embarrassment of American committees may be pardoned a certain satisfaction in observing that, in spite of daily revision, the printed programme of the congress never succeeded in predicting accurately what was to appear the next day, so numerous were the transfers and defections at the last moment. As regards the substance of the programme, allowance must of course be made for the wider range and more varied affiliations of an international body, but one could wish that American scholarship were accomplishing more in such fields as ancient history and that our students were more prone to extend their interests beyond the merely political and economic. Some of the papers at Berlin were dry and some were thin, but as a whole they represented a distinctly higher level than is reached in most of our American meetings. The subjects were usually larger and were treated with more complete mastery, as regards both substance and presentation. Each speaker averaged twice the time allotted normally at the meetings of the American Historical Association, yet the interest rarely flagged, a result due in large measure to the German habit of speaking rather than reading on such occasions; and the discussion, when there was discussion, was trenchant without being ill-tempered. That these qualities are not reserved for international occasions in Germany is evident to one at all familiar with the proceedings of the biennial *Historikertage*. The dominant impression of the congress was a deepened appreciation of the comprehensiveness and the vitality of

German scholarship and of the cordial good-will of German scholars for those of other lands. The Berlin congress completed the transformation of the amateurish gathering of ten years ago into a well-organized scientific body, and great credit is due to the efficient and tactful president, Dr. Reinhold Koser, Director of the Prussian Archives, and to those inspired and inspiring scholars, Professors Eduard Meyer and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, who with the president constituted the organizing committee.

The next international historical congress will be held in London in September, 1913, under the general management of the British Academy.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

THE ETHICAL FUNCTION OF THE HISTORIAN¹

THE question, "What is History?" is closely connected with that deepest of all questions, "What is Human Life?". For, whatever in reality human life may be, history is the record of its development, its progress and its manifestations.

I have said "the record" rather than the historic process itself, because that is the phase of the subject with which the historian has primarily to deal. What this process really is, what is its inherent principle of change, what are the categories of its manifestations—these are questions for the philosopher rather than the historian to discuss.

But, in truth, the historian cannot separate himself from some conception—general or specific, positive or negative, real or ideal—of the process whose transmutations he describes. Even if he were able to do so, language has already settled that question for him; for he cannot tell the simplest story without some implications regarding the nature of the process which forms the substance of his narrative.

Frankly, then, the fundamental problem for the historian is to determine the peculiar nature of his task; and he is greeted at the very threshold of his inquiry with the questions: What is the purpose for which historical science exists? What is the nature of historic truth? How does history differ from other sciences? How does the historic process appear as seen from within? And what in consequence is the chief function of the historian?

Without attempting to give a definite answer to all or any of these difficult questions, of which the majority of my colleagues in this congress, from deeper knowledge and riper experience, are much better qualified than I to express opinions, and with an acute sense of my limited attainments in this vast field of inquiry in which many of my countrymen have rendered themselves far more entitled to be heard, I shall, nevertheless, venture to touch upon some of these topics in such a manner as to emphasize one function of the historian that seems to me from the nature of history as a science to be worthy of our attention.

¹ An address delivered at the opening of the International Congress for Historical Sciences, at Berlin, on August 6, 1908.

I.

If, as will perhaps be generally admitted, the purpose of history is to reinstate the past and render it intelligible by a rigorous separation of fact from fiction, it is only by a gradual process that mankind has arrived at that conception. As in the contemplation of nature, so in the first estimate of human deeds, wonder rather than exact comprehension was undoubtedly the chief source of inspiration. The unusual, the extraordinary in every sense, most attracted attention, impressed memory and stimulated phantasy. The earliest traditions were, therefore, of great heroes and great occasions, while the phenomena of ordinary life, like the habitual course of nature, passed without observation and left no trace behind. Depending entirely upon the accidents of memory, modified from generation to generation by unconscious imaginative accretions, the saga and the legend for long ages satisfied the needs of primitive men in relation to the past.

With the invention of the art of writing, inscriptions, annals and chronicles gradually superseded the more fluid medium of oral tradition, and gave to the record of human events a more fixed and definite character. But the same tendencies of mind that stimulated imagination in the saga and the legend continued to act, and imparted even to written documents the quality of unconscious falsification.

Until this tendency was restrained by a counteracting influence sufficiently potent to repress it, history as a science was of course impossible; and it is interesting to note that, although in previous ages men were often ready to die for what seemed to them the truth, the faculty and conception of reverence for truth *as such*, and *for itself*, apart from its personal, party, or national consequences, are, even in the modern world, comparatively recent acquisitions. As Lord Acton, speaking of the scientific sense of truth, has tersely said, "The notion and analysis of conscience are scarcely older than the year 1700; and the notion and analysis of veracity are scarcely older than our time, barring certain sacred writings of East and West."

It is a noteworthy fact that about the time assigned by Lord Acton to the rise of the notion and analysis of conscience—namely the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century—the natural sciences were already showing signs of a new life, and historical science was just beginning. It was in 1681 that the great work of Mabillon, *De Re Diplomatica*, which created the science of determining the age and authenticity of documents,

first appeared, the supplement being published in 1704. About the same time, in 1699, appeared the *Histoire des Empereurs* of Le Nain de Tillemont, who, according to Monod, was "the first to teach how historical truth is arrived at by rigorous analysis and comparison of texts". It was in the year 1700 that Muratori began at Modena to gather and edit the documents which form his great compilation of authentic texts. In 1708, Montfaucon laid the foundations of Greek epigraphy by the publication of his *Palaeographia Graeca*, soon afterward followed by the great collections of texts for French history. In Germany, Leibnitz, in 1700, founded the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences at Berlin, and began, in 1707, his *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, the originality of which, according to Wegele, consisted in "relying upon authentic testimony and rejecting baseless traditions".

Men had, no doubt, long valued truth, as they understood it; but there is a fundamental difference between the unreflective conscience which instinctively feels the baseness of intentional falsehood, and the scientific conscience which values truth *in and for itself*, and aims to establish it in a scientific manner. It is the valuation of truth simply because it is truth that underlies and vitalizes all our modern science and has compelled us to reconstruct our entire conception of the universe and of our human past.

II.

What, then, is the part of the historian in the enterprise of establishing the truth? To answer that question we must first inquire, What is the essential character of the materials with which the historian has to deal? Every adept in historiography knows how dim and vague were the notions of the early chroniclers, apart from all conscious deception, regarding the precise lines of division between the *actual*, the *probable* and the *possible*; and how easily, without intention, they glide from one to another of these categories in their efforts to construct *une belle histoire*! All contemporary historians are of course agreed that these categories should not be confused; but the task of truth-telling is embarrassed not only by the temptation to fill a lacuna in the records with a well-meaning act of imagination based on probability or possibility, but also by the unconscious pressure of the historian's personal system of ideas derived from the *Weltanschauung* of the time in which he lives or of the school of thought in which he has been trained.

The development of historiography reveals the manner in which

the ruling philosophy or the *Zeitgeist* of each age has permeated and colored the conception of the historic process. "Der Sinn für die Wirklichkeit" is no doubt always present in the mind of the historian; and it is not doubtful that, as Wilhelm von Humboldt described it, "Die Aufgabe des Geschichtsschreibens ist die Darstellung des Geschehenen"; but the idealist and the materialist, the mystic and the rationalist, will always, and almost inevitably, though quite unconsciously, permit his own peculiar apprehension of the ultimate nature of reality to affect the choice and interpretation of the data he employs and the whole character of the edifice he constructs.

There is, however, so much the greater necessity for exactly comprehending the essential nature of historic truth and distinguishing it as far as possible from the great body of conceptions which constitute the philosophical *Weltanschauung* of the age in which we live; for, while the various sciences often throw light upon one another, and our cosmic conception, as a whole, may receive valuable contributions from them all, each of them may likewise suffer injury by an unwarranted importation into them of principles borrowed from other sciences which possess a different character.

It is, therefore, worth while to bear in mind that there are two aspects of reality which have to be treated in quite different ways. It is a postulate of modern science that there exists in the universe a fixed amount of energy, never increased or diminished, and all phenomena are believed to be manifestations of this primordial energy. Some of these phenomena appear in an order of coexistence in space, others in an order of succession in time; and it is with these transformations in time that history has to deal. But there is another aspect of phenomena not less important for history than transformation in time. The resemblances and differences of phenomena are both quantitative and qualitative. It is with the latter chiefly that history has to deal; for, while the quantity of coexistent energy always remains the same, the qualitative differences among phenomena appear to be always increasing in variety and complexity in the order of succession.

If, for illustration, we pass from physico-chemical to biological phenomena, and from these to psychological phenomena, in the progressive order of natural evolution, we notice that, while the quantity of energy is supposed to remain the same, there is an ever-increasing variation of qualitative differences, until in the ascending scale of organisms we arrive at man, who, standing at the head of the biological series, possesses a greater diversity and com-

plexity of qualitative distinctions than any other being known to science.

It is worthy of attention also that, in measuring and comparing phenomena, there are two different methods of procedure which correspond to the difference of quantity and quality. In the case of quantity, whether of a number of units or of magnitudes, the instrument of comparison is mathematics. Given a numerical or geometrical standard, all quantities of the same kind, or related to the same standard, can be mathematically compared. It is worthy of observation that the mathematical method finds its largest and surest application where the differences of quality are the fewest, and it becomes less and less fruitful as these differences increase in number. Thus, for example, the simple motions of the heavenly bodies are uniformly subject to exact mathematical calculation and predetermination, while the precise movements of an animal are less, and the complex conduct of a man least of all, capable of mathematical measurement and prediction.

As we rise in the scale of qualitative development from the chemical compound to the plant, from the plant to the animal, and from the animal governed by instinct to man governed by reason, we find mathematics less and less sufficient as an organ of investigation. While in the realms of color, temperature and other secondary physical properties quantity may furnish a key to the explanation of quality, we find ourselves at last in a sphere of being where quality is the matter of supreme interest, and where the mathematical method ceases to apply. The social life of man, the progress of civilization, the formation and development of political institutions, the rise and fall of empires, the relations between independent states—all these transformations belong to the sphere of qualitative change, defy mathematical calculation and demand a new instrument of comparison and comprehension.

- III.

It is precisely this new and higher sphere of human activity which is, by common consent, *par excellence* the field of history. The study of the successful transformations of quality may, however, go far back of this; and it is the appreciation of qualitative changes in the pre-human world that has illuminated the realms of astronomy and biology with the great principle of natural evolution. The point I wish here to establish is, however, the scientific necessity of qualitative as distinguished from quantitative measurement in estimating the phenomena of human life, which are the phenomena

of human history. One side of human science is built up with answers to the question, "*How much?*". There is another side, equally important to science in its totality, and far more rich in human interest, which depends upon the answers to the question, "*Of what kind?*" and this is the historical as distinguished from the mathematical aspect of science.

As mathematics answers the questions of the first series, so history answers those of the second. It deals with transformations of a qualitative character, while mathematics deals with quantitative relations. To make clear the difference, let us note the contrast between the mathematical and the historical methods. The former aim to discover the uniformities that exist in space and time; that is, to reach the largest attainable generalizations of the laws of invariable action. The aim of history is exactly the opposite. It does not seek for the law of recurrence, or any element of uniformity in either space or time; but to ascertain what particular changes have taken place in a definite time, with a view of estimating their relations as a series of acts, or of appreciating their value and significance as manifestations of the qualitative aspect of the universe. While mathematical science measures phenomena with reference to their quantity in terms of space or time, historical science measures them according to their value as elements of success or failure in the accomplishment of certain results as expressed in terms of human sensibility and rational worth; that is, according as they are beneficial or injurious, prudent or imprudent, ennobling or degrading, civilizing or barbarizing, commendable or reprehensible. In brief, while the sciences based on mathematics aim at the most universal generalizations of what happens in space and time in order to discover general laws, the historical sciences aim at a knowledge of the serial development of phenomena in a definite time and a definite place, showing the order in which they occurred, the conditions out of which they arose, the influence exercised by them and the consequent value of these phenomena, not in terms of number and magnitude, but as manifestations of reality ranked as inferior or superior in the scale of human utility or appreciation.

How fruitful the historical method may be, joined with the mathematical, in the study of nature is proved by the results that have followed from its application. Our whole conception of the universe has been changed by it under the influence of Laplace, Lamarck, Darwin and their successors. Instead of a rigid, static order of things, we now conceive of the universe as undergoing constant transformation; and it is in these processes of change that its

real nature is revealed. Even the elements of matter are now understood to have had their history, and it is in the course of their evolution from stardust to living organisms that their inherent potencies, which escape mathematical analysis, are brought to light.

IV.

There is one characteristic of human history, however, which separates it entirely from the history of nature, namely, the fact that a portion of it—or at least a specimen of its process—occurs in the individual consciousness, and can be examined from the point of view of man as a voluntary being, acting for definite purposes. I do not wish at this time to enter into the lively controversy carried on in recent years regarding the nature of historic causation, which is essentially a question of philosophy upon which opinions are still divided; and I here express no preference for one or another of the opposing theories that find the chief factor of historic change to be physical or psychical, individual or social, intellectual or moral. What I wish to insist upon is that, whether man be a really creative agent or merely a conscious mechanism put in motion by heredity and environment, whether he be impelled to action by blind and irresistible impulses or guided by intellectual enlightenment, the substance with which the history of man is concerned is *personal conduct*, and the *reaction of conduct upon human development*.

I do not doubt that the historical process may be governed by general laws, and it may be that all qualitative differences in human experience may be—or might be if our knowledge were sufficiently extended—reduced to purely quantitative elements, and the whole course of development explained upon a mathematical basis. What, on the other hand, seems to me most evident is, that history has no contribution to make to this enterprise, which, if it is ever to be rendered successful, must be accomplished by some other branch of science. Since history is the record of particular occurrences, no one of which has the property of universal necessity, and since—unlike the phenomena of nature—the phenomena of human history can never be exactly repeated, they contain no data that warrant absolute generalizations; and, therefore, disclose no necessary laws of action. As Treitschke has well said: "Wäre die Geschichte eine exakte Wissenschaft, so müssten wir im Stande sein, die Zukunft der Staaten zu enthüllen. Das können wir aber nicht, denn überall stösst die Geschichtswissenschaft auf das Rätsel der Persönlichkeit. Personen, Männer, sind es, welche die Geschichte machen."

If there is any proposition upon which all schools of thought are agreed, it is that persons are the agents of historical movements. Each person, even the greatest, may be but a molecule in the moving mass of humanity; and social directions and velocities may be determined by physical conditions, but they operate always and everywhere through beings who are more or less dimly conscious of whither and why they are moving. Nothing could be a better proof of this than the fact that in every great historical movement there is a conscious effort to rescue something, so to speak, from time, and to give it permanent endurance. Every monument, every inscription, every chronicle designed to commemorate a part played by a man or a nation in its impress upon a period bears witness to this human impulse. All the records of the past are the fruits of it. There seems to be in the current of the historic process something that rises above it and is not part of it, which judges, measures and estimates that which is fugitive and that which is permanent in it. There is in every generation of men a disposition to see in events some increase of good or some access of evil, some lesson for the enrichment of experience or some caution for the future. It is this effort to profit by the changes men are able to effect and to render permanent their achievements that has led to the making and preservation of historical documents, and it is this that inspires the historian to endure the labor and sacrifice of research.

Seen from within, the historic process opens new vistas to the historian. What is the signification of this ceaseless struggle with the evanescent and this endeavor to lift the contents of time to a position of permanent security? Does it not imply in the human agent a sense of continuity through which he realizes his part in the general development of man, and his duty as a member of the human race? It is in the great crises of history that its true nature is made apparent. Only those who have lived through them and have had some part in them possess in its full sense the meaning of the historic process; for it is only as a part of it that the individual, in moments of victory or defeat, in the march of triumph or fainting on the field of battle, knows that the social unit counts for most when he is part of some great movement in which humanity moves on from one to another stadium in the realization of its destiny.

V.

If history is ever to throw any light upon the riddle of personality, beyond that which biology and psychology afford, it can be done in no other way than by bravely pursuing its own method.

of recording the acts of men as they have actually occurred, and not by elaborating theories of causation. The temptation is strong to regard history as belonging in the same class with the inductive and nomological sciences, and to apply to it methods which pertain to them. Only thus, it has sometimes been represented, can history be shown to possess a scientific character. But this inference results from a failure to recognize the fact that, as we have shown, the sciences of quantity and the sciences of quality, though fundamentally different in conception and procedure, are co-ordinate in dignity and importance for mankind.

There is, it is true, no science where there are neither measurements nor relations upon which measurements can be based. For this reason it may be contended that no form of human knowledge is really scientific, unless it is based upon mathematics and can be expressed in exact and universal formulas. While it is undeniable that science of necessity requires measurement and comparison, it is an error to suppose that mathematical measurement and comparison are the only forms of human estimate or that scientific knowledge may not be based as firmly upon differences as upon resemblances and uniformities. While the observer of physical phenomena measures them upon a scale expressed in quantitative units, the observer of historical phenomena measures them upon a scale expressed in qualitative differences. The essential basis of science is variation of experience, which may be capable of expression in either of two ways: the mathematical, which measures it in terms of quantitative value; or the ethical, which measures it in terms of qualitative value.

I have used the term "ethical" in contrast to "mathematical", because I understand by "ethics" the science of value in human conduct, and employ the adjective derived from it for want of a better term. Whatever criticism may be passed upon the expression, the distinction it is intended to represent is indisputable. There exist beyond question these two forms of value: that which is measurable in terms of duration and magnitude, and that which is measurable in terms of sensibility and utility. If, indeed, we undertake for a moment to compare them, we at once remark that quantitative or mathematical standards are in reality mere abstract units derived from the analysis of space and time; while qualitative or ethical standards, in the broad meaning here intended, represent those distinctions which affect our sensibilities or human purposes, and are, therefore, the measures of the most essential elements of our human experience.

If I am correct in this analysis, it is no derogation of the rank and position of history in the hierarchy of knowledge to say that it is an ethical rather than a mathematical science. And if this is so, then it is evident that the function of the historian in dealing with historical material is an ethical function; not simply because it is his duty, in common with all other men of science, to discover and to state the truth with a high sense of his responsibility to mankind, but because the whole substance of history is of an ethical nature. It is the work of the historian to trace the upward or downward curve of man's development as displayed in the various forms of human conduct, such as art, industry, thought, literature and politics; and, if possible, to bring to light by following the successive transformations that have affected that development the forces and conditions that have in fact produced it, and the effect of particular instances of conduct upon it.

In using the expression "ethical function", I do not mean that the historian is to set himself up as a moral judge, and to pass mere private judgments upon historical events. What I mean to affirm is, that the purpose and use of history are found in the truthful record and just estimate of human conduct, which is the outward expression of the real nature of man as a being capable of varying degrees of success or failure in realizing the ends of rational activity. It is with this success or failure that history has to deal, and it is these that the historian is especially called upon to appreciate. To illustrate my meaning, the interest of history does not lie in the fact that so many painters and sculptors lived in a certain period of time and produced so many works, but in the quality of the pictures and statues they created; not in the fact that so many soldiers fought in so many battles and succeeded in killing so many of their number, but in the social purpose for which they fought and the effect of their victory upon human happiness; not in the fact that so many rulers bearing such and such names reigned during so many dynasties, but in the arts they promoted, the legislation that was enacted and the growth of civilization under their rule.

The necessity of this ethical function on the part of the historian grows directly out of the nature of the historic process. Although the life of mankind in its totality may be, and in some sense is, dependent upon the natural energies that underlie human existence, there is in every individual a sense of relation to the past and to the future; that is, a historic consciousness, that distinguishes man from his fellow-creatures of the organic world. And this historic con-

sciousness not only includes a certain sense of indebtedness for the labors and solicitude of the past, but there is, perhaps, no human individual, certainly no typical individual, who does not feel that the forces acting in and through him, whatsoever they are, have ends that ought to be accomplished. And this sense of what ought to be, as distinguished from what is, whether heeded or neglected in practice, is universally recognized as furnishing a standard for the judgment of conduct as good or bad, useful or useless, wise or unwise, noble or ignoble. Further than this, the character of a social community, or of a phase or a period in its development, is determined, and takes its place in the scale of civilization, in accordance with the degree of success or failure in conforming to the norms or standards of conduct as existing in the consciousness of the time.

There is, therefore, in the nature of man a scale of values by which progress or decadence in art, industry, economy, politics, literature and philosophy may be estimated. Alongside the problems of explanation, for the solution of which we appeal to the abstract sciences, are problems of attainment, for whose solution we appeal to history. In the complex of active forces by which we are surrounded there is also a hierarchy of motives by which men are actuated. Whether these motives are absolute or relative, whether the ends at which we aim are attainable or unattainable, does not in any way alter the fact that we are conscious agents in the historic process, as well as observers of its development. Not to feel its inspiration is utterly to miss its meaning, for the true essence of history lies far more in the will to attain than in the power to explain.

For this reason, namely, that the chief factor of the historic process is the will rather than the intellect, the prediction of the future is impossible. Every great historic movement is a struggle in which contending forces are opposed. Every individual in the social mass in every age is aiming at the realization of his desires. What the net result will be in any particular time and place is difficult to estimate. The mathematical method upon which the physical sciences are based fails us utterly; for in this calculation all the units are different, and all are liable to sudden changes of value. When therefore we apply a systematic, or a strictly genetic, method to a period of history, we are employing a false assumption; for arts, nations and institutions do not grow like plants, they develop by a series of explosions.

The one constant factor in the historic process is human nature,

which is sometimes governed by reason, but generally moved by impulse. The business of the historian therefore is not to make history seem reasonable by placing upon it a scientific stamp foreign to its nature; but to display the motives that have determined the historic process as it has in reality been unfolded. If he is thus faithful in his exposition of motive and result, his work will have a far greater scientific value than if he imports into it principles and methods borrowed from other sciences dealing with materials of a different nature, or products of purely intellectual abstraction; for the effect of this importation is to impart to history an appearance of reasonableness that it does not in reality possess.

The most powerful temptation that assails the historian, and the one most fatal to the truly scientific character of his work—that is, the one which is likely to introduce into it the largest element of unreality—is the desire to make the historic process seem systematic, orderly and logical. This temptation is especially strong in the treatment of national history, for the reason that a writer is predisposed to see in it the realization of predetermined national ideals through the development of special national qualities. But, in reality, was there ever a historic nation that was not more or less composite in its origin, or that was permitted to develop logically and normally its own inner life? Does not history, truthfully written, show that the life of every people has been perturbed and its normal development perverted or arrested, if not by its own exploits and adventures, by the rivalry, the ambitions, or the hostility of its neighbors? Have not the policies of nearly every nation been deeply influenced, and sometimes almost wholly determined, by the general political system of which it has formed a part? It is not perhaps unfitting, therefore, to point out in an international congress of historians how much the truth of history is liable to suffer from regarding the historic process from a purely national point of view. In reality, nothing can be more deceptive. Are not art, trade, industry, education, literature and even the forms of government profoundly affected by the contact and influence of other nations? Why, then, from a scientific point of view should historians be reproached, as they sometimes have been, for busying themselves with international treaties and conventions? Are not these conventions, whether enforced by arms or entered into voluntarily, the most vital expressions of international development? And what more distinctly marks the progress of civilization than the mutual obligations which sovereign states are disposed to assume in their relations with one another?

I do not mean to disparage the pragmatic world, but until the historic process is entirely governed by fixed and definite principles of conduct, how can history be scientifically written upon the assumption that it is the product of universal forces acting under universal laws? Thus, from every point of view, it is evident that the function of the historian is not to deal with uniformities or with universal formulas, but with the variations of human conduct as measured by its success and its failure upon the scale of rational endeavor; for history is nothing more nor less than the record of man's efforts to solve the problems with which he is confronted by his nature and his environment.

It is good for mankind to realize that, although living in a universe governed by law, as a result of its freedom it has sometimes gone wrong; and that, without a loyal adherence to great principles, it may go wrong again. The best antidote to this eventuality is a true science of the past. But, whether it be for good or for evil, as men of science, dealing with the largest and most instructive aspect of human development, historians are bound by that scientific conscience which is the test, the badge and the glory of their profession to unveil reality and give meaning to the words, "Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht."

DAVID J. HILL.

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SAN GALGANO: A CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

For every student of monasticism the moment will come when, weary of following the general movement through its complicated stages of growth and power, he will turn into the bypaths of his subject in order to establish an immediate contact with the human lives which fed the orders with their boundless hopes and energies. Arrived at this point of view, he will do well to concentrate his attention on the origin and development of some typical foundation. By mastering its surviving records he may succeed not only in peopling the deserted dormitory and weed-choked garden with some semblance of forgotten life, but also in throwing a not unwelcome light on the whole movement of which the single monastery was a vital link. In the hope of bringing the perhaps greatest moral force of the twelfth century, the Cistercian reform, within the range of our common understanding, I venture to present in the following pages the story of an Italian offshoot of the famous French order, the story of the abbey of San Galgano.

In the rolling country of southern Tuscany, where the Merse River begins its winding course, lies the little town of Chiusdino, crowning a hill, which is remarkable, like almost all the domiciles of medieval men, by reason of its wide survey and splendid inaccessibility. In the twelfth century, when our story begins, Chiusdino with the neighboring hills and valleys belonged to the diocese of the bishop of Volterra, who, under the added title of count of the empire, exercised also civil authority in this region. Here, shortly after the year 1180, tidings of strange and miraculous import began to pass from mouth to mouth. The simple peasant-folk told one another as they sat before their doors at eventide or paced the road together to the neighboring market that a knight, Galgano by name and a citizen of Chiusdino, forswearing the delights of the flesh, had abandoned family and friends, that he had gone to dwell as an anchorite in the forest solitudes around his home, and that when, after a year of unexampled hardships, he had died and been buried, immediately, in sign of the favor which he enjoyed with the Lord, wonderful cures began to be effected at his tomb. Presently a pious stream of pilgrimage began to flow toward Monte Siepi, as the wooded hill was called which was the scene of the good man's rigor-

ous self-discipline, as well as the place of his burial.¹ This spontaneous veneration, which has numerous counterparts throughout Europe and brings home to us the passionate attachment of medieval folk to all the material manifestations of holiness, not only met with no opposition on the part of the church, but shortly received the highest possible endorsement through an act of the pope—probably of the year 1185—elevating the Chiusdino knight and hermit to the ranks of the saints. Naturally the reputation of the newly canonized Galgano was sedulously nursed by the leading dignitary of the region, the bishop of Volterra, who, beginning with the erection of a simple shrine over the grave of his late subject, gradually formed the ambitious plan of making the new cult serve as the basis for a great monastic foundation. He communicated with the Cistercian brothers, whose reputation and influence were just then spreading in steadily widening circles over central Europe, with the result that a few monks, apparently Frenchmen hailing from the home of Saint Bernard, from Clairvaux itself, settled in the unpeopled solitudes of Monte Siepi. Thus the first step was taken in the creation of the abbey of San Galgano.

A *cartularium*, preserved in the archives of Florence and containing the privileges conceded to the new foundation by temporal and spiritual rulers, supplemented by abundant material to be found in the Archivio di Stato of Siena, makes it possible to develop an accurate picture of the growth of the settlement on Monte Siepi.² The oldest existing document is of the year 1191; it was issued from the chancellery of Emperor Henry VI., and declared that the sovereign, probably at the instigation of Hildebrand, bishop of Volterra, who signed as a witness, took the monks of San Galgano hailing from Clairvaux under his high protection. He added the gift of a field *juxta abbatiam* and solemnly warned all neighbors not to "violate our munificence with temerarious audacity".³ The imperial shelter, good so far as it went, needed to be supplemented by the much more valuable, because more constant, protection of the local lord. That was the bishop of Volterra, who as inaugurator of the settlement was not likely to withhold a liberal support. Accordingly, in the year 1201, Bishop Hildebrand, recapitulating, we are led to surmise, a number of earlier grants, issued a comprehensive privi-

¹ On the story of San Galgano, see Rondoni, *Tradizioni Popolari e Leggende di un Comune Medioevale*, p. 110 ff.

² The Sienese material is in three large folio volumes, called *caleffi*, and consists of about 2250 documents. This material, together with the *cartularium* at Florence, has been consulted and in part published by Canestrelli in his excellent *L'Abbazia di San Galgano*, to which I am deeply indebted.

³ Canestrelli, *Documento V*.

lege, in which, after enumerating a long list of fields and forests made over by him to a certain Bono and a band of monks, he not only took the brothers under his protection, but promised them complete liberty in their internal affairs together with freedom from taxation.⁴ Evidently the foundation, favored and enriched by the bishop, assured of a friendly interest by the emperor, was advancing rapidly. To complete its legal safeguarding nothing was lacking according to medieval ideas except the word of the pope. It was not till the year 1206, fifteen years after the emperor had spoken in the matter and five years after the deed of Bishop Hildebrand, that Pope Innocent III. issued a bull declaring his good will toward the enterprise in the remote hills of the upper Merse. Under Innocent III., it will be remembered, the pretensions of the papacy to universal rule were stretched to the utmost. The increase of monasteries, representing each one the lighting of a new hearth of religious and, more particularly, of papal influence, must have been deeply to his liking. When he spoke, therefore, though he spoke tardily, he poured out for the monks of San Galgano a veritable cornucopia of bounties. In the first place, the head of the monastery—apparently Bono, the earliest leader of the Cistercian enterprise of whom there is record, had by this time passed away—was no longer designated as priest, or prior, or by some other title indicative of small beginnings, but as abbot, the dignity reserved for the chief official of a perfected and influential organization. Proceeding, Innocent confirmed all the possessions of the monks; reiterated their freedom from taxation and immunity from sentences pronounced in the courts of a bishop or any lay lord whatsoever; and proclaimed their right to elect their own abbot and to govern themselves, practically as a sovereign body.⁵ The new monastic venture, dedicated to the high task of spreading civilization through the sparsely settled wilds of the upper Merse, was now as secure as the formal authorities of feudal society could make it.

However, no amount of official sanction could contribute greatly to the development of a monastery, if the institution did not perform effective service in the society in which it was situated, or if it failed to enlist the sympathies and support of all classes of the population. Only if these conditions were satisfied could San Galgano hope to arouse the pride and become identified with the patriotism of the neighborhood, thus winning recruits for its ranks and stimulating the stream of private contributions necessary for

⁴ Canestrelli, *Documento* II.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Documento* XII.

the realization of its Christian programme. Following the Cistercian ideal this programme consisted not only in the creation of a retreat for holy men, but also in genuine pioneer labors, such as the clearing of forests and the bringing of unbroken land under the plough. In all these respects the success of our monastery in the first flush of its hopeful youth was conspicuous. The sons of the neighborhood came in such numbers to knock for admission at the portals of the house of peace that whatever slight French character the personnel of the first group of monks may have had was presently lost to make room for a genuine Tuscan foundation. Admitted within the walls the fugitives from a world of empty honors were, after due probation, apportioned to one of two classes: either they became spiritual brothers, who, as priests, served the mass and attended to the duties pertaining to religion, or they joined the *conversi* or lay brothers who tilled the fields and performed the various kinds of manual labor required in connection with the operation of a busy farmstead.

In a society where men gladly give their lives to a cause conceived as worthy, they hesitate even less in offering of their plenty. Gifts of land, bounties of all kinds, of which the record still exists, were showered upon the abbey. While these benefactions testify to the profound conviction of the Middle Ages regarding the usefulness of an institution which no longer awakens our enthusiasm, their form betrays the peculiar and, to our taste, somewhat unctuous piety of the period. According to medieval theology a gift to the church was a good work, especially remarked by God and sure to be taken into account on the day of reckoning. For this reason the clergy could, with perfectly good conscience moreover, stimulate the charitable instincts of the laity. Something of this desire to acquire credit with the Lord, palliated by a child-like candor, reaches us from the old deeds of hand. In the year 1196, for instance, Matilda, described as daughter of the departed Ugolinus and derelict of Guidaldonius, and the first private donor of whom there is record, presents the monks with a farmland, because "whoever shall contribute to sacred and venerable places shall receive a hundred-fold and have eternal life": on which exordium she adds, with simple-hearted readiness to lay bare every fold of her heart, that she hopes by means of her gift to save her soul and that of her relatives, doubtless the departed Ugolinus and Guidaldonius aforesaid.⁶ Many bequests came to the brothers from neighboring Siena and her prosperous merchants. We hear of one commer-

⁶ Canestrelli, *Documento* I.

cial citizen, a certain Andrea di Giacomo, who left as much as a thousand lire (*librae*), a very considerable sum, for the purchase of a farm with the direction that the product thereof be distributed among the poor. If this is charity at all times and the world over, Andrea clearly sounds the note of his age when he adds a bequest of eight hundred lire for the purchase of a second farm to be given to the monks on the condition that they daily recite a mass for the repose of his soul.⁷ Let one more example suffice to depict both the gifts and the givers. In the year 1287, a citizen of Massa, after leaving twelve hundred lire to San Galgano, adds a gift of four hundred lire "for the construction of an altar in the said church in honor of the blessed Virgin Mary and the saints James, Christopher, and Nicholas, near which altar let my name be written in *patentibus litteris* (in large letters!), in order that all the priests who celebrate mass at that altar may be reminded to pray for my soul and to make mention of my name in the service".⁸ Although a charity, associated with such intense spiritual profit-seeking, may kindle an amused smile upon our lips, it furnishes no occasion to treat it with contempt. When all is said the fact remains that the habit of giving of one's substance for an unselfish end was widespread, and that it testifies to the success with which the church infused the spirit of idealism into a dull and brutalized society.

We have seen that Bono and his small Cistercian band made their home near the grave of San Galgano on Monte Siepi. They built there the circular chapel which still stands, and added a dormitory and other quarters, parts of which survive in the two wings leaning upon the chapel like awkward buttresses. Presently the donations of which we have taken note began to pour in, and the brothers saw an opportunity for enlarging the circle of their activity. Dissatisfied with their narrow and primitive quarters on Monte Siepi, they resolved to descend from their wooded spur to the broad meadow immediately at its foot, and to commence a second structure on a scale which more adequately represented the accumulated means and golden prospects of the monastery. The information as to this removal afforded by the documents is unfortunately slight, but, piecing together various items, we arrive at the conclusion that the new edifices were begun about the year 1224,⁹ while still existing walls and lines of masonry enable us to affirm that they included, besides the great abbey church, a dormitory, a cloister, a refectory, barns, stables, and all the various offices of a corporation which,

⁷ Canestrelli, p. 72. The bequest is of the year 1274.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-75.

if primarily a religious retreat, had also something of the character of a library, a school and a great agricultural establishment. By accidents and changes, to which I shall return in due time, most of the accessory structures have been swept away, but the great abbey church still stands, desolate and in ruins, it is true, but touched with such enduring beauty that it may be called without hesitation one of the most exquisite churches of Tuscany and even of all Italy. Built in slow stages, as suited the gradually accumulating means of the brothers, it was probably not finished till the end of the century which saw the laying of the corner-stone. In the place of ascertained facts, enabling us to compose a secure narrative of the construction of the famous church, we must content ourselves with conjecture, and conjecture, too, is the only answer to our eager question concerning the names of the great artists who drew the plans for it. Without doubt they were Cistercian monks, for the Cistercians, apart from their jealous desire to keep their buildings in their own hands, were recognized as the architectural leaders and innovators of their day. However, when we appeal to the documents for the names of the individual monks who distinguished themselves in this great enterprise, we are denied an answer, and must content ourselves with the general conclusion that the order built the abbey church of San Galgano. Considering the nature of the order, and remembering that men entered it to lose their personality in the hope of finding it again in the Lord, we can hardly quarrel with the accident which produced a result so fully in accord with the profound spirit of the institution.¹⁰

On one very fascinating matter included in the dark chapter of construction and involving the much-mooted question of the style of the great abbey church, it is possible to speak with precision, for the building being still in existence, at least as regards its structural lines, furnishes all the material necessary for an intelligent opinion. No student of art standing before these remains will fail to be struck with the fact that here is an edifice of such pure Gothic as is not to be found again in all Tuscany. Indeed these lithe and graceful forms would not be held to be out of place if one came upon them suddenly on a tour through northern France. Were the architects, whom we have agreed to be Cistercians, also Frenchmen, imported when the resolution was first taken to begin the edifice? The general plan, as well as the grouped piers and the ribbed vaults, point to that conclusion, although Canestrelli, patriotically

¹⁰ Canestrelli, pp. 77-78, names some of the builders (*operai*), who not improbably figured also in the capacity of architects.

eager to vindicate the monument for his own people, affirms with some show of proof that Italian architects were quite capable of this quality of work. That Italian influences are perceptible here and there is undeniable, but the structural skeleton with its harmonious system of concentrated strains and balanced thrusts is so emphatically French that we are forced to conclude that, if men of French blood did not build this church, the Italian monks, entrusted with the work, must have received their architectural training in France, if not directly by residence in the Burgundian houses of their order, at least indirectly through the agency of the traditions accumulated in the earlier Cistercian foundations in Italy, such as Fossanova and Casamari.

During the thirteenth century, while the monks were engaged upon the reconstruction of the abbey on a monumental scale, they remained a vigorous and growing organization. It is an old observation that an ideal, devotedly pursued, almost magically creates the energies necessary for its fulfillment. The thirteenth century, therefore, constitutes the abbey's heyday, marked not only by the loud and steady ring of hammer and chisel, which came across the meadow of the Merse and sounded through the encircling woods, but also by the quality of the converts attracted by the cloistered life. Nothing is more erroneous than the common notion that it was the broken and unfit, the sad company of life's derelict, who were drawn to the medieval monasteries. Undeniably this defeated section of society might be found in large numbers in a given institution in the period of its decay, but in its flourishing time, which was of course the time of youth, its programme, universal enough to reach the operative as well as the reflective temperament, laid a spell upon the best minds of the day. Turn as one will, there is no way of accounting for the part played by the monasteries in medieval civilization, save on the ground that their ranks constituted a representative expression of the intelligence and energy of society. San Galgano bears out this assertion at every point. We have already seen that when the monks undertook to build themselves an abbey, which still, though in ruins, communicates the most delicate spirit of beauty, they did not have to go for help outside their own cowed brotherhood. By the side of the architects, and wearing like them the yoke of monastic obedience, were to be found trained lawyers and notaries. With its varied business the monastery could turn them to good use and was at pains to assemble for their behoof a considerable law library.¹¹ Physicians and surgeons, who in their

¹¹ Canestrelli, *Documento XVIII*.

youth had trudged on foot to the schools of Salerno and Montpellier, paced the quiet garden walks with ordained priests, expert in the lore of Saint Thomas Aquinas and the Schoolmen. With such elements represented in the remote community, we can hardly go wrong in assuming that its intellectual level rose far beyond that of contemporary lay society. How else shall we account for the fact that the neighboring city of Siena frequently requested the aid of the monastery in purely civic affairs? With the commune's growth the office of treasurer acquired an increasing importance, and when the citizens wanted a thoroughly capable and reliable man to put in charge of their moneys, whither did they turn but to the abbot of San Galgano? They asked for the loan of one of the monks, for the first time, it would seem, in the year 1257, and were so satisfied with the service they received that they kept up the practice for almost a hundred years.¹² Then they resorted to a layman, indicating in plain terms that it was not until the democratic government had been established for some generations that the average citizen acquired those moral and mental qualities which put him on a level with the monks. A quaint memorial of these comptroller-monks, called *camarlinghi di Biccherna*, is carefully preserved in the archives of Siena. On certain of the painted covers of the account-books which they kept in their time will be found the solemn countenance of a cowled brother, who thus still seems to guard from his grave the treasure entrusted to his care while living. Nor was the treasurership the only office by means of which Siena paid tribute to the high character of the Galgano fraternity. In the thirteenth century the chief public enterprise in which she was engaged was her cathedral, for great buildings both for civil and ecclesiastical uses were one of the passions of the age. Encouraged probably by the splendid success with which the monks were raising their own abbey, the municipality entrusted the erection of the *duomo* to their tried and skilful hands. Through the second half of the thirteenth century Fra Vernaccio, Fra Melano, Fra Villa and other brothers—empty, featureless names furnished by the stolid records—were at the head of the works, and during their incumbency the magnificent pile was, in all essential respects, given the form which still meets the eye.¹³

Such services rendered by San Galgano to the commune of Siena indicate that the shuttle was flying back and forth, weav-

¹² Canestrelli, *Documento XX.*, gives a list of the Sienese *camarlinghi* supplied by San Galgano.

¹³ *Ibid.*, *Documento XXI.*, gives the full list of monks who served as *operai* in connection with the Sienese cathedral.

ing a mutually profitable intimacy between the abbey and the city. In view of the general political situation of Tuscany in the thirteenth century this development was inevitable. The monks were men of peace; their object in the world, the works of peace. We have seen that in settling on the upper Merse they needed and had sought the protection of the established powers, the pope, the emperor and the bishop of Volterra. But with the death in the year 1250 of Frederick II., the last great Hohenstaufen, the empire, long threatened with decay, was definitely reduced to impotence, and though the pope tried to seize his rival's heritage, he failed, in Tuscany at least, because the cities of that province were resolute to appropriate for themselves whatever benefits resulted from the decay of the federal power. The bishop of Volterra, indeed, continued to play the part of a local sovereign, theoretically of considerable sway, but his glory waned as soon as he ceased to draw light and power from his feudal master. Thus Siena came to dominate in southern Tuscany over a region which included the Merse valley and therewith the abbey of San Galgano. Abbey and city did not fail to see the mutual advantage of a close political alliance. Siena, and Siena alone, could in the changed political circumstances of Italy offer to the abbey an adequate guarantee against violence and spoliation, and the abbey would give to the city an increased security on its southern frontier, in addition to conferring on it the honor which in a religious age attached to the patronage of a great ecclesiastical establishment.

Thus, under the pressure of time and change, San Galgano replaced the patronage of its earliest protectors with that of the neighboring commune. That great treasury of fact, the Sienese constitution of 1262, proclaims the relation in terms indicative of the large confidence of the young commonwealth. On entering upon his office the *potestà* of Siena was obliged to swear that he would diligently watch over the monastery of San Galgano and all its possessions, and, continuing, he was made to say that "at the demand of my lord abbot I shall give notice by messenger and letter to the lords and people of the region near which the possessions of the abbey are situated, that the said abbey and its goods are under the protection of the commune of Siena; and I shall extend the affectionate request to them that they inflict no injury upon it or any of its goods, seeing that we of Siena are held to aid the monks and to defend them from wrong as if they were our fellow-citizens."¹⁴ And this promise of protection was anything but hollow. The lords

¹⁴ Zdekauer, *Il Constituto di Siena di 1262*, I. 103.

of the neighborhood, as well as such small but often violent communities as Chiusdino and Grosseto, wisely kept their hands off the abbot's possessions, and the abbey continued to flourish till the arrival of its evil day.

The thirteenth century, I have already said, was the prosperous period of the Cistercian order in Italy and, particularly, of its off-spring near the grave of San Galgano. Then gradually signs of decay appeared. The phenomenon has its parallel in the story of every spiritual institution evolved by the children of men. The monks, raised by wealth above the necessity of effort, became estranged from their own ideals and gave themselves to idleness and vice. Just as the Cistercians themselves originated in a protest against the decay of the older Benedictines, so another revolt, ripening with the action of time, was certain to direct itself against Cistercian self-satisfaction, and to gather the most promising and candid spirits of the age in new affiliations. This is the meaning of the rise of the begging friars. The noble orders founded by Saint Francis and Saint Dominic did not at once affect San Galgano, owing to the great and merited prestige which it enjoyed in its immediate neighborhood. But slowly, if imperceptibly, they exercised a disturbing influence on what we may call the recruiting market of our monastery, for, on entering the field to bid against the older institutions, they exercised an irresistible attraction upon all the more strenuous spirits by virtue of their youthfulness and fire. Early in the fourteenth century, about the time when the new abbey in the meadow under Monte Siepi celebrated its first centenary, one catches signs suggesting that its moral tone has suffered. For one thing Siena ceased to look to it for architects and *camarlinghi*. That may have been, as I have already hinted, because lay society had at last advanced to the point where it could trust itself for these services, but, on the other hand, the suspicion cannot be dismissed that the services could no longer be rendered. In any case the usefulness of the institution decreased, and with the usefulness the efficiency of the residents. An ominous silence gathered around San Galgano, the silence descending upon a society which has outlived its time, and when it is broken by confused sounds of war and panic, drawing our attention once more to the upper Merse, we are brought face to face with disaster.

In the second half of the fourteenth century Italy was visited by one of the most abominable social plagues with which the much tormented peninsula was vexed during the long agony of feudalism. It consisted in the so-called Companies of Adventure. Since the

central authority, still nominally represented by the emperor across the Alps, was destroyed, and ambitious local powers, lords and cities, quarreled fiercely for dominion, a chaotic condition was created, marked by almost uninterrupted petty warfare and furnishing lucrative employment for large bands of mercenary soldiers. The leaders of these bands were not slow to see that with the decay of the various city militias, a decay which was in full swing by the middle of the fourteenth century, they really held Italian society at their mercy. With the dregs of all Europe gathered under their banners, they impudently ravaged the Sienese country around the walls, and squeezed incalculable sums out of the frightened burghers. Of course the rich abbey lands of San Galgano fell a helpless prey to the adventurers, who again and again spread over them in insolent ease, not unlike a devastating cloud of locusts. The chroniclers assure us that the worst of the plunderers of the beautiful Cistercian settlement was the Englishman, Sir John Hawkwood, nothing more than a successful brigand according to our mild standards, but rewarded with royal honors in an age when he and his like commanded the most powerful armed forces of society. Hawkwood, employed by Florence to do the fighting for which the burghers, with their attention concentrated on trade and profits, had lost the taste, was cheered as if he were the shepherd David by the Florentine populace, and when he died received the extraordinary honor of being painted on horseback over the inner portal of the Florentine cathedral. There he still rides exalted over the worshippers, clamorously preaching in the impressive silence of Christ's temple the world-old doctrine of the mailed fist. Hawkwood, under engagement to Florence, was of course free to harry the territory of Siena. His practice, as well as that of other *condottieri* who visited the Merse valley, was to establish himself with headquarters at San Galgano, and then burn, rob and devastate within a radius of many miles.¹⁵ The scenes which occurred everywhere in the Middle Ages, when a lawless horde burst upon a defenseless population, put a tax upon the imagination of a humanitarian age like ours. Hawkwood's first visit to San Galgano befell in the year 1365, and many visits by him and others of his kind followed in the succeeding generation. When the pest of the adventurous companies was at last eradicated and better times dawned, the monastery was in a state of complete disorganization. In 1397 the then abbot, one Lodovico di Tano, was constrained to sell a piece of land in order to pay a papal imposition. He found a purchaser, but could

¹⁵ Muratori, XV., *Cronica Senese*, 187, 189.

not meet the legal requirements for perfecting the bargain, because the monks, whose consent was indispensable, were all dispersed. The abbot dwelt alone in the deserted halls of the great monastery.¹⁶

With the return of tranquillity in the fifteenth century San Galgano experienced a revival. Enough monks returned to form a new nucleus, the offices were chanted as of old, and the damage done by the Companies of Adventure was gradually repaired. But the former splendor never returned. The melancholy story of the decline to the point of abandonment and ruin that now meets the eye is written legibly enough in the records, but can only be briefly indicated here. Before the new and vital interests which the Renaissance, now mounting to its meridian, popularized throughout Italy, the monastic idea began to pale. San Galgano, buried among thick woods in a remote valley, did not bulk so large as in a simpler age. Its revenues were still considerable, but its ranks represented a descending curve of efficiency and were no longer crowded with cheerful and self-sacrificing volunteers. The abbey worried along, however, as vested interests will, until presently it fell a victim to one of the growing diseases of the Roman system, the cancer of prelacy. With the passion for a princely scale of living, which the Renaissance fastened upon the Roman pontiffs, went the need of a court, of gorgeous palaces and of a numerous retinue of sycophants to shine as minor lights around the central sun. To meet the multifarious demands upon their budget the popes were driven to tap such questionable sources of income as the sale of indulgences, while to satisfy the covetous and luxurious prelates they were constrained to assign to them the revenues of fat bishoprics and abbasies. San Galgano, a rich foundation close at hand, was not likely to escape the general fate. In the year 1503 Pope Julius II., one of the most imposing personalities of the whole line of popes, but, as ill-luck would have it, always desperately in need of cash, gave the abbey *in commendam* to one of his cardinals. On the surface the transaction signified no more than that the abbey was "commended" to the cardinal's paternal care; in reality it appropriated the entire revenue to his personal use. Whether the abbey was to be kept up depended henceforth on the distant commendatary's charity, supplemented by the begging talents of the monks. Some monks of an adventurous temper might still be inclined to take their chances with the institution under the nefarious absentee system, but they had no legal claim to anything. Their money flowed to Rome, and once at Rome was past reclaiming.

¹⁶ Canestrelli, p. 21.

There is no reason for following closely the miserable tale of decay under the successive commendataries, though the story is not without its element of pathos. In the year 1576 a papal inspector, sent on a tour through Tuscany, found a single monk acting as caretaker of the vast establishment, reflecting in his rags the crying destitution of the monastery.¹⁷ The inspector reported to Rome that the refectory was without a roof, that many chapels were in decay, that of the four bells three could not be rung, and that through the broken windows the birds entered and made their nests in the church. In the year 1632 the pope, himself scandalized at the results of a prolonged exploitation but incapable of devising an effective policy of reform, reduced the dishonored monastery from its dignity of abbey, and, twenty years after, secularized it by organizing it as a simple benefice. The benefice, however, embracing the many estates which San Galgano had accumulated through the ages, produced an undiminished revenue, and this revenue continued to flow into the hands of a commendatary, who in return for an unmerited bounty assumed the meagre obligation of maintaining Christian worship in the cathedral and of making a few repairs at his discretion. The Cistercian order now definitely left the place which was associated with a not inglorious chapter of its past. The commendatary, looking for cheap labor, sent first some Vallombrosans, and later, occasional Franciscans to act as custodians of the edifice, but these uninterested guardians, drawing an infinitesimal wage, were glad if they could eke out a living without giving a thought to the maintenance of the splendid monument in whose ample enclosure they must have felt overwhelmed by a sense of their own insignificance.

And so we arrive through the long and painful stages of neglect at the last phase, the chapter of total abandonment. On January 22, 1786, a congregation of perhaps fifty peasants was gathered in the sacristy before the only altar which seems to have been kept in sufficient repair for the celebration of the mass. The rest of the edifice, we are informed, had become frightfully damp and unwholesome, owing to the fact that whenever it rained the water poured through the roof like a sieve. Suddenly on that January day "all' atto della consecrazione",¹⁸ at the moment when the Franciscan caretaker and priest consecrated the bread, there came a tremendous roar, followed by a shock which threw the terrified worshipers upon their knees. The bell-tower, which rose just behind the sacristy and,

¹⁷ Canestrelli, *Documento* XXVIII.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

as was usual in Italy, stood free of the church, had given way and crashed to the ground. It must have seemed to the witnesses like a divine intervention that, instead of burying them under its ruins in the sacristy, it had measured its length upon the open field behind the choir. After this catastrophe neither peasants nor caretaker would trust themselves in the dilapidated edifice. They got leave to transfer the worship, maintained in the crumbling abbey for the convenience of the scattered peasants of the neighborhood, to Monte Siepi, and the venerable though neglected round chapel, which marked the grave of San Galgano and had served as the original settlement of the Cistercians, was once more supplied with an altar and rang with the solemn music of the liturgy. To this day, on Sundays and other Christian festivals, it is visited by a thin congregation of silent, stoical-looking peasants, attended by their wives and children. With the withdrawal of the priest and his flock a formal de consecration was required by the regulations of the church in sign that the great abbey was left to perish in peace. The bishop of Volterra, in whose diocese the abbey lay, in due time published the necessary decree, and on August 10, 1789, the pertinent ceremony was gone through with by two commissioners, accompanied by a notary to make the necessary legal attestation. It is interesting to observe that just six days before, some hundreds of miles away across the snow-capped barrier of the Alps, a body of Frenchmen, calling themselves the National Assembly, had swept the remnants of feudalism out of existence and inaugurated for Europe a new age, founded upon the bold belief, no less than blasphemous to the medieval mind, of the ability of reason to effect the salvation of the human race. The chronological coincidence, linking the far-sounding pronouncement made on the Parisian stage with the abandonment unwept, unsung, of a monument which had its root in the warm heart of the Middle Ages, touches the imagination. *Sunt lachrymae rerum.*

Neglected since the days of the Renaissance by greedy and conscienceless commendataries, the doomed abbey was from the moment of de consecration left unguarded and untenanted, a prey to the conquering elements. Not long before the tower came down in the manner we have seen, a cardinal commendatary, Feroni by name, had managed to persuade the pope to transfer the whole property of San Galgano as a private estate to his family, with the sole obligation of contributing to the maintenance of religious worship in the abbey. When the tower fell the family, in return for fitting up the chapel on Monte Siepi, got the maintenance clause abolished. The dis-

avowal of the edifice was now complete; as far as the law was concerned, the owners were free to look upon the ancient monument as a useless encumbrance amidst their pleasant fields and meadows, and nothing hindered them from destroying it at pleasure. While balking at this extreme step, they freely resorted to it as a quarry, and the peasants, following the example of their enlightened masters, plundered it at will for such building material as their need required. Whenever a vault fell in, bullock carts rolled lumberingly to the scene to appropriate the fine blocks of travertine which littered the ground, and a heap of indistinguishable rubbish might be the only evidence of the existence of the abbey at this day, if the Italian government, sluggishly responding to the indignant appeal of a devoted lover of his country's history and art, had not, in the year 1894, stayed further demolition by declaring the ruin a national monument and by making meagre provision for its preservation.

Hardly a building testifying to the character and splendor of the Italian past is more worthy of close study than the ruined abbey of San Galgano. Unvisited by the casual tourist by reason of its remoteness from the common highways of travel, utterly untouched by the many vulgar influences of modern life, it has gathered about itself the atmosphere of silence which settles upon all noble works. On an afternoon in June, abandoning the hot and dusty post-road which I had followed for some hours, I mounted a grassy bank, and across a sun-lit meadow saw it lying, white and glittering like the gates of pearl. Around the level field, from whose thick clover came the riotous song of summer mounting to its acme, stood the wooded hills, grave and watchful. To the west, its defiant outline almost obliterated by the strong light, rose the cliff of Chiusdino. Fronting the lofty citadel and close at hand lay gently-sloping Monte Siepi with the purple roof of the old round chapel just visible above the tree-tops. Here at last in the silence of the white summer afternoon, broken only by the voices in the grass and the faint, clear call of the cuckoo, the long story of the monastery became perfectly intelligible by being lifted out of the conditions of material fact into the realm of beauty. To the wakeful inner vision will always come a moment when things, born in time, assume the aspect of eternity. From that westward rock, its sharp lines dissolving in the sun, had the knight Galgano ridden forth upon his quest of God, his golden hair, of which the legend tells, waving in the wind; in these peaceful hills had he wandered, carrying his heart in his hands like a sacrifice; and here, on brooding Monte Siepi, earth had gathered the exhausted body like a leaf of the dead year. Presently over the grave had

risen the round chapel of the Cistercian brotherhood and, in the due course of time, built of the prayers of men, the abbey yonder, lifting a pure front above the meadow. Even so. The crickets rehearse the tale to the cicadas shrilling in the hedges, the thrush and cuckoo inform the hills, which, when evening falls, will hold silent conference with the marching stars.

Just before sunset I entered the portal and stood in the deserted nave. The vaults had fallen in, disclosing the blue sky covered with a web of delicate rose vapor. A few blocks of weathered travertine, which had lately given way, littered the grassy floor. At the entrance to the transept a brilliant patch of yellow marked a bed of buttercups, graciously planted by some wandering wind. At either hand the eye followed the rows of piers till it rested upon the marred choir wall with its ghostly apertures. Finer clustered columns one may not hope to find, each one composed of perfectly articulated members, simple, serviceable and beautiful. Equally simple, with an added grace of subtle rhythm, are the triforium and clere-story. If this was Italian workmanship it was at least directed by the delicate Gothic spirit which emanated from the Isle de France. In the days when the ribbed vault terminated the nave and aisles, the church must have produced an effect as rounded and complete as a sonata by some great master. But if completeness has been lost, its absence is not noticed by reason of a quality much more moving to us in our character of men, a quality which Wordsworth has called "the unimaginable touch of time". Daily as the light fails from the sky and dusk gathers within the spacious enclosure, time, and its kindred spirit, beauty, circle like great birds above the deserted home of men.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

SOME ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

It may be well at the outset to say that this paper is to deal with some economic factors influencing the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and has nothing to do with the familiar topic of the economic results thereof.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes is chiefly looked upon as the triumph of religious bigotry; as evidence that even if the law of Europe in 1648 recognized the right of liberty of conscience, it did not inaugurate the reign of toleration. In the enforcement of the revocation the quadruple influence of the clergy of France, the Jesuits, Louvois and Madame de Maintenon¹ has long been recognized, although the influence of the latter was less than has formerly been supposed. But to these influences a fifth must be added, economic prejudice, which was of wide popular force in ranging much of the population of France against the Huguenots.

The industrial activity and commercial wealth of the Huguenots has been remarked by every historian of the reign of Louis XIV. and emphasized to the disparagement of the other working classes of France, so that it may sound much like heresy in history to seek to diminish their credit in this respect. The number of working days of the Huguenots, owing to the fact that they paid no attention to church holidays, exceeded that of the Catholics,² and their productive capacity must have been proportionately greater. But the statement that the Huguenots were compelled to work with more energy because of the special difficulties which they encountered, and so developed a superior spirit of initiative and industry,³ ignores the fact that the economic pre-eminence of the Huguenots

¹ See the passages from Madame de Maintenon's writings quoted by M. Desdevizes du Désert, *L'Eglise et l'Etat en France depuis l'Edit de Nantes jusqu'à nos Jours*, in the chapter upon the revocation. Cf. Duc de Noailles, *Madame de Maintenon*, vol. II., ch. iv., § 3.

For a summary of the various views regarding the motives of the revocation, see Puaux, "La Responsabilité de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes", *Revue Historique*, XXIX. 247-248.

² There were 310 working days with the Huguenots and 260 with the Catholics. Weiss, *Histoire des Réfugiés Protestants de France depuis la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, I. 25.

³ Cf. Puaux, "La Responsabilité de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes", *Revue Historique*, XXIX. 244.

also owed much of its success to Colbert's policy of favoritism; to the artificial stimulus given their labor; and to the special protection of many of the industries they were employed in by the government.

The dominant tendency in the seventeenth century in France was toward centralization. The growth of the royal prerogative under Louis XIV. is the political evidence of it. The policy of Colbert, who aimed at establishing uniformity in conditions of employment, is the economic manifestation of it. The purpose of mercantilism was to codify and nationalize industrial law. Grand industry was to replace the petty forms of production hitherto prevailing. The origin of this movement in France goes back to the great Édit sur les Métiers of Henry III. in 1581⁴ and the famous ordinance of Henry IV. in 1597.⁵ The troubles of the regency, the rebellion of the Huguenots, and the absorption in foreign politics of Richelieu (whose weakness as a minister was a failure to appreciate the bearing and value of economic phenomena save those connected with commerce and colonization), united with the turmoil of the Fronde, for years arrested the movement thus begun. But after the Fronde the old policy was revived.⁶

The guilds⁷ were the chief object of attack in the enforcement of this policy and the chief opposition was encountered from them.

⁴ The Édit sur les Métiers promulgated by Henry III. in December, 1581, was the first attempt made by the crown to reduce the organization of labor to uniformity throughout the kingdom. Cf. the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices, 1563, Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 137. It summarized all preceding legislation, especially the ordinances of police of 1567 and 1577, and served as the model for the Edict of Henry IV. in 1597. When Colbert wanted to stimulate French industry he turned to the Edict of 1581 for information and guidance. According to the preamble of the edicts of March 23, 1673, and March and December, 1691, the Edict of Henry III. was regarded as the basis of the industrial legislation of France. When the physiocrats attacked the mercantile system their first attack was made upon the Edict of 1581. Turgot, in the celebrated Edict of 1776 which suppressed the guilds, invoked the Edict of 1581.

The first writer who pointed out the importance of the Edict of 1581 is Wolowski in his work, *De l'Organisation Industrielle* (1843). Levasseur has emphasized this importance in both editions of his great *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, II. 138-143, 156-176 (new edition), and more recently Eberstadt has consecrated an important portion of his book *Das Französische Gewerberecht* to the same subject. The last argues that the bearing of this edict upon the history of the eighteenth century was much exaggerated by the physiocrats.

⁵ Levasseur, *Cours d'Économie Rurale, Industrielle et Commerciale*, p. 176.

⁶ Levasseur, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, II. 958.

⁷ For admirable accounts of the composition and condition of the French guilds in the seventeenth century, see Babeau, *Les Artisans et les Domestiques d'Autrefois* (1886); and Franklin, *La Vie d'Autrefois: Comment on devenait Patron*, p. 1 (1889).

Even before Colbert came to power the crown had attacked the ancient autonomy of the guilds by the Edict of December 3, 1660, which subjected all of them to royal authorization. Colbert followed this step by still more drastic action. In 1669 he abolished the old narrow regulations governing their manufactures.⁸ He had no patience with their efforts to restrict trade for fear of competition, nor with their narrowness, ignorance, corruption and fraud. He established a minute system of inspection of manufactures with attendant punishment for violation of the new provisions.⁹ He encouraged the foundation of new industries, giving to private persons a brevet of royal authority, exempting them from the restraints of the corporation and the surveillance of the local *corps de métier*; advanced capital; exempted them from taxes in certain cases; facilitated the hiring of labor, etc.¹⁰ He organized new corporations and revised the statutes of the old corporations.¹¹ The day had gone by when work supervised by the guilds offered the greater assurance of honest production. The uniform organization of industry was to be the new order of things.

We may lay aside the question as to how far these efforts of Colbert were practicable or expedient. The point—so far as the subject of this paper is concerned—is that Colbert came into conflict with some of the most familiar habits and practices of the French nation, with deeply vested rights, with local monopoly, and that in the struggle he made large use of the Huguenots.

The guilds had a double form. They were both economic associations and religious confraternities and had been such since the Middle Ages, often having their own chapel and special religious ceremonies. This religious character was accentuated by the religious renaissance which took place in France in the seventeenth century, and of which the activity of the Jesuits, the religio-social efforts of St. Vincent de Paul, the Jansenist movement, Quietism and the conflict over the liberties of the Gallican Church are manifestations.¹² It is a significant fact that there were 136 religious congregations

⁸ Edict of August 13, 1669. Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, vol. II., part I., p. 150.

⁹ Edict of April 30, 1670. *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 832 ff.

¹⁰ Levasseur, *Cours d'Économie*, etc., p. 179.

¹¹ Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, vol. II., part I., introduction, p. 149 ff.

¹² See on this whole movement in the church, Desdevizes du Désert, *L'Église et l'État en France jusqu'à nos Jours*, the chapters entitled: la Renaissance Religieuse sous Louis XIII.; la Charité au XVII^e Siècle; la Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement; le Jansénisme; le Quétisme; la Question des Libertés Gallicanes.

established in France in the seventy-five years between the death of Henry IV. and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.¹³ Although the Edict of Nantes assured the Protestants entrance into the gilds, the privilege was practically a dead letter. The gilds even sought to drive Huguenot workmen out of Paris, which explains the large number of them that were settled in the suburbs, where they were beyond the jurisdiction of the city corporations, yet near enough to profit by the trade of the capital.¹⁴ Colbert played the Huguenots and other Protestants like the Anabaptists of Dunkirk¹⁵ against the gilds. While in principle he was hostile to the gilds and ordinarily restrained Huguenot workmen from entering them or forming similar associations,¹⁶ where it suited his purpose he forced the gilds to admit Protestant workmen;¹⁷ he granted *letters de maîtrise*—"special appointment"—to Protestant tradesmen, as jewellers and perfumers,¹⁸ he imported foreign Protestant workmen¹⁹ and protected Protestant workmen against the enmity of municipalities, the gilds and the fisc;²⁰ he put great industries which were under gov-

¹³ Compiled from Keller, *Les Congrégations Religieuses en France* (1880). It will be noticed that the movement is stronger in the reign of Louis XIII. than of Louis XIV. and that the periods of greatest activity coincide with the revolt of the Huguenots (1620-1630), when 38 congregations were founded in ten years; with the misery of the Fronde, which St. Vincent de Paul labored so much to relieve; and with the question of the liberties of the Gallican Church in 1682, in which year five congregations were established.

There were 72 religious congregations established in the reign of Louis XIII. (1610-1643) and 64 in that of Louis XIV. up to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The following table shows the number of congregations established in each year between 1610 and 1685.

1613—2	1624—5	1634—3	1645—4	1660—1	1673—1
1615—1	1625—3	1635—1	1647—2	1661—1	1674—4
1616—2	1626—2	1636—2	1650—5	1662—2	1676—2
1617—2	1627—5	1637—1	1651—1	1663—2	1678—2
1618—1	1628—1	1638—2	1652—2	1664—2	1679—1
1619—3	1629—3	1639—1	1654—2	1666—2	1680—3
1620—4	1630—5	1640—2	1655—1	1667—1	1682—5
1621—1	1631—4	1641—2	1657—1	1668—1	1683—4
1622—6	1632—2	1643—2	1658—3	1670—2	1684—1
1623—3	1633—1	1644—2	1659—1	1672—2	1685—1

¹⁴ Lespinasse, *Les Métiers*, III. 396.

¹⁵ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* (ed. Bourgeois), p. 696, note 3; Clément, *Histoire de Colbert*, II. 398.

¹⁶ Levasseur, II. 345, note 2.

¹⁷ Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, II. 585, note; VI. 355.

¹⁸ Eberstadt, *Das Französische Gewerberecht* (in Schmoller's *Forschungen*, 1899), XVII. 309, 358-361.

¹⁹ Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, VII. 355.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 756; Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, VII., part 1., p. 220.

ernment patronage in the control of Protestant superintendents, as in the case of the Hollander Joos van Robais, the Calvinist manufacturer of Abbeville,²¹ who employed 6,500 workmen.²²

The gilds bitterly fought the entrance of Protestant members into their midst²³ and the introduction of Protestant workmen into the realm, so much so that Colbert openly expressed hope of Van Robais's conversion—shall we say for economic reasons?²⁴ The iron industry at Sedan, the manufacture of paper in Auvergne and Angoumois,²⁵ the tanneries of Touraine, were almost exclusively in their hands. In the faubourgs of Paris they were engaged in the making of jewelry, for which the city was already famous. In Brittany the Huguenots were largely interested in the linen trade. The silk-works of Lyons were controlled by them. In Gévaudan entire families were engaged in the woollen trade. Their commercial connection with England and Holland was intimate.

It was inevitable that this favoritism, united with the religious animosity, should in course of time create a widespread and bitter feeling in France, both economic and religious, against the Huguenots,²⁶ who were less than one-tenth of the population, but who,

²¹ Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, II. 669, 674, 739, 743-744, 748; VI. 96-97; VII. 440. The majority of the silk operatives were Huguenots. Lefebvre, II. 254. Van Robais was much troubled by the hostility of the *corps de métier* of Abbeville, and Colbert wrote to the intendant, May 12, 1673: "Je vous ay cy-devant écrit (cf. vol. II. *Industrie*, pièce no. 267) que le sieur Van Robais estoit troublé dans son établissement par les visites que les maîtres et gardes de cette ville-là faisoient chez luy. Comme plusieurs particuliers de la mesme ville luy suscitent des procès et le traduisent en des juridictions où ils ont du crédit, je vous prie, lorsque vous passerez par cette ville-là, de prendre connoissance des obstacles qu'il rencontre dans son travail, et de tenir la main à ce qu'on le laisse en repos, en exécutant néanmoins des édits qui ont esté donnés sur le fait de la religion prétendue réformée." Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, VI. 97, note 2.

²² *Ibid.*, II. 786.

²³ For an interesting example, see *ibid.*, VI., no. 49, pp. 131-132.

²⁴ See his letter of May 15, 1681, to the intendant at Amiens, recommending him to make every effort to convert Van Robais, "Parceque, par ce moyen, au lieu que cette manufacture est entré les mains d'huguenots, nous parviendrons à faire convertir tous ceux qui y travaillent et à la mettre aux catholiques."

For the special protection given Van Robais by the intendant at Amiens, see Godard, *Les Pouvoirs des Intendants sous Louis XIV.*, pp. 312-314.

²⁵ A Hollander from Amsterdam, at Angoulême, employed 500 workmen. D'Avaux, *Négociations*, V. 97; Lane-Poole, *Huguenots of the Dispersion*, pp. 8-9.

²⁶ "Non seulement le clergé, mais les parlements, les cours souveraines, les universités, les communités des marchands et des artisans se livraient en toute occasion à leur pieuse animosité: dès qu'on pouvait, dans quelque cas particulier, enfreindre l'édit de Nantes, abattre un temple, restreindre un exercice, ôter un emploi à un protestant, on croyait remporter une victoire sur l'hérésie." Rulhière, *Éclaircissements Historiques sur la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes*, I. 26. Cf. Clément, *La Police sous Louis XIV.*, p. 270.

owing to Colbert's patronage, enjoyed a much greater degree of prosperity than Catholic workmen. Coupled with this condition was the new conception of business which the Huguenots borrowed from Holland, which also tended to make them unpopular. The practice of medieval trade was to make cheaply and to sell dear. The French Protestants, like the Dutch, grew rich on quick sales and small returns or by making low profits on large sales. Moreover the Huguenots chiefly dealt with England and Holland, and the stability of the Dutch currency, which was in favorable contrast with that of France, which varied enormously, was of immense advantage to them.²⁷

In the conflict against Colbert, the guilds were supported by the notorious Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement, among the least of whose insidious practices was preaching the economic doctrine of boycotting Protestant tradesmen, especially those who had received *lettres de maîtrise*, many of whose brevets were annulled through pressure brought by the Compagnie upon the king.²⁸ It even succeeded in depriving Protestant merchantmen of a market among their fellow-religionists. For example, a Huguenot who had the butcher's privilege at Charenton was compelled to purchase his meats wholesale at the butchery of the Hotel-Dieu, and a fine of 300 livres was imposed upon Protestant butchers who sold meat on fast days *even to Protestants*.²⁹ It was the purpose of this association to combat the Huguenots by every possible means. We know today that it inspired the multitude of *arrêts* issued by the *parlements*, by the *conseil du roi* and by the intendants of the provinces, which broke down the stipulated guarantees and privileges of the Edict of Nantes and prepared the way for the revocation at last.

²⁷ For proof of the prejudice this condition of things caused, see Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, VII. 432, note 4. On the fluctuation of the French currency, see Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* (ed. Bourgeois), p. 602.

²⁸ For some cases, see Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, pp. 276-278. No Protestant could be a member of the hosier's guild. Levasseur, II. 345, note 2, Edict of August 21, 1665.

²⁹ Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, p. 275. In the minutes of the Compagnie, under date of July 29, 1664, the following may be read: "On représenta qu'il fallait empêcher que les huguenots n'entrassent dans la Compagnie du commerce, et l'on résolut d'y travailler par divers moyens." *Revue Historique*, LXXI. 300.

There is an extensive literature on the history of the Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement. In addition to the work of Allier cited above, see Rabbe, "Une Société Secrète Catholique au XVII^e Siècle", *Revue Historique*, LXXI. 243-302; Leroux, *Histoire de la Réforme en Limousin* (1888), pp. 122-125, and extracts from the minutes of the Compagnie in the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Limousin*, XXXIII. 58-76; XLV. 338-416; *Archives Historiques du Limousin*, I. 240-249. See also Beauchet-Filleau, *Le Règne de Jésus-Christ* (1884), and P. Ch. Clair, *Études Religieuses des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1888-1889).

The king, as his bigotry increased, gradually withdrew his support from his minister. From the moment that the war with the Dutch acquired a religious character and the danger which Holland was experiencing roused against him the feelings of all the Protestant states, it was easy to persuade the king that his Huguenot subjects were the allies of his enemies. No trace of this alliance has ever been found, but it seems possible, even probable. The Venetian ambassador mentions it in speaking of the motives which induced the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, saying that the reformed ministers spoke of it as a *possible* result of the continuation of hostilities.³⁰

The assembly of the clergy in 1675 had demanded that the Huguenots be no longer employed in such great numbers in the administration of the finances, and that they be completely deprived of the right to farm the revenues,³¹ because it ought not to be tolerated that the greater part of the riches of the provinces should pass through their hands. It is not certain that Colbert was opposed to this measure. The clergy assert that he had a hand in it. As a result the Huguenots were excluded from the finances, from farming the revenues and from the navy. They were deprived of municipal offices and barred from public employment in the towns. Finally in 1679 the *corps de métier* were closed to the Protestants,³² and all *lettres de maîtrise* granted them were annulled.³³

Up to the present time, no document has been brought to light which positively proves that Colbert was opposed to the persecutions of the Huguenots, and it is probably true that he would not have protested against the revocation.³⁴ We know that he attached great importance to the union between the crown and the clergy which these persecutions rendered more intimate, and while the policy of the king had not reached the extreme limit of intolerance, Colbert must have seen enough to divine what the ultimate

³⁰ The Venetian ambassador alludes to this probability in speaking of the motives which induced Louis XIV. to sign the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. See Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, III. 377, note 2. Cf. Duc de Noailles, *Madame de Maintenon*, II. 323, note 2.

³¹ *Articles concernant la Religion* (1675), art. 44.

³² Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, II. 90.

³³ *Ibid.*, VI. 125. After Colbert's death the prohibition was extended to surveyors and appraisers (1684); book-sellers, printers, physicians and even apothecaries (1685).

³⁴ Since the publication of Colbert's official papers, there is little room to doubt this. "Sans doute Colbert n'eût empêché la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes", Levasseur, II. 903. St. Simon, however thought otherwise. "Colbert, le seul homme qu'il (Louvois) eût pu craindre dans le partage du secret", etc., *Parallèle des Trois Premiers Rois Bourbons* (ed. Faugère), p. 222. Cf. *Mémoires de St. Simon* (ed. Chéruel), vol. VIII., ch. XI.

intentions of the king were. Louvois was the man of the hour and was bitterly hostile to the Protestants and economically in favor of the old order of things.³⁵ Colbert's fall from grace assured the victory of the gilds, of local monopoly, of the system of internal tolls and provincial barriers which was not abolished until the Revolution. Economically speaking the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the triumph of the ancient and immemorial economic régime of France over the modern tendency and more enlightened practices of the new political economy represented by Colbert.

Turning from France to Holland, the country with which the Huguenots had most intimate relations, we find that it was economic interest very largely which led Holland to sympathize with the Huguenots. In fact religious sympathy was never more than negligently given them by the Dutch.

The bearing of Louis XIV.'s aggressive political course and Colbert's economic tyranny upon the European combination has often been pointed out. But the particular influence of their joint policy toward the United Provinces in shaping the Dutch attitude toward the revocation of the Edict of Nantes deserves to be emphasized. The Edict of Nantes might have been revoked without giving so much umbrage to the Dutch as it did, if Louis XIV. had not obstinately ignored the differences that divided the Calvinist and the Arminian parties in Holland, and associated them in one common condemnation, instead of adopting a conciliatory policy toward the latter and so playing them against the Orange party.

Broadly speaking the Dutch Calvinists were monarchists politically and protectionists economically, while the Arminians were republicans in politics and advocates of free trade or at least reciprocity.³⁶ In the Dutch government at this time the States General

³⁵ Levasseur, II. 953.

³⁶ "Ils m'avoient la foiblesse du Gouvernement présent, me remontrèrent l'autorité que le Prince d'Orange usurpoit tous les jours; le peu d'espérance qu'ils avoient de la pouvoir diminuer sans le secours de Sa Majesté. . . . Je mandai au Roi, que, quoique tous ces discours m'eussent été tenus par des gens bien sensés, je ne m'étois pas pressé d'en informer Sa Majesté, puisque c'étoient à peu près les mêmes choses, que j'avois déjà eu l'honneur de lui mander de la part de ce fameux Republicain, mais que je me croyois enfin obligé de la faire, d'autant plus que deux des plus riches et des plus considérables Marchands de Hollande, dont il y en avoit un qui étoit depuis très-long-tems dans le Gouvernement de sa Ville, m'étoient venus trouver la veille, et m'avoient tenu à-peu-près le même langage, qui, quoique très-contraire aux intentions de Sa Majesté, m'avoit paru de si grande conséquence, que je n'avois pas cru pouvoir me dispenser d'en rendre compte: qu'ils m'avoient témoigné, que si Sa Majesté vouloit attacher pour toujours, et indispensablement, les États-Généraux à la France, et faire même entrer ses Sujets en part du commerce des États-Généraux". . . . D'Avaux, I. 69-70, March 13, 1681.

was hostile to the house of Orange politically and economically and many of the members were Arminian in faith as well. Thus the *Stâtes General* was inclined toward France, for they saw in Louis XIV. a make-weight against the growing power of William of Orange and were indifferent to the French king's coercion of his Protestant subjects.³⁷

One serious source of disagreement between the *States General* and William was the reduction of the army and navy after the peace of Nimwegen, when the Republican party, led by the magistrates of Amsterdam, compelled the disbandment of 6,000 newly raised troops.³⁸ Their ascendancy might have continued if Louis XIV. had not repulsed their overtures, and if William, whose chief aim was to alienate the *States General* from its French sympathy, had not inflamed the popular mind over Louis XIV.'s policy toward the Huguenots.³⁹

The backbone of the Arminian party was the wealthy merchant class of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, Delft and Dordrecht, whose political convictions and sense of thrift made them resent any increase of the power of the stadtholder. They were indifferent to the cause of the Huguenots, until they saw their course was alienating a great many lukewarm Republicans, as well as some of their own party, who otherwise would not have fallen away from France.⁴⁰ They looked ahead to the possible succession of William of Orange to the throne of England. Many of them thought that if the Prince of Orange succeeded to the English crown, he would instantly propose a league to the *States General* for the support of the Huguenots; that he would be the first to enter into a war against France and could so sway public opinion in the Netherlands as to force the *States General* and the Arminian party by his policy.⁴¹

³⁷ D'Avaux, I. 79, July 31, 1681. Cf. Ségur-Dupeyron, *Négociations Commerciales et Maritimes au XVII^e et au XVIII^e Siècles*, II. 144-145.

³⁸ This proposal was the subject of a violent and protracted altercation between William of Orange and the *States General*. Cf. D'Avaux, I. 127-128, 172-173, 179, 181-182; II. 29, 79, 93, 114, 121-122.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, IV. 3. When the Edict of June 17, 1681, which reduced from fourteen years to seven the age of discretion at which Protestant children might elect to follow the Catholic faith ("Les rapt d'enfants protestants furent en effet autorisés par cette déclaration", Puaux, "La Responsabilité de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes", *Revue Historique*, XXIX. 263), was translated and spread broadcast over Holland it produced a great impression. Even Friesland and Groningen, provinces least under William's control, began to lean towards him. D'Avaux, I. 77, July 24, 1681.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, IV. 160, March 22, 1685.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, IV. 161, March 22, 1685.

D'Avaux warned Louis XIV. in vain of the drift of public opinion against France in Holland. On March 22, 1685, he wrote as follows:

True it is that the affairs of religion in France have disappointed some classes of the people at Amsterdam, but they have not made so much impression upon the mind of the magistrates of that city in general as to make them alter their conduct. I am nevertheless obliged to tell Your Majesty that the preachers and the accounts which are sent from France have irritated them so much that I do not know what the consequences will be.⁴²

Finally in September, 1685, the inevitable happened and the Arminian party utterly yielded to the Prince of Orange.

The violent economic policy of Louis XIV. and Colbert played the largest part in this alienation of the Arminian party by France. As Louis XIV. ignored the religious difference between the Calvinists and the Arminians, so he refused until too late⁴³ to recognize the economic antagonism between the Orange-Calvinist party, who believed in Dutch tariffs, and the Arminians, who advocated reciprocity with France. If Louis XIV. and his minister had been willing to abate their commercial tyranny, the suffering of the Huguenots would have found less sympathy in Holland.⁴⁴ But, like his sovereign, Colbert was a man of one idea. He rejected the overtures of the States General and his commercial tyranny finally drove the merchants of Amsterdam and other Dutch cities into the camp of William of Orange.

The king was warned in vain of the inevitable result of his policy. "The fewer causes of uneasiness they (Amsterdam merchants) have concerning their vessels", wrote D'Avaux, "the less inclined they will be to engage in *certain affairs* which perhaps they may be obliged to do for the sake of getting the consent of the towns that belong to the Prince of Orange for re-establishing of the marine."⁴⁵ The merchants of Amsterdam too late had discovered that their parsimony in resisting the enlargement of the Dutch marine now exposed them to French aggression on the high seas, and William took advantage of the situation to play a deep game. He turned a deaf ear to their entreaties for protection, and refused to consider any enlargement of the Dutch fleet. His eyes were fixed upon England. He was determined to compel the

⁴² D'Avaux, IV. 160, March 22, 1685.

⁴³ "Le Roi approuva fort ce que j'avois insinué à Messieurs d'Amsterdam au sujet de l'espérance qu'ils ont de tirer du Roi de nouveaux avantages pour leur Commerce." *Ibid.*, V. 24, Lettre du Roi, du 7 Juin, 1685.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 160, March 22, 1685.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 163-164, March 23 and 27, 1685.

Arminian party to accept his English policy and by deliberately neglecting to strengthen the navy of the republic he compelled his antagonists at home to look toward English naval superiority for relief.⁴⁶

In spite of the seventh article of the treaty of Nimwegen, which provided for liberty of trade between the two countries, Dutch vessels were compelled to pay fifty *sous par tonneau* in French ports and their merchandise was subjected to the tariff duties of 1664.⁴⁷ When French ships every day searched Dutch merchantmen and openly carried off their merchandise;⁴⁸ when the Dutch were menaced in their commerce all along the line; when the importation of fresh herrings into France was prohibited; when, contrary to the articles of the treaty, the Dutch were hindered from selling their cloths; when they were neither allowed to dispose of their goods nor to take them again from the kingdom, and so lost credit and property together; it was more than even phlegmatic Dutch human nature could endure.

The grievances of the Dutch merchants against France were very real. It was the common custom in the nature and course of trade for them to remit considerable sums of money to their correspondents in France every year at vintage time and harvest for the facilitation of trade; and to make considerable advances for wines, cognac, chestnuts, prunes, etc., to be delivered later. Many of these French correspondents were Huguenots who were ruined by the persecution of the government and naturally involved their Dutch creditors in their fall. The intendants without regard to the liberty of commerce provided for in the commercial articles of the treaty of 1679 did not spare even Dutch merchants themselves who were settled in France, putting seals upon their warehouses, and, in case of their temporary absence, summoning them to return within three days under penalty of 3000 livres, besides threatening the destruction of their houses and the exposure of their furniture and merchandise for sale. The dragoons not infrequently sacked such establishments. Moreover, the provision requiring all persons who had any effects belonging to Protestants to declare the same, disabled many Dutch merchants who had advanced goods on credit to French merchants whether Protestant or Catholic. Natives of

⁴⁶ D'Avaux, vol. IV., p. 156, March 19, 1685; p. 166, March 29, 1685. For some cases of Dutch vessels seized by France, see *ibid.*, vol. IV., p. 169 (ship *Ste. Marie*); p. 172 (ship *Marie Bura*).

⁴⁷ Vast, *Les Grands Traités du Règne de Louis XIV.*, II. 67, note; Saint-Priest, *Histoire des Traités de Paix*, I. 379; D'Avaux, V. 15, May 31, 1685.

⁴⁸ D'Avaux, IV. 173, April 12, 1685.

Holland in. France were generally unable to remove their effects from the country,⁴⁹ although Louis XIV. could not, without contravention of the treaties of 1648 and 1679, hinder the Dutch who were not naturalized from leaving the kingdom with their effects, for it was provided in case of war that such persons should have nine months⁵⁰ in which to retire and to dispose of their property.

As to naturalized Dutch subjects, the policy of Louis XIV. was less open to question; but even here there is room to doubt the legality of his course. For although the act of naturalization rendered such persons not only inhabitants but subjects of France, nevertheless their letters of naturalization not only stated that their possessors professed the Protestant religion, but there was a special clause asserting that the king was willing that they should enjoy the rights granted in the edicts of toleration. The question was, therefore, whether Louis XIV. could lawfully enforce the revocation in the case of naturalized subjects, and the States General in a resolution of September 27, 1685, protested against the legality of the king's action.⁵¹ In the face of Louis XIV.'s high-handed treatment of the Dutch, and inasmuch as there was scarce a person in Holland who did not have a relative or friend engaged in trade with France, it is no wonder that the whole country at last came to support the Huguenot cause and espouse the policy of William of Orange.⁵² Yet it is to be noted that it was *economic self-interest* far more than sympathy with the French Protestants that influenced Holland.⁵³ Even when the revocation was an accomplished fact the States General undertook to sift the French refugees. It is notorious that the practical government of the United Provinces

⁴⁹ See the remarkable petition of the burgomaster and magistrates of Amsterdam presented to the States General, September 20, 1685, in D'Avaux, V. 78-81.

⁵⁰ Art. 27 of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. See Vast, *Les Grands Traités du Règne de Louis XIV.*, II. 78.

⁵¹ D'Avaux, V. 73, 85-86.

⁵² *Ibid.*, V. 72-74, September 20, 1686.

⁵³ "Il est venu, Sire, une si grande quantité de lettres à Amsterdam des Correspondans que les Marchands de cette Ville-là ont en France, que cela a excité beaucoup de rumeur; il y a même eu soixante Bourgeois qui ont signé une Requête qu'ils ont présentée aux Bourguemestres d'Amsterdam. Comme il n'y a presque personne dans la Magistrature de cette Ville-là, qui ne se trouve intéressé dans cette affaire; il a été résolu de porter ces plaintes aux États de Hollande et aux États-Généraux. . . . En confidence, . . . ils avoient défendu à leurs Députés d'en parler dans l'assemblée de Hollande, aimant mieux que cette affaire fût entamée par d'autres que par eux: mais que tous les Marchands d'Amsterdam ont fait tant de bruit, et que les Bourguemestres, ont vû en effet que leur commerce en France est si absolument détruit." *Ibid.*, V. 77, September 24, 1685.

permitted only those to settle in Holland who had means. In fact Holland was moved more by the consequences of the revocation than by horror of the act itself.⁵⁴

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⁵⁴ The latent resentment of the Arminians against the Calvinists and their lingering attachment to France comes out as late as 1686 in the order of the States General of March prohibiting the publication of all kinds of gazettes, journals and printed accounts of what had passed in France, and forbidding the printing or selling of any book in which any mention was made of the persecution of the Huguenots.

SOME PHASES OF TENNESSEE POLITICS IN THE JACKSON PERIOD¹

IN the period of Andrew Jackson's supremacy in the political affairs of the United States, the state of Tennessee had but recently emerged from the conditions of frontier life. Out of the struggles of these early years was developed the prominence not only of Jackson himself, but of such men as Hugh Lawson White and Felix Grundy, with whom, for at least a part of their life, the younger men, James K. Polk and John Bell, were contemporary. The leadership of all these Tennesseans and the national positions to which they attained are not explainable on the sole ground of their individual power, but indicate that some special importance in the politics of the time attached to the section and to the state from which they came. The general outlines of this influence have been sketched by others. In this essay the writer has selected for intensive study two of the prominent issues of national politics at that time, with the purpose of investigating closely the relation to these issues and the interest in them of the state of Tennessee. The questions thus selected for analysis are: first, the disposal of public lands; and second, the extension of credit through banking. Each of these matters, it will be conceded, became of the highest importance and gave rise to political controversy in the nation. Our endeavor is to examine the attitude of the state towards them from the standpoint of its own experience.

I. SALES AND DONATIONS OF PUBLIC LANDS.

North Carolina, within whose limits lay the territory that became the state of Tennessee, in 1789 ceded this territory to the United States, but made at the time certain very important stipulations, especially with reference to the payment of her Revolutionary soldiers. Differences in the interpretation of the terms of the cession resulted in a dispute with Tennessee. This in turn led in 1806 to a compromise to which North Carolina, Tennessee and the federal government were parties. The essential part of this agreement was the recognition that land-warrants issued by North Carolina during the preceding years to her Revolutionary soldiers and

¹ Acknowledgment is made of assistance received from the Carnegie Institution of Washington in the preparation of this study.

others must be satisfied by Tennessee, but that Tennessee through her own offices should administer these warrants and ripen them into grants.² Not all the lands of the state, however, were open for the location of these warrants. In the first place, an extensive territory in the eastern and southeastern parts of the state had long been reserved by North Carolina for the Cherokees. This included the three divisions later described as (a) the "District South of French Broad and Holston", (b) the "Hiwassee District" and (c) the "Ocoee District". To the history of this reservation, with which henceforth North Carolina had nothing more to do, we shall refer below. Secondly, Congress reserved to the United States all the lands west and south of a certain line, known as the "Congressional Reservation" line. This line ran up the Tennessee River from the Kentucky boundary towards the southern limits of Tennessee, then turned to the east of the river and then to the southern boundary. All the territory between the Tennessee and the Mississippi rivers, and a lesser area lying east of the Tennessee, were thus set off, as being to the west and south of this line. Between these two reservations, one in the east and one in the west, lay the great central part of the state. In this the North Carolina warrants might be located, subject to but one limitation—the extinction of the Indian title. By 1806, the time of the compromise, the Indians had ceded nearly all of this section of the state.³

In contrast with the legislation enacted for the Northwest Territory, Congress established no land-offices in Tennessee and made no insistence upon a plan of rectangular mensuration. The state laws were in this respect entirely inadequate, and consequently the old colonial system of metes and bounds went on almost without change.⁴ The various and often conflicting rights to land under the old land-laws gave rise to endless litigation, which employed most of the time of the courts and the lawyers of Tennessee.⁵ The social and economic effects of the land-system were most important

² See the Land Laws in Haywood and Cobbs, *The Statute Laws of the State of Tennessee*, II, 7-15, where the Cession Act, the Tennessee Laws, the Acts of North Carolina and the Act of Congress of 1806 are given in full.

³ On the Indian cessions that concerned Tennessee, and the interest of the state in the removal of the Indian tribes, see an article by the writer in the *Sewanee Review* for July, 1908.

⁴ This is reflected in the Land Office map of the United States, where Tennessee and Kentucky are distinguished from the other states formed out of the public domain by the absence of the rectangular demarcation of townships and sections. See Whitney, *The Land Laws of Tennessee*; the Tennessee Reports; Haywood and Cobbs, II.

⁵ One writer has said "The history of public lands in this state is the history of confusion." Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, p. 232.

—indeed lay at the bottom of the social and political structure of the state. In connection with banking and credit, with regard to internal improvement, in relation to the speculation which characterized Tennessee no less than other Western states, and in its bearing on the institution of slavery—in all these ways the land-system was fundamentally involved. Certain phases of the land-question, however, are for our present purposes more interesting than others. We shall therefore limit this discussion to two points: first, to certain later developments in the method of land-sales in Tennessee; and secondly, to the position of those settlers known as “occupants” under the Tennessee land-law, and the proposal to donate to these small amounts of land free of any cost of purchase.

The administration of the North Carolina warrants brought no revenue to Tennessee; such income could be obtained only from the lands which the state could sell. Prospectively, all the eastern reservation referred to above would come to Tennessee after the removal of the Indians. At the time of the compromise only one-third was given her by Congress. This was the district south of the French Broad and the Holston, and even here the right of the state to sell the lands was made subject to important restrictions. A certain amount of the lands was to be devoted to colleges and academies, the rights of the “occupant” settlers were carefully guarded, and, above all, except to these occupants, Tennessee was forbidden to sell its land at any price lower than that charged at the land-offices of the United States, which was then a minimum of \$2.00 per acre. This Tennessee regarded as excessively high. The result was the adoption of the credit system, and a painful manifestation of its worst features, including delay and petitions for relief. The land-debtors formed a sectional interest, and the educational institutions suffered greatly.⁶

In 1819, through the extinction of the Indian title by Calhoun's treaty of that year, Tennessee got control of the second block of land in East Tennessee,⁷ the Hiwassee District, which by the agreement of 1806 was not subject to the claims of North Carolina warrant-holders. This land could, therefore, be sold by Tennessee, which thus obtained the opportunity of adopting a better method of survey and sale, whereby a large sum of money might be brought

⁶ The details of this are to be found in the monograph by Hon. E. T. Sanford, *Blount College and the University of Tennessee*, pp. 41-59. Compare with this the experience of the national government as described in Emerick, *The Credit System and the Public Domain*.

⁷ In addition to that south of the French Broad and the Holston mentioned above.

into the state treasury. A better method of survey was adopted: a plan of rectangular mensuration under state not federal offices. As to selling the land, however, the old plan of credit sales was continued and another class of land-debtors established.⁸ But while the matter was before the legislature, a new plan was suggested. The public lands committee of the state legislature included among its members Felix Grundy, Pleasant M. Miller and J. C. Mitchell. The last named now proposed, in lieu of the credit system, a graduation in the price of the lands offered for sale. Mitchell argued that competition to secure the best land would keep the prices up and that only the really less valuable land would bring the lower prices, while the great advantage would be the removal of the evils of the credit system.

Grundy and Miller, Mitchell said at a later time, treated his proposals with levity, and carried the assembly against him; but he brought the matter up again and again, and, in 1823 after he had retired from the legislature, his friends finally passed a law to offer at graduated prices the large amount of lands in the Hiwassee District that remained unsold from the first land-sales of 1820.⁹ Occupants were given preference of entry for six months at \$1.50 an acre. At the end of this period the lands not bought and paid for were to be offered for general sale for three months at that price. The price should then be reduced to \$1.00, with preference to the occupants for three months and then general sale for the same time. Thus the price should be gradually reduced till it reached 25 cents. Then after two months it should fall to 12½ cents—the minimum fixed at that time.

This was in a small district in Tennessee. In the Senate of the United States, in the meanwhile, the champion of the public land states was strenuously urging further modifications in the land-system, especially the land-sales, of the United States. The credit system had already given way to that of cash purchases; rights of pre-emption had been granted. Now, in 1824, Thomas Hart Benton introduced his bill to graduate the price of the public lands of the United States. Tennessee was of course well known to Benton; indeed it was probably during his sojourn in that state that the land-question first interested him.¹⁰ The Tennessee senators at Washington were in touch with him, and supported his land-measures.

⁸ Act of 1819, ch. 59.

⁹ Mitchell's account of his plan is found in *American State Papers*, folio, Public Lands, V. 515. The Act of 1823, ch. 26, made some modifications of detail.

¹⁰ Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I. 102-103.

We might be justified then in assuming that in this proposal of the system of graduated prices he was acquainted with and influenced by Tennessee's experience. The assumption is however unnecessary, for there is direct evidence on this point. In 1828, in his arguments before the Senate, he used letters from Mitchell and from Nathan Smith of Tennessee to show how the experiment was thought to have worked. Smith, the entry-taker of the Hiwassee District, wrote sending figures as to the amount of land sold at the graduated rates. To these statistics he added:

I have no doubt that, if the Congress of the United States could witness the good effect that this law has had on the citizens of our little district, (not more than forty miles square,) your bill would pass almost unanimously. The price graduated at periodical times (and the land marked out, that the enterer knows exactly what he gets for his money) creates an unheard-of stimulus among all classes of citizens to become landholders. I know many men in this district who, when the law passed graduating the price, etc., were not worth fifty dollars on earth, that never before owned a foot of land, so soon as they found land within their reach used every exertion, and by their industry and good management got themselves money and entered land that makes them good homes, and they are now respectable members of society. It was not uncommon for many of them to spare their last horse, and some their last cow, to save their homes; and I know some men that could not get enough for their only horse in this district to enter them a quarter section, when, at fifty cents per acre, they got on their horse, rode him to Georgia, and sold him, and walked back with their cash in their pockets, and entered their land that they are now making a good living on; and it is gratifying to have it to say that very little of the land here was entered or purchased for speculation.¹¹

Thus much for the change in Tennessee from the credit system to that of graduated prices. In 1837 the latter plan was again adopted for the sale of the land in the Ocoee District—the third Cherokee strip in East Tennessee—of which the state secured possession after the treaty of removal in 1835. We pass to another phase of the same matter—a phase which involved not only the land-purchaser and the warrant-holder, but those who, having neither purse nor scrip, yet wished to establish their homes on the lands of Tennessee.

The class to which we allude was dignified, in the laws, by the name "occupants": a more familiar word, perhaps, is "squatters". The distinction between these and warrant-holders must be clearly borne in mind. The latter were armed with legal authority from North Carolina to receive a certain amount of land; the former were at the mercy of the legislature, which had however a generous heart. In the fundamental land-law of North Carolina of 1777, that

¹¹ *American State Papers*, V. 514.

state had given to occupants a preference of entry, and when the North Carolina cession was made, certain groups of occupants already seated on their lands were protected in their occupancy by the terms of that agreement.¹² Elsewhere, those who had established occupancy on lands to which the Indian title was not extinguished usually were allowed, if they could get hold of any warrants, to locate these to cover their homesteads and improvements. But in comparison with the warrant-holder, or the land-purchaser at public sales, their title was necessarily insecure and their position precarious.

West of the line drawn by Congress in 1806, the United States, as we have said, reserved the land, and no warrant could legally be laid down. This however did not prevent the speculator who held warrants from North Carolina from retaining surveys that antedated the restriction by Congress, or from travelling through the "Congressional Reservation" (in possession for the most part of the Chickasaws) and locating, at least in his mind, the tracts which he coveted, meanwhile biding his time till Congress should extinguish the Indian title and throw open the country to white settlement. In 1818 this actually happened: Congress acted on the plea that the lands north and east of the "Congressional Reservation" line were insufficient to satisfy the warrants of North Carolina, and opened to these the lands from which they had hitherto been excluded.¹³ A burst of speculation and a wild rush of settlement followed.¹⁴ Vast numbers of warrants were laid down; and many rushed to "occupy", hoping to secure some right which later, when a warrant should be secured, might ripen into a grant; or if they were lucky and long undisturbed, even without a warrant some day might make the land their own. The land that lay between warranted tracts it was customary to speak of as "waste" or "vacant and unappropriated" land; and here especially was opportunity for the occupant.

In 1821 when the first rush was over and the good lands all granted, another provision of the Act of 1806, hitherto largely neglected, was brought to public notice. This was the requirement¹⁵ that one-sixteenth of the land of the original district east of the line should be appropriated to schools. Apparently as a result of Maryland's proposal that Congress should make to the old states land-grants commensurate with those given to the new states, an invest-

¹² See the long series of occupancy laws in Haywood and Cobbs, II.

¹³ Act of Congress, 1818, ch. 35. 3 *U. S. Statutes*, p. 416.

¹⁴ Act of Tennessee, 1819, ch. 1, was intended to regulate this.

¹⁵ *Id.*, 1806, ch. 1, § 6.

gation was made, and it was found that the satisfaction of the North Carolina warrants had nullified the provision as to schools and that out of all the lands in this part of the state only a little over 22,000 acres were available.¹⁶ Application was then made to Congress for authority to sell for the support of common schools the waste or refuse lands in the eastern and middle parts of the state. This was granted,¹⁷ and the lands were sold at reduced prices, much of what is now valuable coal and mineral land bringing one cent an acre.¹⁸ Shortly after, a similar attempt was made with regard to the waste lands south and west of the line; and the Congressional delegation of Tennessee were instructed to use their best efforts to win the consent of Congress for the sale of these lands also for the sake of education.¹⁹ After failure in the Eighteenth Congress,²⁰ the matter was taken up in the Nineteenth by James K. Polk, then a representative from the sixth district of Tennessee and a member of the House Committee of Public Lands, and a bill was brought in which passed two readings.²¹ In 1828 he again succeeded in reporting from the committee a bill to grant the desired right.²² Thus far he had had the support of the entire delegation from Tennessee, but next year the whole scheme was suddenly blocked by the action of the representative from the Western District, the backwoodsman, David Crockett.

Crockett was something of a political whirligig. In 1827 he had voted against Jackson for senator, but later had come to Congress as an anti-tariff Jacksonian. In 1828 he wrote home speaking of Jackson in the most loyal terms.²³ In January of 1829 however he stirred up a fight with the whole Tennessee delegation—which, as we have said, was endeavoring to secure from Congress a cession of the western waste lands for education—by proposing that a certain amount of this land should be given outright to the occupants.²⁴ Polk and the other representative from Tennessee tried to placate Crockett with an amendment guarding the rights of the occupants to their settlements on the land in question,²⁵ but Crockett had found assistance in the ranks of the opposition, and,

¹⁶ *Niles's Register*, XXI. 299 ff.

¹⁷ 5 *U. S. Statutes*, p. 729.

¹⁸ Acts of Tennessee, 1823, ch. 49; 1825, ch. 64.

¹⁹ *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 325-329.

²⁰ *Annals of Congress*, 18 Cong., 1 sess., II. 1754.

²¹ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 19 Cong., 1 sess., p. 240.

²² *Congressional Debates*, 1827-1828, vol. IV., part II., p. 2495.

²³ Manuscript letter of Crockett, Tennessee Historical Society.

²⁴ *Congressional Debates*, V. 161.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

apparently, was being used by them. At any rate the occupants were by him placed before the schools. In the Congressional debates and in the newspapers of Tennessee the matter was thrashed out, while Polk's letters show the disgust of the Tennessee representatives and Judge White (then senator), and their combination to report Crockett to the home constituency.²⁶

The result was that Crockett went over to the other side and strenuously opposed the measures of Jackson's administration. In the grand rally of the Jackson party in 1835 he was opposed by one of the stalwarts, Adam Huntsman, and his defeat by this one-legged rival is the traditional reason for his departure for Texas, where he won a greater fame by his tragic death at the Alamo. In his case the personal and political factors lent an added importance to what seemed to be a local quarrel, for the secession of Crockett to the opposition was the first open break in the solid phalanx of Jacksonism in Tennessee.

Crockett's defection rendered nugatory for many years the attempt to get the West Tennessee lands for the schools.²⁷ The attempt is interesting, however, both because of the circumstances behind it in Tennessee, and as a part of a common movement for education which led many states to ask for grants of land. The broadening of the question in Tennessee to a national basis is revealed in a resolution which was introduced in the Tennessee assembly of 1829, but was not adopted until 1831. This resolution urged that all the vacant lands of the United States might be sold at graduated prices, and the receipts constitute a fund for education to be divided among the states and territories as might be equal and just.²⁸

Thus in the history of the public lands of Tennessee there were two opposing tendencies: one looked to the revenue of the state from the sale of its lands, and the appropriation of this revenue to state banking capital, internal improvements, educational institutions of higher or lower grade, or other state enterprises; on the other hand, the interest of the poorer settlers and the desire to increase rapidly the population of the state appeared in the liberality towards the occupant and in the suggestion of free grants of land. The plan of selling at graduated prices exhibited a combination of the two principles: it was claimed that more land would

²⁶ Letters of Polk, Judge White and others, in Polk MSS., Library of Congress.

²⁷ After many further applications by Tennessee the lands were finally given to the state by Congress, by the Acts of 1841, ch. 7, and 1846, ch. 92. 5 *U. S. Statutes*, p. 412, and 9, p. 66.

²⁸ Acts of Tennessee, 1831, resolution no. 15.

be sold to individuals, and there would be no less revenue. On the stage of national politics the same ideas, the same opposition, the same suggestion of compromise, appeared in larger form,²⁹ with an additional matter for contention in the proposal that the proceeds of the sales of the public domain be distributed to the states. It was in the Jackson period that the land policy of the country became of fresh importance, and Jackson's own opinions were clearly stated in his annual message of December 4, 1832, and in his veto message of one year later.

In the debate over Foot's resolution—which to the West was by no means "apparently harmless"—Felix Grundy, one of the senators from Tennessee, declared that he was willing to adopt a policy of graduating the price of the public lands, and, with regard to actual settlers, to go as far as any man in or out of the Senate. It was "good policy to convert Eastern tenants into Western freeholders". He would not limit this to those already in occupation, but give all citizens who would settle on the surveyed lands a quarter section at fifty cents an acre, provided they would remain on the lands two years and raise two crops on it. What his colleague, Colonel Crockett, of the other House, called "refuse land", he would—after all the good land had been sold—relinquish to the states.³⁰ In this the connection between the state and the national questions is obvious, as is also the tendency towards cheaper land-prices and away from the idea of revenue. The logical outcome of this tendency, so much urged by Benton, and so long delayed by bitter strife, was the Homestead legislation of later years.

II. THE TENNESSEE BANKS AND THE NASHVILLE BRANCH OF THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, 1817-1829.

In the rush towards the extension of banking which followed the War of 1812, many new banks were established in Tennessee, and the capital and the branches of the old ones were increased. The old banks were two in number, the Nashville Bank and the Bank of the State of Tennessee at Knoxville. The latter was most creditably managed under the presidency of Hugh Lawson White, but after White entered the Senate of the United States the business of the numerous branches (including one at Nashville) was closed, and that of the parent bank was relatively not important. Nashville was the centre of financial as well as political power.

When the flush times after the war were followed by the panic

²⁹ Turner, *Rise of the New West*, pp. 141-143, 286.

³⁰ *Congressional Debates*, April 2, 1830, vol. VI., part I., p. 212.

of 1819, the newly established banks in Tennessee broke, and the Nashville Bank and the branch of the Knoxville Bank located at Nashville suspended specie payments. Like other Western states, Tennessee was becoming rapidly settled and was speculating largely in lands, and in the reaction suffered severely. As elsewhere it was claimed that the pressure came from the outside rather than from conditions within the state, and the responsibility was laid at the door of the Second Bank of the United States. Upon the merits of this latter institution, when it first began operations and when it was proposed to establish a branch in Nashville, opinion was strongly divided. Felix Grundy with other citizens of Nashville was very solicitous for a branch; but the opposition was too strong, and the legislature levied a tax of \$50,000 on banking institutions not chartered by the state. Even after this law had been passed, the promoters of the branch scheme did not give up hope, but the bank preferred to test the constitutionality of such laws in other states, and Tennessee was left to wait ten years for a branch.

Meanwhile, stirred by the disasters of 1819, Felix Grundy effected a combination with the warm-hearted governor, Joseph McMinn, and in 1820 the legislature was called in special session to add some further measure of "relief" to the "stay" laws which had been passed the year before. This originally appeared in the form of a "Loan-Office", but before the legislature had finished its work, it had substituted the second "Bank of the State of Tennessee". In some accounts of this institution, the impression is given that it was copied after the similar state bank of Kentucky. The reverse is true: this Tennessee bank preceded both that in Kentucky and that in Missouri. Its charter was distinctly a sectional measure, carried through by the western votes against the intense opposition of East Tennessee; even in the west there was a strong element against the bank. Into the debate over the matter burst Andrew Jackson, who for some time had not taken any active part in the politics of the state, but who now used every effort to kill the bank fathered by Grundy—a situation amusingly in contrast with the relations of the two in later days. Answering a letter from Lewis in which that cautious politician had remonstrated against the general's heat, and had remarked that he saw no difference between the land-office and the bank, so far as constitutionality was concerned, Jackson wrote:

You know my opinion as to the Banks, that is, that the constitution of our State, as well as the constitution of the United States prohibited the Establishment of Banks in any state,—and that such a thing as loan

offices by a state for the purpose of creating a fund out of the property of the State for the payment of individual debts certainly is a power not granted by any provisions of the state constitution, and is unheard of, and prohibited by the principles of general Justice to the people: if even the constitution would permit it.³¹

Continuing, he says that matters might be so arranged as to "enable the Banks to lend more relief than this wicked law will do to the distressed—for in my opinion it will relieve none—the notes must depreciate, its credit will sink, and the farmers will not receive it—it will destroy our credit abroad. No merchant will be credited abroad and every cent of current money in the state will be shut up, this law destroying all confidence at home between man and man." He hopes to prevent the passage of the loan-office bill but "be that as it may, it will as long as I live meet my opposition."

The special purpose of the new state bank, as outlined in its charter,³² was to relieve the distresses of the community and to improve the revenue of the state. The method for reaching these desirable ends was, in brief, to lend to poor debtors, on mortgages, small sums of money in bills based on revenue to be derived from land-sales in the Hiwassee District. The state's ordinary revenue was also pledged, and the bank was made the depository of the state. The bank started in the midst of a general suspension of specie payments; and the bills were made payable not only for all taxes due to the state and to the counties, but also for all interest payments to the colleges and academies from those who owed them money for lands. Agents were appointed in the several counties to loan out the bills to those who wished them. Provision was made for an issue of state stock to the amount of \$250,000; but none was issued. Stay of execution for debt for the period of two years was permitted unless these bills were accepted by the creditor; a provision which was nullified by a decision of the supreme court of the state in 1821.³³

Such, in outline, were the main features of this bank. It began operations with the return of good crops and general prosperity, and, under the management of conscientious directors and the jealous surveillance of Governor Carroll, for some time pursued a conservative course. With this bank, the Nashville Bank and the branch of the Bank of Tennessee. (of Knoxville), Nashville and

³¹ Ford MSS., Lenox Library, New York. This letter is printed in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, IV. 189-190.

³² Act of 1820, chs. 7, 8, July 25, 1820.

³³ *Townsend vs. Townsend*, 1821, *Peck's Reports*, p. 1. The case really referred to the stay-law of 1819.

West Tennessee were at least sufficiently provided with banking facilities. Yet in five years there was apparently room for another bank, this time a private institution conducted by Messrs. Yeatman, Woods and Company. As the summer of 1826 approached, the banks, spurred on by Governor Carroll and the legislature, made ready to resume. On September 1, 1826, all the banks did resume;³⁴ but trouble was ahead, and very soon banking matters were again brought into the forefront of state politics. In less than three months, the evils of the enormous amount of notes formerly issued resulted in a run on the Nashville Bank which withdrew \$260,000 of its funds; and it was obliged once more to suspend.³⁵ After several years its affairs were adjusted. Meanwhile it transacted no further business.

This catastrophe, in 1826, was followed however by a new development, or rather the reappearance of an old one, to which we must now turn. Whether *post hoc* in this case really means *propter hoc* is not certain; but just after the suspension of the Nashville Bank, a bill was begun in the legislature (then in called session) to repeal the Act of 1817 which had effected the exclusion of the Bank of the United States.

In Professor Catterall's *History of the Second Bank of the United States* there are cited two letters from McLivaine, cashier of the bank at Philadelphia, to Nicholas Biddle, which state that Colonel William Robinson of Pittsburgh, who was in Nashville while the debate over the repeal of the law of 1817 was in progress, positively declared that General Jackson had done everything in his power to prevent the repeal of the law, and that the repeal was carried in one of the houses by one vote.³⁶ The journals of the legislature then sitting recount at least one visit by General Jackson, for on November 12 the House adjourned "to gratify the wishes of the favorite of Tennessee".³⁷ In the Lower House, the bill to repeal the Act of 1817 passed its second reading by a vote of 24 to 12.³⁸ No special exhibition of sectionalism appeared in this, except that the middle and western sections of the state with their larger vote were in favor of repeal while East Tennessee was evenly divided. Nor were any party lines evident, as Jackson men voted on both sides. On the third reading there does not even seem to have been a division.³⁹ In the senate, however, the case was different. Here the

³⁴ *Nashville Banner and Whig*, September 2, 1826.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, November 18, 1826.

³⁶ Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States*, p. 183, note.

³⁷ *House Journal*, 1826, p. 132.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

on the second reading was 11 to 8,⁴⁰ and on the third, 10 to 9.⁴¹ It seems to bear out McIlvaine's statement, but there is no mention in the papers of any personal effort of Jackson to stop the repeal. Nor is there any suggestion of hostility on the part of the bank towards Jackson. The negative arguments were the old ones of 1819—the ownership of the stock by Europeans, the buying up of property in Frankfort and Cincinnati, the failure to bring specie to the West. What Tennessee needed was real capital, not ideal capital. The branches were not banks, but brokers' offices. It was better to have Yeatman, Woods and Company than a president from the Eastern states.⁴² On the other side Gibbs, who introduced and reported the bill, used chiefly commercial arguments. He tried to explain the operations of a branch, and to show that it would facilitate commerce, especially in affording exchange on Philadelphia, for which it was necessary now to draw money from the Tennessee banks and to go to Louisville. He emphasized the well-known unconstitutionality of such laws as those he wished repealed. He declared that more banking capital was needed. The \$400,000 Nashville Bank paper would be withdrawn. The remaining circulation would be that of the State Bank in Nashville, about \$175,000, Yeatman, Woods and Company, \$100,000, the old State Bank (Knoxville), \$100,000; in all \$375,000. He calculated the specie equal to \$200,000. The state exported every year \$2,000,000 in specie; without the proposed branch, there would be altogether little capital.⁴³

In the early part of 1827, the branch began operations. Little is heard of its activities during the next months. The legislature of 1826, which had repealed the prohibition of 1817, had devoted far more time to a measure "to prevent the depreciation of the Nashville Bank paper in the hands of the good people of the state".⁴⁴ The same matter was still under discussion when the assembly met a year later.⁴⁵

Throughout 1828 and the early part of 1829, the campaign and aftermath filled the columns of the newspapers. The flurry of content that greeted the announcement of Jackson's cabinet appointments, and the protests of prominent Tennesseans like Pleasant Miller were discussed in the papers, but curiously little is said

⁴⁰ *Senate Journal*, 1826, pp. 164-165.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

⁴² *Nashville Banner and Whig*, November 25, 1826.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Act of 1826, ch. 41.

⁴⁵ Act of 1827, ch. 47.

out banking in the state, and nothing about the Bank of the United States. In the summer of 1829, however, the entire failure of a member of the bar was announced, and it was added that this involved a number of citizens in difficulty. The bankruptcy was attributed to speculations, endorsements and the purchase of real estate.⁴⁶ This was early in June. Two weeks later the quiet was broken by a violent attack upon the branch of the United States bank in Nashville.

As the Nashville Bank had now withdrawn from active business, and the Bank of the State—as would appear a little later—was upon the verge of a similar fate, the Nashville branch had already had an opportunity for rapid expansion which it was not slow to embrace. The very quiet concerning its affairs thus far is explicable chiefly on the basis of its generosity in making loans. However this might be, now, in the middle of June, 1829, in a series of letters addressed to “the cultivators of the soil and the laboring people of Tennessee” Justice Catron of the supreme court of Tennessee advanced the proposal, somewhat startling as coming from a lawyer, that no one should be bound for the debt or default of another by writing or otherwise, an exception being made in the case of suretyships entered into in courts of justice.⁴⁷

One would suspect that something lay behind such a proposition from such a source; and the letters of Catron clearly show that his real purpose was to denounce the excessive loans and the yet more excessive usury of the branch bank at Nashville. Such usury, he declared, amounted to 10 per cent. per month. Apart from general rhetorical denunciation of the practice of endorsing or others, Catron's more specific allegations were as follows. The bank, he said, drew from Tennessee \$170,000 a year in interest, which never returned. This was taxation without representation. It could own in property \$20,000,000, as much as was paid for Louisiana, and could sweep into its vaults all the coin in the country. This was irresponsible power. Its enormous capital was exempt from taxation. The bonus paid for the charter was not an equivalent for this, and was amply compensated for by the bank's right to wield twenty millions of fictitious capital, by its power to buy up the people's houses and land, and by its possession of twenty millions a year of the government's deposits.

But the most interesting points brought forward by Justice Catron remain to be told. First should be noted his statement of the

⁴⁶ *Nashville Banner and Whig*, June 2, 1829.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, June 16, 26, 30, July 3, 1829.

inflation brought about by the branch in Nashville. The branch had been established two years, and had in that time loaned upwards of \$2,000,000. This charge was made by others, and in the light of later developments may be regarded as true.

Secondly, Catron urged that no one could deny that the most momentous political question before the people was that of rechartering the bank. The charter expired March 3, 1836; the corporation's "immense anxiety" to have it renewed was known. Members of the assembly were to be elected in August and a senator in September. A resolution might be brought into the next assembly, requesting the Tennessee representatives to vote against the recharter. Hence the necessity that every one's mind should be fixed.

In the third place, Catron declared that all this was not newly thought of, but was of long standing. "Some of us, gentlemen, have for years been pledged to stand together boldly and firmly, when the day should arrive for the execution of a policy new in these States, and which is to be great in effect, I grant, but we have counted the cost." To this point we shall recur later.

Lastly, in a note to one of his letters, he urged, that if a bank were necessary it should be national in principle and not in name only, and suggested a plan for such a bank.⁴⁸

Catron's radical suggestions regarding "securityships" met with no support from others and indeed played a small part in his later letters; but his attack on the usurious practices and the excessive loans of the branch bank was backed up by several others. On the other side the most able writer, "Haywood", attacked Catron bitterly. He denied that such proposals had been long considered or had authority. On the contrary they were of recent concoction. The scheme was a political dodge of Catron and another individual to affect the elections. Regarding this project, "Haywood" said:

Call to mind that General Jackson is very hostile to the Bank of the United States, and has expressed sentiments very similar to those con-

⁴⁸ Letter in *Nashville Banner* of July 3. The directors should be appointed by the President and Senate, and Congress should have an annual visitation by committee and authority to correct abuses. Branches should be established on petition of the legislatures of the states, but should have a capital equal only to the amount of the stock subscribed to the mother bank by the state and the citizens thereof. The directors of the branches should be appointed by the legislatures, as in the state banks, and, if these failed to appoint, by the President and Senate. If the bank violated its charter, a quo warranto should be employed. The individual stock in the mother bank should pay a reasonable tax to the United States, and that of the branches, to the states, the rate to be fixed in the charter. Compare with this Felix Grundy's letter to Andrew Jackson, October 22, 1829, Jackson MSS., Library of Congress.

additional federal judges will probably be appointed by the President by and with the advice of the Senate.

Catron was looking in this direction, and, if this failed, the state courts would be reorganized and Catron might become chief justice.⁴⁹ "Haywood" was at least a good prophet.

When in September the assembly met, the discussion of Catron's letters was still in full swing. Soon, however, the legislature's interest was diverted to other matters, especially to the condition of the State Bank. The Bank of the United States did not, however, escape attention. At the very first, the acting governor, William Hall, referred to the condition of the currency and condemned usury and the excessive rates of note-shavers. In a rather noncommittal way he then proceeded to remark that there was some dissatisfaction with the influence and tendencies of the Branch Bank of the United States. The amount of stock held by Tennesseans was limited.⁵⁰ A week later there was received the first report for this year from the Bank of the State. The statistics of this report he may omit; but it must be noted that the officers complained of the pressure upon all the local institutions by the establishment of the Branch Bank of the United States. This pressure was believed to be due to the policy of the mother bank, requiring the branches to discount on their own paper exclusively. An effort had been made by the directors to have this requirement dispensed with, but it had been unavailing, despite the good will of the president and directors of the branch at this place.⁵¹

Carroll, the new governor, said nothing about the branch; but at the assembly resolutions were introduced against the Bank of the United States. That which finally passed and appears on the statute-book premised that the extension of the charter of the United States Bank was "not consistent with sound policy", and instructed the senators and requested the representatives of Tennessee to vote against such extension, if it should be attempted before the next session of the general assembly. Meanwhile this resolution was to be printed with the acts in order that the people might be informed and instruct their representatives.⁵²

Thus, in rather conservative tones, was the first official criticism

⁴⁹ Letters of "Haywood", *Nashville Banner and Whig*, August 21, 28, September 29, 1829.

⁵⁰ *Senate Journal*, 1829, September 21.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, September 28.

⁵² Acts of Tennessee, 1829, resolution no. 19.

of the Bank of the United States set forth in Tennessee. Of the "Bank War", though it belongs to national politics, this much may be said. The developments in Tennessee thus far described—Catron's letters, the discussion of them, the introduction of the hostile resolution—took place before the President's message of December, 1829, had reached Tennessee. We know now that Jackson had intended to raise the question as to the bank in his inaugural address, but upon advice waited till his first annual message.⁵³ The query that then suggests itself is this: Was Catron's attack merely a self-initiated measure to further his own political interests, or was it a move on the part of that practiced band of politicians around Jackson to test the sentiment of Tennessee and confirm the ideas already entertained by Jackson by enlarging on the dangers that were appearing in the course pursued by the bank in Tennessee? Catron, without doubt, was close to Jackson and his advisers: he did soon become chief justice in Tennessee, and later gave support to the President in the strife over the removal of the Cherokee Indians. Whether the latter hypothesis be true or not, the controversy that we have related at least makes it certain that Jackson's hostility to the bank, and, moreover, his wish for some reorganization, were already well known in Tennessee. On the other hand, that the sentiment of the state against the bank was not at this time strong or decided is easily discernible in the spirited answers to Catron, in the reticence of Governor Hall, in the moderate form of the assembly's resolution in the comment of the *Banner and Whig*, a few weeks later, in the part of Jackson's message which referred to the bank, *viz.*, that it was premature, but that it was just as well for the issue to be stated early in order that both friends and foes might know of it, and finally in the ease with which a bank party was later developed.⁵⁴

Before bringing this paper to a close, we must revert briefly to the Bank of the State of Tennessee, which at our last mention of it was declaiming against the branch in Nashville. The days of this institution were numbered: its commercial business was small, and it had only about \$40,000 of notes in circulation.⁵⁵ In his first

⁵³ Polk's inquiry (in 1833) as to this point, and Jackson's definite answer endorsed in his own writing upon the back of Polk's letter, are in the Polk MSS. in the Library of Congress.

⁵⁴ *Nashville Banner and Whig*, December 18, 1829.

⁵⁵ Jackson was kept informed of the iniquities of the branch. A letter of A. Balch to Jackson dated Nashville, January 8, 1830, comments on the extravagance fostered by the branch. "What now remains of the wreck produced by these splendid follies will after a few years be seized by the Mammoth Bank Jackson MSS., Library of Congress.

⁵⁶ Report of Bank, *Senate Journal*, 1829, September 28.

message, Governor Carroll had thoroughly analyzed its shortcomings and had strongly urged that its affairs be wound up at once.⁵⁷ The assembly proceeded to a searching examination, and soon found that there were evidences of mismanagement, not only at the agencies, but at the principal bank. The cashier, finding himself under suspicion, made off with the books of the bank, and refused to give them up, declaring he would rather suffer imprisonment than reveal the names of those whom, he maintained, he had permitted to overdraw, but who were perfectly good. In order to get the books, the committee had suspended prosecution. A subcommittee had examined these books, but as some accounts had not been posted or balanced for eighteen months or two years, an investigation would be impossible at this session.⁵⁸

This disastrous failure of the State Bank came at a most inopportune time politically. The *Lynchburg Virginian* did not miss the chance to allege that Parrish, the defaulting cashier, was the agent of the Nashville "white-washing" committee and was suffering in silence to protect those whom he had helped with the bank's funds. Jackson had come to the rescue, sending \$125,000 from Washington, which he had saved out of his first year's salary. The *Nashville Republican* retorted with scorn that both Jackson and Adams men were among those who had overdrawn, that Parrish's attorney was an Adams man, that the cashier's favors had been personal, not political, and that not even Jackson could save \$125,000 out of a \$25,000 salary.⁵⁹

There was indeed a good deal of mystery about the matter; but more important than the alleged scandal was the fact that the bank was wound up. Thereby, save for the relatively small competition of Yeatman, Woods and Company, an open field was left to the branch bank. This pursued its generous policy some time longer,⁶⁰ in spite of remonstrance from the principal bank. Later the attempt was made to contract, and this, as always, quickly raised enemies. Meanwhile there were projects for a new state bank.

The interesting continuation of this subject through the next decade of political strife must be deferred to another occasion. In this paper—to summarize—it has been shown, first, that the ad-

⁵⁷ Carroll's message, *Senate Journal*, October 5.

⁵⁸ Report of Committee, *ibid.*, 1830, January 14.

⁵⁹ *Nashville Republican*, April 23, 1830, citing the *Lynchburg Virginian* of March 25. The two papers wrangled over the matter for some weeks.

⁶⁰ See Polk's minority report of March 2, 1833, *House Reports*, no. 121, 22 Cong., 2 sess.

ministration of the public lands within the state was a matter of vital interest to Tennessee, both as to the methods of sale and still more with reference to the conflicting interests of the schools and the occupants; and secondly, that these local issues established for Tennessee a distinct point of view in the discussion of the national questions of the same sort, involving the fundamental opposition of the idea of revenue and the idea of speedy settlement. With regard to banking, it has been demonstrated that Tennessee was again typical of the West, undergoing painful experiments with state banks, speculation and stay-laws. Secondly, though originally predisposed to hostility against the Bank of the United States, Tennessee, or rather the dominant western portion of the state, was yet quite willing to accept the benefits of a branch of the great bank, so long as times were good and credit was easy, and only gradually listened to and joined in the attack on that institution, which was begun in the year of Jackson's inauguration. Finally, all the evidence from Tennessee sources seems to give support to the belief of recent writers that the "Bank War" was of Jackson's own making, the outcome of an old and deep-rooted aversion to corporate money-power and inflated credit, rather than the result of any particular circumstances of party strife immediately connected with his election to the presidency.

ST. GEORGE LEAKIN SIOUSSAT.

DOCUMENTS

Letters of Sir George Simpson, 1841-1843.

THE documents printed herewith were copied from papers preserved in the Public Record Office at London. All except the first are from the pen of Sir George Simpson; that one, a letter from Sir John Pelly to Lord Aberdeen, is included because it makes an admirable introduction for the Simpson letters, besides possessing a distinct historical value of its own.

These papers stand at the beginning of an extended series of Hudson's Bay Company documents which, during the years 1842 to 1846, found their way into the archives of the British government. The Oregon boundary controversy was in its final stages, negotiations between Great Britain and the United States on that subject being practically continuous from the date of Lord Ashburton's mission in the spring of 1842 to June, 1846, when the treaty defining the northern boundary of Oregon was concluded. The Foreign Office was therefore obliged to keep itself posted relative to conditions in the disputed territory, and since the Hudson's Bay Company represented the only important British interest there, and maintained a regular communication between London and the Columbia River, the reports and letters of their agents stationed in Oregon and of other agents who, like Simpson, paid official visits to the country, would naturally assume in the eyes of the government a unique importance. Accordingly, Governor Pelly, of the Hudson's Bay Company, usually forwarded such matter to the Foreign Office.¹ Pelly seems to have done this voluntarily, perhaps in consequence of a general understanding with Lord Aberdeen. Once only, so far as the records show, did the government specifically ask him for information; that was in February, 1845, when the exigencies of diplomacy rendered it necessary for them to obtain without delay the latest advices as to the comparative strength of the British and American settlements in the Oregon country.

¹On July 18, 1846, the Hudson's Bay Company enclosed to the Foreign Office a list of the documents forwarded since the date of Pelly's letter printed herewith. The list, which is incomplete, includes the descriptions of fourteen documents, some of them of considerable length. Copies of these were brought away by the writer, with the permission of the Foreign Office, and they are now preserved, with other documents bearing on the Oregon question found in the British Archives, in the library of the University of Oregon.

The Simpson letter of March 10, 1842, written from Honolulu, differs from all the other Hudson's Bay documents in that it is virtually the report of a government agent after a careful examination of the affairs of the Pacific Coast and islands. Simpson is here writing not for the purpose of giving information to his company about trade conditions, but to inform the government about conditions affecting British interests and prospects in Oregon, in California and in the Sandwich Islands. True, his commission emanated from Lord Palmerston, and his report, quite in keeping with the bold and high-handed diplomacy of that minister, passed into the hands of Lord Aberdeen, a man of very different character. Yet there is abundant evidence to prove that Simpson's recommendations received serious attention. The present writer believes that this letter was one chief cause of the new interest which from that time the government manifested in the settlement of the Oregon question on the one hand, and in the political destiny of California and the Sandwich Islands on the other. As regards the islands, Simpson's visit not only synchronizes with the important political developments connected with the Hawaiian mission to the great powers in 1842-1843, but, according to these documents, Simpson suggested that mission to Tamehameha III. and got himself appointed one of the king's envoys.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

I. LETTER OF SIR JOHN H. PELLY TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.²

HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE, 23rd January, 1843.

My Lord:

I some time ago had the honor of laying before your Lordship a despatch from Sir George Simpson, dated Woahoo³ the 10th March last, respecting the Columbia River, California and the Sandwich Islands, which your Lordship returned to me on the 27th August.

At an interview which you favored me with when delivering that communication, I apprised your Lordship that Sir G. Simpson, filling the office of Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories, was then occupied on a survey of inspection of the Company's settlements and on several business arrangements, rendering it necessary for him to cross the continent of America from Canada to the outlet of the Columbia River; to visit California, the Sandwich Islands, the Russian settlements on the North West Coast of America; thence to cross the Northern Pacific to Ochotsk and to return via Siberia and Russia to England:—and that soon after his arrival in this country, I should do

² Sir John Pelly was governor of the Hudson's Bay Company; Lord Aberdeen was secretary of state for the foreign department. The manuscript of the letter is in "Foreign Office, America, 399; Domestic, Various, January to March, 1843".

³ Oahu.

myself the honor of communicating to your Lordship any further information I might collect from Sir George's Reports, in reference to the countries he had visited, which I might consider likely to be interesting to your Lordship.

In pursuance of that intention I now hand to your Lordship annexed, extracts from Sir George Simpson's despatch dated Vancouver (Columbia River) 25th November, 1841, wherein he reports on the character of some parts of the North American Continent through which he passed;—on the settlement by British subjects and citizens of the United States, of the country on the Banks of the Columbia River, designated in the United States "the Oregon Territory", the conflicting claims to which of Great Britain and the United States form a leading feature of the last message of the President:—on the visit of the United States Discovery Expedition, under the command of Commodore Wilkes, to the Columbia River; on the navigation and prospects of trade of that part of the country and of the North West Coast from the mouth of the Columbia River up to Lat. 54 degrees, 40', the southern Russian boundary:—and on the trade and establishments of the Russian American Company to the northward, of that point.

I further beg to draw your Lordship's attention to the annexed extracts from Sir George's despatch dated Woahoo, 1st March 1842, and to his letter dated Lahaina 24th March, wherein he notices several points not mentioned in his letter of the 10th March in reference to California, its commerce and capabilities, likewise in reference to the trade of the Sandwich Islands and to communications he had with the King and government of these Islands;—and I have likewise to draw your Lordship's attention to extracts from that gentleman's despatches dated Ochotsk 6th July and London 16th November, on the whale fishery of the Northern Pacific, on the trade of the Russian American Company, and narrating the leading features of his travels from New Archangel - - - through Siberia and Russia.

On taking his departure from the Sandwich Islands, Sir George was charged with a letter from Tamahameha III. and Kaukauluohi, the King and Queen Regent of these Islands, addressed to Her Majesty, which I now beg to forward to your Lordship. After writing that letter the Sandwich Islands government came to the determination of sending their principal adviser, or Prime Minister, Mr. William Richards (an American subject who was previously occupied as a missionary at those Islands) in the capacity of envoy to Europe, as noticed in Sir George's letter of 24th March. By a letter of recent date from Mr. Richards, I learn he left the Sandwich Islands in August accompanied by a native chief, Haalilio, for this country, passing by Mexico and the United States, and that he may be expected here from day to day; and as Mr. Richards will in all probability be regulated by the opinion and advice of Mr. Colville, Sir G. Simpson and myself, as to the mode of conveying to your Lordship the object of his mission, I shall in the meantime be glad if your Lordship would favor me with your instructions on that head.

Sir George Simpson is now in London and will in the course of a few weeks hence be prepared to take his departure for Canada and the interior of Hudson's Bay, and as he may be possessed of further information than is conveyed in the accompanying extracts, in reference to the countries through which he has been travelling, which might be

interesting to your Lordship, I beg that your Lordship will be pleased to favor me with an interview accompanied by that gentleman.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Yr. Lordship's mo. obedt. Humb. Svt.

J. H. PELLY Gov.

The Right Honorable,
The Earl of Aberdeen.

II. EXTRACTS FROM DISPATCH OF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON TO THE GOVERNOR, DEPUTY GOVERNOR, AND COMMITTEE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, DATED FORT VANCOUVER, NOVEMBER 25, 1841.⁴

Par. 2.

... From Fort Colvile we descended the Columbia River by boat, touching at Okanogan and Walla Walla and arrived at Fort Vancouver on the 25th August.⁵ . . .

Par. 4.

After crossing the mountains the first permanent establishment I visited was Fort Colvile, which is intended to protect and collect the trade of the upper Columbia, and of the Kootenai and Flathead countries which lie to the north and east of that post. I am concerned to say the returns are gradually diminishing from year to year; this arises from no want of attention to the management of the district, but from the exhausted state of the country, which has been closely wrought for many years without any intermission. In the present unsettled state of the boundary line it would be impolitic to make any attempt to preserve or recruit this once valuable country, as it would attract the attention of the American trappers, so that there is little prospect of any amendment taking place in its affairs. Here there are many extensive tracts of country well adapted for colonization and at Colvile there is an excellent farm, yielding bountiful harvests of maize, wheat, and other crops.

Par. 10.

There is not at present any organized trapping expedition belonging to the United States employed in the Snake country, although there are several straggling parties, the debris of former expeditions. One of these parties headed by a Mr. Frabb⁶ was this season cut off by a party of Scioux, . . . The operations of these trappers being principally confined to the American territory east of the mountains and to the country situated to the southward of Lewis and Clark's River, and eastward of the Buenaventura Valley it cannot be said that they interfere injuriously with us in any shape.

Par. 12.

Resuming the narrative of our voyage—We took our departure from Walla Walla, remaining there but a few hours, and on the 25th August arrived at Fort Vancouver, where the intermittent fever was prevailing as usual at this season of the year. Besides the officers and people belonging to this establishment, I here found Commodore Wilkes, Cap-

⁴ Foreign Office, America, 399; Domestic, Various, January to March, 1843.

⁵ They left Red River July 3.

⁶ Henry Fraeb. See Chittenden, *History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West*, I. 260.

tain Hudson, and other officers of the United States Discovery Expedition. Three of the five discovery vessels were on the river, say, the *Porpoise* sloop of war, the *Flying Fish*, tender; and the *Oregon* (Capt. Thomas Perkins) store ship. The *Peacock* sloop of war had been totally lost on the Columbia bar, a few weeks previous to my arrival, but the officers and crew were providentially saved, and the *Vincennes* corvette, had proceeded from Puget Sound direct to San Francisco, there to await the arrival of Commodore Wilkes, with the other vessels. The expedition was preceded here by the schooner *Wave*, with supplies from the Sandwich Islands for its use. The *Wave*, it will be recollected was the same vessel that had been chartered by the Hon^{ble} Company in the month of November last, for the transport of goods to the Sandwich Islands, and had been rechartered from thence by Commodore Wilkes, for the transport of the supplies in question to the Columbia.

Par. 13.

This expedition was despatched by the United States Government in 1838⁷ . . . the N. W. coast of America, touching at Puget Sound and the Columbia, from whence they intended proceeding to California—thence to the Sandwich Islands: thence to the East Indies, and thence home via Cape of Good Hope. While the expedition was with us, they surveyed the coast from Puget Sound to Fraser's River, made some partial surveys in the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and between Cape Flattery and the mouth of the Columbia. They likewise surveyed the Columbia River from the bar to the Cascade Portage, and the Willamette up to the Falls. They moreover made excursions in the interior, crossing from Puget's Sound to Okanogon, and visiting Forts Colville and Nez Percé; crossed the Cowlitz portage, and closely examined the country on the banks of the Willamette, forwarding a land party through the Buenaventura Valley to San Francisco.⁸

Par. 14.

Every civility and attention were shewn to Commodore Wilkes and his officers, and such facilities afforded them for prosecuting the objects of the expedition as our means would admit, and it is satisfactory to be enabled to say that the Commodore seemed fully to appreciate the attentions shewn to himself, and his officers, as will appear from a letter addressed to Chief Factors McLoughlin and Douglas, copy of which is herewith forwarded. Both at the Sandwich Islands and the Columbia, likewise at Puget Sound, the Expedition received supplies from the Hon^{ble} Company's stores, amounting at this place to £3,500, and at the Islands to £—, for which they paid by drafts as advised in the 62 paragraph.

Par. 15.

Learning that the *Beaver* steamer was, agreeably to previous arrangement, in readiness at Puget Sound to convey me to the North West Coast on a tour of inspection of the posts in that quarter, and on a visit to the Russian American Company's principal depot at Sitka, I took my departure from Fort Vancouver (after a stay there of six

⁷ He traces the movements of the expedition through the southern seas, where it made many discoveries, to the Sandwich Islands.

⁸ All of the above paragraph is quoted in the extracts from Simpson's letter of November 25, 1841, which accompany his letter of March 10, 1842, in Foreign Office, America, 388; the paragraph was emphasized by means of a line drawn along the margin.

days) on the 1st of September, accompanied by Chief Factor Douglas; touched at the pastoral establishment on Multnomah Island, ascended the Cowlitz River, visited the Puget Sound Company's tillage farm at the head of that river, crossed the Cowlitz portage to Nisqually, a distance of from 55 to 60 miles, and reached that establishment on the evening of the 4th.

Par. 16.

Starting from Nisqually . . . on the 6th September, we proceeded northwards between Vancouver's Island and the mainland, passing through the Gulf of Georgia, Johnston's Strait, Queen Charlotte's Sound, and inside Calvert's Island to Fort McLoughlin, situated on an island near Mill Bank Sound (the position of which is in Lat. 52°, 6', Long. 132°, 16') where we arrived on the 15th of September, having of the ten days occupied in getting from Nisqually to Fort McLoughlin been detained wood cutting, trading with the Quakeolths and Newettee Tribes, and wind and fog bound about half the time.

Fort McLoughlin is principally maintained on country provisions, say, fish in great abundance and variety, venison and potatoes; and the natives who were at one time troublesome are now comparatively peaceable towards the establishment, more from a feeling that they are to a certain extent in our power, than from any good disposition towards us.

Par. 16.

We took our departure from Fort McLoughlin on the 16th and passing through Princess Royal and Grenville Canals, and Chatham Sound, arrived at Fort Simpson the following day. This establishment which is the most important on the coast, is situated in about Lat. 54°, 34', Long. 130°, 38' near Dundas Island, and close upon the Russian Southern Boundary. It is visited by a great many Indians occupying the Islands and continental shores to a considerable distance—among whom are the inhabitants of 5 villages on the mainland, likewise by the natives of Queen Charlotte's Island by the inhabitants of Tomgas and by those of Kygarnie, one of the islands forming the Prince of Wales's Archipelago (Russian Territory) in all a population of about 14,000 souls.

There is a complement of two officers and 18 men at this post, where the means of living are abundant, consisting principally of fish, venison, and potatoes, and a large body of Chimseeans have seated themselves down in the neighborhood as the home guards of the post. In any point of view this is a valuable and important establishment and ought to be maintained as the depot of the coast while we have anything to do with its affairs.

Par. 18.

Leaving Fort Simpson on the 18th, we immediately entered within the Russian Southern Boundary, and passing through the Canal de Reveille^a and Clarence Straits, arrived at Stikine on the 20th. This establishment, of which we obtained possession on the 1st of June last year (1840) under the arrangement of the 6th of February, 1839, is situated on the north end of the Duke of York's Island, near Port Highfield, 4 to 5 miles south of the outlet of the Stikine or Pelly's River, in Lat. 56°, 33', Long. 134°, 14', and was in the first instance formed here by the Russian American Company in 1833, with the view of protecting their trade, which they had every reason to suppose would be endangered by the establishment which the Hon^{ble} Company then

^a Revilla-Gigedo.

about the mouth of the river and the islands contiguous, and running parallel to that part of the coast. It is likewise frequented by the natives of 3 villages situated on the islands, to the trade of which we do not consider that we have any claim under the existing arrangement.

The complement of people at this establishment is two officers and 8 men, which notwithstanding the good disposition shown by the natives cannot with safety be reduced. The post is maintained on fish and venison which are here produced in great abundance from the natives at a very cheap rate.

'ar. 19.

We remained at Stikine but a few hours, taking our departure thence in the afternoon of the 20th, and passing through Wrangel's Straits, and Prince Fredericks Sound, arrived at Tacoma on the 22nd. This establishment is situated in about Lat. $58^{\circ} 4'$, Long. $133^{\circ} 45'$, and was intended to have been placed at the mouth of Tacoma River but no favorable situation having been found for an establishment, it was erected on its present site, on the mainland, between two rivers, the Stikine and Tacoma, about 15 miles distant from each. It is frequented by a great many Indians occupying the continental shore both to the northward and the southward, likewise by some of the islanders; in all, from 4,000 to 5,000 souls are more or less dependent on this establishment for their supplies.

The complement of people at this establishment is 2 officers and 22 men. It is principally maintained on venison got here as at the other establishments on the coast at so cheap a rate from the natives, that we absolutely make a profit in our consumption of provisions, the skin of the animal selling for much more than is paid for the whole carcass. Nearly all the returns that are collected at this establishment are brought from the British territory, inland of the Russian line of demarcation running parallel with the coast, and traded by the coast Indians from those inhabiting the interior country, very few being hunted by themselves.

'ar. 21.

When the arrangement by which we became possessed of the Russian Territory to the north of $54^{\circ 10'}$ was first entered into, it was in contemplation to form a chain of posts along the coast up to the outlet of Cross Sound, and from those establishments to form outposts in the interior under an impression that the country between the coast and the Rocky Mountains was of much greater extent, more numerous inhabitants, and more valuable than we have since ascertained it to be. There are only two streams falling into the Ocean between the Russian Southern Boundary and Cape Spencer; those are the Stikine and Tacoma Rivers, the former being navigable in seasons of high water for about 40 to 50 miles by the steam vessel, and afterwards by canoes; and the other by small craft only. There is a range of mountains running along the coast, extending inland about 60 miles, beyond which there is a district of level country partially wooded; but as there are few lakes in the interior, it is not supposed that the presence of establishments would tend materially to increase the quantity of furs at present collected so that all idea of occupying the interior country with

¹⁰ $54^{\circ} 40'$.

posts during the existence of the present arrangement with the Russians is now abandoned.

Par. 27.

The climate of the N. W. Coast to the northward differs very much from that of the country to the southward of Lat. 49° arising I conceive in addition to the difference in latitude in a great degree from the character of the country, which north of that point is exceedingly mountainous, and the tops of many of the mountains covered with perpetual snows, while north of Stikine glaciers are to be seen in many of the valleys to the water side, and floating ice in several of the Sounds and straits all the year round. From our departure from Red River settlement to the time of our arrival at Stikine we had the finest weather that can well be imagined, but there it became wet and stormy and at Tacom, we were detained, in consequence, three days, starting from thence on the 25th and passing through Stephen Passage, Chatham and Peril Straits, arrived at Sitka on the 26th, where we were received with every mark of attention and kindness by Governor Etholine and other Russian officers at that establishment.

Par. 29.

... Their [*i. e.*, the Russian] tariff of trade is nearly the same as ours; but notwithstanding the terms of the convention between Great Britain and Russia of February 1825, I find that a considerable quantity of spirituous liquors is disposed of by them to Indians in barter for both furs and provisions.

We have discontinued the use of this article upon the coast as a medium of barter except in the immediate vicinity of the Russian establishments ever since the Americans [sea farers? seal-fishers?] have withdrawn; and the natives are become so perfectly reconciled to the privation that in the whole course of my travels this season, where the use of it was discontinued, I only heard one inquiry respecting the article of rum. With a view to the well being of the Indian population of the coast, and to guard as much as possible against even the semblance of competition, I suggested to Governor Etholine that the use of spirituous liquors should be discontinued by both parties, on a date that may hereafter be agreed upon previous to the 31st. December 1843, and I have much satisfaction in saying that he readily assented to that arrangement.

Par. 32.

The Russian American Company have not yet abandoned their establishment of Bodega in California, being unable to effect a sale of their buildings and stock. Their stock consists principally of sheep, cattle, horses, agricultural implements, etc, all of which has for some time past been offered for sale at the round sum of 30,000 dollars. Gov. Etholine however foreseeing the difficulty of obtaining payment should a sale be effected to any of the people of California, said he should feel disposed to accept a much lower price from the Hudson's Bay Company; and I have no doubt that the whole might be purchased at from 15,000 to 20,000 dollars. The Russian American Company admit they have no title to the soil, beyond what they have acquired by occupation. This the Mexican Govt. does not recognize; but they cannot dislodge them, the Russian force there having usually been 150 men, although now that they are about to withdraw it is reduced to 50. Bodega is not well situated for trade, nor is the country well adapted

for agriculture; and as any title the Russian American Company could give us would be of no avail unless backed by a force of 80 to 100 men, I do not see that any good can be obtained by making the purchase on any terms. Under these circumstances, I made him no offer, nor did I encourage the hope of our becoming purchasers.

Par. 35.

On our way back to Fort Vancouver, where we arrived on the 22nd of October, our voyage to and from Sitka and the other establishments already mentioned having occupied fifty-two days, I had another opportunity of visiting the establishments of Nisqually and the Cowlitz Farms, the former of which may be said principally to be occupied, and the latter entirely so, with the affairs of the Puget Sound Company.

Par. 37.

There is a large extent of fine pastoral land in the neighborhood of Nisqually, covered with a tufty nutritious grass peculiar to the country. The soil, however, being light and shingly, is not so well adapted for tillage, but by proper attention it may be improved.

Par. 39.

The Puget Sound Company's principal tillage farm is upon the Cowlitz Portage, at the head of the Cowlitz River, where the soil is productive, being a mixture of sand and decayed vegetable matter. The plain upon which the farm now occupied is situated, contains about 3,000 acres, of which about 1,200 are occupied by the Roman Catholic Mission and six settlers, retired servants of the Company; and the remaining 1,800 acres are occupied by the Puget Sound Company, of which 1,000 acres are under cultivation, which produced this season about 8,000 bushels of wheat, and 4,000 bushels of oats, barley, and pease, besides potatoes. The wheat is of excellent quality, weighing about 68 pounds to the bushel.

Par. 40.

Between the head of the Cowlitz River and the shores of Puget Sound there is a chain of plains, as per the accompanying sketch and description, some of which are well adapted both for tillage and pasture farms, with a considerable quantity of plain country upon the shores of Puget's Sound and Hood's Canal, and upon the banks of the Checuy-lis [Chehalis] and Black Rivers, very favorable for settlement, the produce of which will find an outlet for a foreign market by the Straits of de Fuca, and from the partial examination that has been made of the southern end of Vancouver's and Whidby's Islands, these likewise appear to be very advantageous situations for colonization and agricultural settlements. The Straits of de Fuca afford a safe and ready access at all seasons to these districts of country, where there are many safe and commodious harbors; and as the climate is healthy, the intermittent fever being unknown in that quarter, there is no doubt that that country will, in due time, become important as regards settlement and commerce, while the country in the vicinity of the coast, bordering on the Columbia and Willamette Rivers, so much spoken of in the United States as the Eldorado of the shores of the Northern Pacific, must from the dangers of the Bar, and the impediments of the navigation, together with its unhealthiness, sink in public estimation.

Par. 41.

On my arrival from the N. W. Coast I found the emigrants from

Red River safely arrived at Fort Vancouver, amounting in all to 116 souls. Of these 14 heads of families, amounting in all to 77 souls, principally English half breeds, have located at Nisqually and are to hold their farms under the Puget Sound Company on "halves" being provided with sheep, cattle, etc as per agreement entered into pursuant to the directions contained in a letter I wrote to C. F. [Chief Factor] Finlayson by your Honour's direction under date September 12, 1840. The remainder of the party being 7 families containing 38 souls are Canadians and half breeds, who being disinclined to crop the Cowlitz Portage to the seaboard, have been placed near the Cowlitz Farm, where advances will be made to them by the Hudson's Bay Company in seed, agricultural implements, etc. instead of their being placed on farms under the Puget Sound Company, in like manner as the other people; as from their previous habits of life, having devoted more of their time and attention to the chase than to agricultural pursuits, it was not likely they would turn to good account any stock that might be placed in their hands.

C. F. [Chief Factor] Douglas who accompanied some of the settlers in advance of the party, for the purpose of examining the country, speaks of it in such favorable terms that I have no doubt there will be many applications from Red River, and likewise from our retiring servants to settle there.

Par. 46.

The American Missionaries are making more rapid progress in the extension of their establishments and in the improvement of their farms, than in the ostensible objects of their residence in this country, as I cannot learn that they are successful, or taking much pains to be so, in the moral and religious instruction of the natives, who are perfectly bewildered by the variety of doctrines inculcated in this quarter. Their stations are as follows:

Maintained by the American Board of Missionaries [Commissioners] for Foreign Missions, vizt:

1. On the Clear Water River, 12 miles from its confluence with Snake River—Rev. H. H. Spalding and family.
2. On the Clear Water River, 62 miles from its confluence—Rev. Asa B. Smith and family.
3. On the road from Spokane to Colville, 10 miles from Spokane River—Rev. Cushing Eells, Elkinah Walker and families.
4. On the Walla Walla River, 25 miles south¹¹ of Fort Nez Percé—Marcus Whitman, M. D., Wm. H. Gray, assist., and families.

METHODIST MISSIONS.

5. On the Willamette River, above Yamhill River—Rev. Jason Lee, Gustavus Hind [Hines], David Leslie, I. L. Babcock, M. D., Abernethy, storekeeper, 7 or 8 artisans and families.
6. Willamette Falls—Rev. A. F. Waller, H. H. Wilson [W. H. Willson], carpenter, and families.
7. Dalles of the Columbia—Rev. Daniel Lee, Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, 2 or 3 mechanics and families.
8. Clatsop Point—Rev. J. H. Frost, Rev. W. W. Kone and families.
9. Nisqually—Rev. J. P. Richmond, M. D. and family.

¹¹ This should be "east".

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS FROM ST. LOUIS, VIZT.

10. Pendant d'oreille Lake—Rev. Smith,¹² 3 priests, 5 lay brethren.

11. Cowlitz—Rev. Demers.

12. Willamette—Rev. F. N. Blanchet.

From the foregoing statement, it will be seen that the country is studded with missions, from the shores of the Pacific to the skirts of the Rocky Mountains, on the south side of the Columbia River, and that they are endeavoring to extend their influence to the northwards of that stream.

Par. 47.

Besides the missionary establishments, there is a population at the Willamette of 65⁴ persons, Americans and others, who with their families have come to the country by the St. Louis communication, and 61 Canadians, retired servants of the Company, in all, 126 men, principally heads of families, making a population of about 500 souls. All these people have taken possession of tracts of country at pleasure, which they expect to retain under a good title arising from such possession, whenever the boundary question may be determined; and are generally very comfortably settled, bringing portions of their farms gradually under cultivation, and having large stocks of cattle brought from California.

Par. 48.

We have this season purchased from these settlers about 4,000 bushels wheat at 3/ [*i. e.*, three shillings] per bushel, which will be disposed of to advantage by resale, and instead of manifesting any opposition to these people by withholding supplies from them, or putting them to inconvenience in other respects, it is considered good policy to deal with them on such fair and reasonable terms, that no stranger would benefit materially by opposing us in our transactions with them; and with this view, we have it in contemplation to establish a mill for their accommodation on the Falls of the Willamette, which, if ever that settlement grows into importance, will be of great value, as there is a water power there to any extent, which was taken formal possession of on behalf of the Company several years ago, and where a small building has been lately erected, so as to strengthen our claim to it by possession. These settlers, although they possess little capital within themselves, are generally speaking industrious and enterprising; and as the whole deportment of the American part of the community is marked by a strong feeling of nationality, I have no doubt that they will when in a condition to do so, offer such encouragement to their countrymen in the United States or the Sandwich Islands, to import supplies for their use to be repaid in country produce, as may induce some of those speculative people to establish themselves in trade among them. They are now forming a joint stock company for the manufacture and export of flour, and are about to erect a mill on a part of Willamette Falls already spoken of, although C. F. [Chief Factor] McLoughlin had taken possession of it on behalf of the Company some years ago.

The American Methodist Missionaries are the projectors of this association, and are the prime movers in all public or important measures entered upon at the Willamette.

¹² Rev. P. J. de Smet, S. J.

Par. 49.

This little community, considering the materials of which it is composed, is in a more tranquil state than might be expected, one and all being anxious to stand well in public opinion, so that few cases of outrage or atrocity have as yet occurred among them. They are nevertheless prepared to take legal cognizance (under a code of their own formation) of such cases, whenever they occur. This last summer they made strong efforts to form a constitution for themselves, but the Company's influence over the Canadian settlers in a large measure defeated that object, which however ridiculous it may at a distance appear, might nevertheless be here attended with much inconvenience, if these would-be authorities had been enabled to carry their plans of self-government into effect.

Par. 50.

The two Roman Catholic priests, M. Blanchet and M. Demers who were brought into the country under the auspices of the Hon^{ble} Company three years ago, have been very zealous in the discharge of their missionary duties; the former is established at the Willamette, and the latter at the Cowlitz settlement, and I consider it due to those gentlemen to say, that their presence has been productive of much good, and that we have every reason to be satisfied with them. Two other Canadian Roman Catholic priests, I think, might likewise be employed in this quarter with advantage; I have therefore to recommend that the request made last winter by the R. C. Bishop of Quebec for passages for two priests from Montreal for this part of the country be complied with.

Par. 51.

Although the people of the United States, who were engaged in trade on the N. W. Coast, have withdrawn from that branch of business, there are still among them some who think that something may yet be done in the way of trade in the Columbia River; and under that impression the Brig, *Thomas Perkins* of Boston, came to the river this season with a double object of purchasing salmon from the natives for the American market, and, if possible, of picking up a few skins.

Par. 56.

In California, it appears, Mr. Rae had much difficulty in coming to an arrangement with the authorities in regard to the duties which are most extravagant equal to about 50 per cent on the amount of the invoice; and in reference to port regulations, a compliance with which would have been exceedingly inconvenient.

Par. 60.

Among other unwelcome visitors here this year is a Frenchman named Eugene du Flot de Mofras, describing himself as an attaché of the French Embassy at Mexico; he says he was directed by his government to make a tour through California, and to visit this river if possible; but we have only his word for the accuracy of his statements. This person, it appears, made application to Mr. Rae for passage on the *Cowlitz* to this place, which I regret to say he very inconsiderately granted. His desire, I have reason to believe, was to have obtained a passage through the interior to Canada; but I imagine the coolness of his reception here has prevented his making application for that passage, and as we cannot get rid of him in any other way, he returns to California in the *Cowlitz* as our fellow-passenger.

Par. 65.

With reference to the 44th and 48th paragraphs, on the subject of grist and saw mills, I have, since writing the foregoing part of this despatch, made an excursion to the Willamette country, which occupied me four days; and I was surprised at the prosperous condition of that infant settlement which contains a population of about 350 souls, Canadians and their half breed families, and 150 souls, citizens of the United States and their families, besides about 1000 Indians of all ages who [are] maintained and employed by the settlers, to assist them in their agricultural and other labors. These settlers have among them about 3,000 head of cattle, 2,000 horses, 3,000 pigs, and their crops this year have amounted to about 30,000 to 35,000 bushels of grain of all kinds.

Par. 66.

The Willamette River falls from the south into the Columbia in two branches, the upper branch about 8 miles below Fort Vancouver. It is navigable at the season of high water by vessels of 300 to 400 tons burden, a distance of about 15 miles from where its waters unite with those of the Columbia, and to within a mile of the Falls of the Willamette which are formed by a ledge of rocks that bars the river across from side to side, obstructing the navigation and rendering it necessary to make a portage of a few hundred yards. On this waterfall there are many fine situations for grist and saw mills and other machinery requiring water power. I visited this spot in 1828 accompanied by C. F. [Chief Factor] McLoughlin, when it was determined to take possession of a part of this water-fall for the Company; and soon afterwards possession was accordingly taken by blasting a canal through the locks and erecting a house upon the portage. Of late, however, the United States Methodist Mission, who seem to direct their attention more to temporal than spiritual affairs, and exercise good judgment in reference to commerce in the selection of their establishments and settlements, have taken possession of part of this waterfall, and disregarding our claims, founded on prior possession and occupation have seated themselves down on the portage, erecting buildings within our boundaries. There is no question that this country will soon grow into importance, and that the water privileges of the Falls will become exceedingly valuable, and as it appears very desirable that the Company should retain command of the import and export business of this settlement as long as possible, to the exclusion of strangers, it has on further consideration been deemed expedient to erect the machinery now supposed to be on its way from England at this place instead of Puget Sound as was contemplated when the 44th paragraph of this letter was written.¹⁸

¹⁸ The dispute over the Willamette Falls—or Oregon City—land claim, which began as above described, is not yet laid aside. Many local writers, assuming that the claim was Dr. McLoughlin's private property, with which the company had nothing to do, have severely condemned the action of the missionaries in contesting it. In so doing they have chosen to accept McLoughlin's interested statement that the claim was taken for himself rather than the missionaries' interested statement that the claim was intended to give the British company a monopoly of the water privileges at the Falls. Simpson's testimony above clearly bears out the contention of the missionaries so far as the origin of the claim is concerned. It may be added that as late as March 29, 1845, Simpson wrote about "Our [the company's] water privileges on the Willamette".

III. EXTRACTS OF DISPATCHES FROM SIR GEORGE SIMPSON TO THE GOVERNOR, DEPUTY GOVERNOR, AND COMMITTEE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, DATED HONOLULU, MARCH 1, 1842.¹⁴

Par. 2.

A three weeks detention inside Cape Disappointment, watching a favorable opportunity for crossing the very dangerous bar off the entrance of the Columbia River, recalled my attention very forcibly to the importance of a depot being formed for such portion of the Company's business as is more immediately connected with the foreign trade and shipping department on some eligible part of the coast, instead of continuing Fort Vancouver as the great center of the business of the West side of the Continent, and exposing many lives and the whole of the valuable imports and exports of the country to a danger which is becoming more alarming every successive year.

Par. 3.

In measure as the natural resources, and sources of commerce of the Northern Pacific, and its shores, and interior country, develop themselves, in like measure does it become apparent that we cannot avail ourselves of them advantageously while entirely dependent on Fort Vancouver as the principal Depot; as, independent of the dangers of the bar, the time lost in watching opportunities either to get out or in (frequently from a month to six weeks, while three weeks more are often consumed after crossing the bar, in getting from Cape Disappointment up to Fort Vancouver) renders it impossible to calculate with any degree of certainty on the quantum of work that ought to be performed by the shipping, deranging the best laid plans, burdening the different branches of the business with very heavy shipping charges, and depriving us of the means of embarking in other branches of commerce, which might be carried on with great advantage, had we a depot eligibly situated on the coast.

Par. 4.

The southern end of Vancouver's Island, forming the northern side of the Straits of de Fuca, appears to me the best situation for such an establishment as is required. From the very superficial examination that has been made, it is ascertained there are several good harbors in that neighborhood, no place, however, has yet been found combining all the advantages required, the most important of which are a safe and acceptable harbor, well situated for defense, with water power for grist and saw mills, abundance of timber for home consumption and exportation, and the adjacent country well adapted for tillage and pasture farms on an extensive scale. I had not an opportunity of landing on the southern end of the island; but from the distant view we had of it in passing between Puget's Sound and the Gulf of Georgia, and the report of C. F. [Chief Factor] McLoughlin, and others, who have been there, we have every reason to believe there will be no difficulty in finding an eligible situation in that quarter for the establishment required.

Par. 7.

There are two branches of Trade, one of which, the salmon fishery, has been carried on a limited scale from Forts Vancouver and Langley, and the other the whale fishery, to which we have never before directed our attention, [that] may, in our opinion, with great advantage, be carried on from the new depot. Immense shoals of salmon, and of

¹⁴ Foreign Office, America, 399; Domestic, Various, January to March, 1843.

land and the shores of Vancouver's Island, and as the demand for that fish is encreasing and promises to become very great, both for the United States and the China market, commanding now at the Sandwich Islands from \$10.00 to \$12.00 per barrel of 180 lbs. I think the salmon fisheries of this coast are highly deserving of attention as a growing and almost inexhaustible source of trade.

Par. 8.

With regard to the whale fishery of the North West Coast, my attention was first directed to that branch of commerce while on my visit of inspection of the northern establishment last autumn. At each of those establishments, I saw sperm and Black oil in small quantities, which had been traded from the Indians, who occasionally killed and frequently found dead whales in channels and inlets of the coast, and who represented those animals as being excessively numerous. For many years, it has been known that whales were very numerous about the Straits of de Fuca, and in the Gulf of Georgia, and that the Indians of Cape Flattery and the Straits of de Fuca were expert, even with their bone lances, grass lines, and other rude implements of their own manufacture in killing them, the flesh or blubber being with them a favorite article of food, and the oil an article of trade or barter with the interior tribes. We soon afterwards learnt that a French whaler had been successful off the coast in the course of last summer, and while at California, I saw Capt. Hoyer, the master of a whaler outfitted from Woahoo, who represents the Northwest Coast as the best fishing ground in the Northern Pacific. The information given by this man may be depended upon. It was taken down in short-hand in a conversation with me, and was confirmed to the fullest extent, after my arrival at this place, where I learnt that upwards of 200 whalers will be employed next year between Lat. 52° and 57°, and Long. 144° and 152°.

Par. 9.

From these notes your Honours will [see] that an establishment in the Straits of de Fuca would be admirably adapted for prosecuting that branch of business with every prospect of success, being in the immediate vicinity, or in the heart of the best fishing grounds at present known. Vessels employed in the fishing might run in and out from month to month, as circumstances might render desirable, deliver their oil, receive refreshments or other supplies, and thus remain on their stations from year's end to year's end, following the "Right" whale during the summer, when the weather is moderate in the higher latitudes, and the spermaceti to the southward during the winter months, when there is no exposure to bad weather.

Par. 12.

There is a very large population of daring, fierce, and treacherous Indians on, and in the neighborhood of the southern shore of Vancouver's Island, so that a heavy establishment of people, say from 40 to 50 officers and men will be required, for its protection in the first instance; but with the occasional presence of the steamer, whose power and ubiquity has done more in my opinion to tame those daring hordes than all the other means to that end that have been brought into action by the whites, not only the new depot, but every other establishment on the coast may in due time be reduced in point of

numbers to as many only as are absolutely required to accomplish the work.

Par. 15.

. . . We got out of the river on the 21st December, in company with the Barque *Columbia*, she prosecuting her voyage to the Sandwich Islands on her way to England while we proceeded to California, touching at the ports of San Francisco, Monterey, and Santa Barbara. As we entered the first, on the 30th of December, we saw the Russian American Company's brig *Constantine* getting under weigh for Sitka, crowded with passengers, the officers and servants of that concern, late occupants of the Russian establishments of Ross and Bodega which they had evacuated or abandoned, selling the buildings, stock of cattle, horses and sheep, agricultural and other instruments, etc., on credit to a native of Switzerland named Sutter, lately settled on the Sacramento, for the sum of 30,000.00 dollars.

Par. 16.¹⁵

The establishments of Ross and Bodega . . . were formed . . . with the double object [of otter hunting] and of providing their establishments on the N. W. Coast where the soil and climate were unfavorable for a cultivation with grain, beef, and other agricultural supplies. . . . their establishments were regularly garrisoned by a force of from 25 to 300 men, . . . [They soon destroyed the sea-otter by the wasteful methods employed in hunting]. After the loss of that profitable branch of trade, and the recent arrangement with the Hon^{ble} Company, enabling them to obtain grain and other farm produce for the use of their northern establishments, cheaper than they could raise it, the Russian American Company very wisely determined on withdrawing from California, and by that resolution have benefitted their Association to the amount of upwards of £5,000 per annum.¹⁶

¹⁵ Only such parts of this paragraph were copied as are not covered in Simpson's letter to Pelly of March 10, 1842.

¹⁶ Paragraphs 19, 24, 26, 29, 32, 33 and 34 of the original dispatch are also copied in the letter of March 10. No. 19 relates to the company's trading house at Yerba Buena under Mr. Rae; 24 describes in severe terms, General Vallejo; in paragraph 26 the Mexican commercial restrictions are discussed. The company tried to land goods at San Francisco, but were not allowed to do so; they must go to Monterey, "the only port of entry on the coast, in the first instance". He describes Governor Alvarado much as in the letter of March 10. The 29th paragraph deals with Santa Barbara, which is described as the great place of resort for foreigners engaged in trade to California. Paragraphs 32, 33 and 34 contain Simpson's reflections on the advantages of California, if the country were in the hands of a more enlightened nation—much as in the letter of March 10. Speaking of the possibility of establishing a protectorate over California, Simpson says: "I shall not enlarge on this subject at present, especially so, as I shall have an opportunity of communicating with your honours personally thereon after my return to England the early part of next winter." The remainder of the letter as excerpted in this document refers to the Hawaiian Islands, and contains no important statement which is not covered in Simpson's letter of March 10, 1842.

IV. COPY OF A LETTER FROM SIR GEORGE SIMPSON TO SIR JOHN H. PELLY.¹⁷

HONOLULU, WOAHOO,
March 10, 1842.

Dear Sir:

In accordance with a desire expressed previous to my departure from England by Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, then respectively at the head of the Colonial and Foreign Offices, that I should communicate through you from time to time, whatever might occur to me in the course of my present journey as likely to be interesting to H. M.'s Government, in reference to the countries I was about to visit, I now beg to lay before you a brief outline of the information I have collected on these subjects.

By other communications you are aware that taking my departure from England in the early part of March last, I proceeded via the United States, Canada, the interior of Hudson's Bay, and across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia River, where I arrived in August. There I found the United States exploring expedition under the command of Commodore Wilkes immediately after the loss of the *Peacock* sloop of war, in crossing the bar at the Columbia River. Commodore Wilkes had, in the course of the summer, made a close survey of the Straits of Juan de Fuca, Puget Sound, Hood's Canal, and the Gulf of Georgia, up to the outlet of Frazer's River, in about Lat. 49°, while parties were employed under the direction of the several members of the scientific corps, in visiting the interior country.

Commodore Wilkes was by no means communicative on the object of these surveys and examinations; but I collected from a very intelligent and confidential member of the Expedition, that it was the intention of Captain Wilkes to recommend strongly to his government, to claim the whole of the territory on the shores of the Northern Pacific; from the Mexican Northern Boundary in Lat. 42° to the Russian Southern Boundary in Lat. 54°, 40'.¹⁸

Whether the United States Government will adopt this modest recommendation, or not, remains to be seen; but the gentleman connected with the Expedition, before alluded to, is rather more moderate than the Commodore, as he informed me it was *his* intention to recommend that a line drawn through the Straits of Juan de Fuca, till it struck the mainland south of Whidby's Island, and thence across to the Columbia River, opposite the outlet of the Nez Percé, or Southern Branch, should be accepted by which means the country to the southward of that line, with the harbors inside Cape Flattery, Hood's Canal, and Puget's Sound would belong to the United States; and to such claim he seemed to think Great Britain could not reasonably object, as she must see the justice of allowing the United States access to ports of refuge and refreshment, which they could not possess if a more southern bound-

¹⁷ Foreign Office, America, 388; Domestic, Various, June and July, 1842. Original evidently received at Foreign Office not later than July, 1842, and returned to Pelly August 27, 1842.

¹⁸ Wilkes's opinion of the importance of Puget Sound to the United States may be inferred from his statement, *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition*, V. 171, with reference to a future maritime state, embracing "two of the finest ports in the world—that within the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and San Francisco".

ary was determined upon, as the Columbia River, from the dangerous character of the bar at its outlet cannot be considered a port.¹⁹

Greenhow's recent publication²⁰ points out the grounds of claim of the United States and Great Britain, but whether he examines the subject fairly or not, you will be better able to judge, having all the information that we have been enabled to collect on this important question at the Hudson's Bay House, but I trust you will urge H. M. government not to consent to any boundary which would give to the United States any portion of the Territory north of the Columbia River; as any boundary north of that stream would deprive Great Britain of the only valuable part of the territory, the country to the northward of the Straits of de Fuca not being adapted for agriculture, or other purposes connected with colonization.

On the character and capabilities of the country, north and south of the Columbia River, I have already addressed you very fully in my official communications to the Company, to which I beg reference, should any information thereon be considered interesting to the Government.

From the Columbia I proceeded up the North West Coast to the Russian Territory, visiting the Russian American Company's principal Depot of Sitka. There I found an establishment of from 300 to 400 men, with a steamer and several armed vessels and the place garrisoned and occupied as a military establishment, the Governor or principal representative of the Company being a post captain in the Imperial Navy, and the subordinate officers holding naval and military rank, all receiving pay from the Government, as if on foreign service, as well as pay from the Company. I experienced from the Russian authorities every kindness and civility, the best understanding, I am happy to say, subsisting between them and the Hudson's Bay Company's officers in this quarter; and I have the satisfaction to say that both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company benefit by their amicable relations.

While at Sitka I learnt from the Governor that he was instructed by the Russian American Company to abandon two stations that have been long occupied by them within the Mexican territory, at Ross and Bodega. The occupation of these establishments by the Russians, has been a subject of much speculative conjecture by the different travelers who have written upon California of late years. Russia may have contemplated the fostering of some claim upon that country from such occupation; and the Russian American Company in the meantime benefitted by it in the way of trade, having followed up the sea-otter hunts upon that coast with great activity until those valuable animals became quite exhausted. By their superior force, maintaining as they did, an establishment of 300 to 400 men, they set at defiance the authorities

¹⁹ The officer referred to by Simpson was probably Captain William L. Hudson, who was second in command, and who was at Vancouver during Simpson's sojourn there, August 25 to September 1. See paragraph 12, letter of November 25, 1841, paragraph 12, *ante*, and Wilkes's *Narrative*, V. 122, 123. The line of boundary here described may have been recommended to the government; it has some points of similarity to a suggested line which was described, roughly, by Webster in his letter to Everett of November 28, 1842. *Private Correspondence*, II. 154.

²⁰ Robert Greenhow, *Memoir, Historical and Political, of the Northwest Coast* (Washington, 1840).

ican Company, however, latterly finding the occupation of those places not only unprofitable, but attended with much outlay, with the sanction of their government, have this season abandoned Bodega and Röss, selling the buildings, together with their stock in trade, to a person of the name of Sutter, a Swiss recently become a citizen of Mexico, for a consideration of \$30,000. This sale was effected previously to my arrival, otherwise it is probable I should have made a purchase of the establishment for the Hudson's Bay Company with a view to the possibility of some claim being based thereon by Great Britain at a future period.²¹

I got back in the month of October to the Columbia River from my visit to the Russian settlements, and thence took my departure for California, touching at the ports of San Francisco, Monterey, and Santa Barbara. That country which is of great extent and possessing advantages of soil and climate unrivalled perhaps in any other part of the world, is in the hands of a very few indolent Californians, the descendants of the Spanish and Mexican soldiery, who were attached to the missions, by whom it was, in the first instance, settled. The whole population of that beautiful and extensive country, possessing 1200 miles of sea-coast, does not exceed 7,000, of whom 600 are foreigners, principally Americans.

California is nominally a Territory or dependency of the Republic of Mexico, which does not however attempt to exercise any dominion over it, its remote situation, together with the disturbed state of the mother country admitting of little intercourse or communication between them.

The only source of commerce that this country at present possesses, arises from its numerous herds of black cattle, which for the extent and capacity of the country, is a mere trifle, not exceeding 50,000 to 60,000 hides, and 25,000 to 30,000 quintals of tallow annually. The revenues consist of exorbitant duties and dues amounting to about 125 percent on prime cost, on goods formally entered at the custom-house, to be disposed of in barter for the hides and tallow. These prohibitory exactions defeat their object, by the encouragement they afford to smuggling, three-fourths of the goods introduced into the country being run ashore, and the remaining one fourth only passing through the customs. The funds thus raised are divided among the Governor, the Commander of the Forces, custom House officers and other self constituted authorities and officials; as of late years they have totally disregarded the nominations of the Mexican Government, electing their own officers; and the Government, making a merit of necessity, confirmed their appointments.

The Governor [Alvarado], who seven years ago was appraiser of custom house Goods, is an ignorant, dissipated man, quite devoid of respectability and character; and the commander of the forces [Vallejo], the next in rank and standing, who was, a few years back, a Lieutenant in the Army, has no pretension to character or respectabil-

²¹ By comparing the above statement with that contained in paragraph 32 of his letter of November 25, 1841, *ante*, and remembering that the earlier statement was intended for the eyes of his company alone, while the later one is meant for the eye of the government, one obtains an instructive side-light on Simpson's methods.

ity, and, like most others in the country; betrays a gross want of honesty and veracity, while much jealousy and ill will exists between these great men, who are total strangers to every feeling of honor, honesty, or patriotism, and I believe, are ready to sell themselves and their country, at a moment's notice, to the highest bidder.²²

Of the 600 foreign residents about 400 are Americans and about 100 British. The former not only from their numbers, but from their pushing and active habits, and forward character, have much influence, and may be said to give law to the country. Many of the British residents are much respected, and the feelings of the different classes of the natives is favorable to Great Britain, while they look upon the United States, and her citizens, with much jealousy and alarm.

The country from its natural advantages, possessing, as it does, the finest harbor in the Northern Pacific, in the Bay of San Francisco, and capable, as it is, of maintaining a population of some millions of agriculturists, might become invaluable to Great Britain as an outlet to her surplus population, as a stronghold and protection to her commerce, and interests in these seas, and as a market for her manufactures; and as the principal people in the country, and indeed the whole population, seem anxious to be released from the Republic of Mexico, which can afford them neither protection nor assistance, and are apprehensive that they may fall within the grasp of the United States, I have reason to believe they would require very little encouragement to declare their independence of Mexico, and place themselves under the protection of Great Britain. Indeed it has been communicated to me, confidentially, and I feel authorized to say, that the presence of a British cruiser on the coast, with a private assurance of protection from Great Britain, and appointments being given to the present higher authorities and officials which would not involve a larger sum than a few thousand pounds per annum, would be a sufficient inducement to declare themselves independent of Mexico and claim the protection of Great Britain. If Great Britain be unwilling to sanction or encourage such a declaration I feel assured, that some step will very soon be taken, with the like object, in favor of the United States.

The British residents at one time thought there was a probability of the country falling into the hands of England, in liquidation of the debts owing by the Mexican Government, but that they now seem to think would be a sacrifice of money on the part of the nation as they feel that California might be acquired without any such outlay, the people being willing to place themselves and their country at the disposal of Great Britain.

By the Treaty of 1819 between the United States and Spain, the parallel of 42° is fixed upon as the Mexican Northern, and the United States Southern, boundary, whereby the claims of Great Britain to the tract of country situated between Lat. 42° and Lat. 37° (the Bay of San Francisco) are lost sight of; whereas by the Treaty of Madrid of October 1790, between Spain and England, the latter country has a right to land and form settlements on every part of the coast or islands adjacent, "Situate to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain", *i. e.* San Francisco which was then, and still is, the most northern settlement of that country. That strip of country

²² Compare Simpson's published opinions of these officers as given in his *Narrative*, I. 348-349, and 309 ff.

Russian establishments of Ross and Bodega are situated, does not possess any good winter harbor, nor is its sea-board well adapted for settlement; but the interior country, watered by the Sacramento and its tributaries, after the great valley of the Tulares, which contains about 10,000 square miles, may be considered as about the finest part of California; and in any arrangement that may be made in regard to the partition of territory, it may be well to bear in mind the claims of Great Britain to that District of Country.

To give an idea of the fertility of this fine country, twenty returns of wheat are considered a failure, while 80 to 100 returns (even with the wretched system of cultivation now pursued, the whole of the field labor being performed by the most degraded of the Indian race I have ever met with, the liberated neophytes of the Missions) are common and it is ascertained the country is capable of producing coffee, sugar, cocoa nut, Indigo, Tobacco, silk, wine, and tea in great perfection while in the districts watered by the streams falling into the Bay of San Francisco, there is an inexhaustible supply of timber for ship-building. Flax and hemp of the best quality are indigenous; and it is said that coal has been found on the banks of the Sacramento, but of that I am doubtful, as the information is from a source not celebrated for veracity.

Quitting the shores of California, on the 27th of January, and getting almost immediately into the North East Trade wind, we made the Island of Owhyhee²³ on the 10th of February, and got into the Harbor of Honolulu in Woahoo the following day. The business of this place is increasing from year to year, principally dependent on the whalers and other vessels that rendezvous here, which may be estimated at about 100 sail per annum. These shipping require supplies of various kinds which afford a market to a considerable extent; and as many of the natives are employed in whaling, pearl fishing, in California and the Columbia, bringing the produce of their labors home, which finds circulation throughout the Islands, they afford a further market. This port is moreover becoming an entrepot for a portion of the South American, Californian, Manilla and china markets; and when the commerce of the latter country, and Japan may be thrown open to the world, which there is every reason to believe will soon be the case, there is little doubt that from the situation of these islands, being in the direct line of communication, a great entrepot will be formed here, and it will become a port of refuge and refreshment for nearly all the shipping visiting the Northern Pacific, so that no question can exist that this will in due time become a very important commercial station.

There are now at Honolulu, which is the only good harbor in the islands, and where there is a population of about 9,000 souls, six houses of business, besides the H. B. Company, principally American, who, independent of their own requisitions, receive consignments from the United States, England, China, etc., as commission merchants, the whole invoice amount of importations during the past year being about £50,000, the only outlet for which, is the demand of the shipping visiting the port for supplies, with that of the native population, and other inhabitants.

The country in point of climate is unequalled perhaps by any part within the Tropics, and as regards the quality of the soil of such por-

²³ Hawaii.

tions as produce vegetation, much of it being bare volcanic rock, it is well adapted for various tropical productions, such as sugar, coffee, cotton, indigo, tobacco, etc., but the experiments that have hitherto been made in raising these articles for market have not been attended with much success, owing in a great degree to the difficulty of procuring regular and cheap labor, as the natives cannot be induced by any wages to lay aside their indolent habits, and betake themselves to industry. Some of the residents, however, have lately encouraged the migration of Chinese, who are satisfied with very moderate wages, are maintained at little cost, living as they principally do upon rice and other vegetable diet, and are exceedingly industrious and tractable; and when capital can be employed under good management in prosecuting the cultivation of the different products above noticed, I have no doubt the exports from these Islands will become considerable. Sandal wood, which was formerly the great article of export from hence, is become exhausted; but there is a vegetable oil, known as *Tu-tu-i*, or candle-tree oil, [which] begins now to take the place of that article. Large quantities of this oil can be procured here, as the candle-tree is very abundant, and the oil, though inferior to linseed, nevertheless commands a price that yields a fair return to the manufacturer.

Since my arrival here I have had several communications with the governor of this island, a native chief, Kuanoa, and have seen several other of the leading chiefs, all of whom appear well disposed, and are evidently anxious to conciliate foreigners, and to stand well with other nations, especially Great Britain and the United States. They seem to consider themselves in a certain degree under the protection of Great Britain, and if they found themselves in any difficulty with or danger from any other nation, would no doubt solicit the protection of H. M.'s government; but although looking up to that source for protection, I am very doubtful that they would willingly place themselves under the dominion or become a dependency of any other country, unless the king and chiefs, with their descendants for several generations, were provided for by liberal pensions. They are evidently most anxious to do what is right in their commercial and other relations with foreign countries; but are too much under the influence of the Calvinist Missionary Society in the United States, who have a number of their teachers and missionaries stationed throughout the different islands; and they have had sufficient influence to get one of their own number, a narrow minded, illiterate, American [William Richards] installed as Prime Minister, or principal councillor of the King. This man never absents himself from him, and being the tool of the Missionary Society, which may be considered in a certain degree, a political Engine in the hands of the Government of the United States, the Sandwich Islands may be said to be greatly under the influence of that government. To do the missionaries justice however, it appears to me, they exercise their best judgment for the welfare and prosperity of the country, but in their over zeal, they counselled the enactment of some very strange and unusual laws which foreigners find irksome and vexatious; and as might be expected, they not infrequently divert the stream of justice from the proper course in order to favor their own friends and countrymen.

I have had several communications with Kuanoa, who is the most intelligent and important man, connected with the government, on the subject of getting Richards removed from his recent position as prime

minister, and having a more enlightened man to fill that important office. He seems to see the expediency of such change, and if a fit and proper person could be pointed out, I have no doubt they would avail themselves of his services forthwith, and from his remarks they would prefer a person recommended by the British Government to any other.

It is unfortunate that the British Government have not a more efficient and intelligent representative here, Mr. Charlton, although rather a bustling active man, being very little respected either by natives or foreigners. And if I could venture a suggestion, I should say it would be good policy to pension that gentleman off, and fill the office of consul with a man of conduct, character, and intelligence.

The British residents both at these islands and California, complain bitterly that their interests were, for a length of time, lost sight of by the British Government, in comparison with those of the subjects of the United States and France, few or no British cruisers having ever visited either these islands or California, unless casually, for the purpose of refreshment, or for the advancement of science; whereas the visits of American men-of-war have been very frequent, while those of France are becoming more so from year to year than is agreeable to the native inhabitants. There are always several British men-of-war on the Southern Pacific Station, which might without inconvenience run across with the Trades to these Islands, and, on their return, visit the coast of California, by their presence affording protection to the interests of the British residents at those places, while it would have the effect of giving to Great Britain a weight and influence in those countries which she could not otherwise obtain or possess.

The population of these Islands like every other barbarous population with whom whites have come in contact, is dwindling away very fast—indeed, the decrease is as extraordinary as it is lamentable. In the days of Vancouver, some fifty years ago, it was estimated, and, I imagine, pretty accurately so, at 400,000, but by a recent census, it is ascertained to be reduced to less than 90,000; and the deaths are to the births, in the proportion of 80 to 47½ so that if the mortality continues in the same ratio, the native population will become extinct in a very few years.

By reference to my despatches addressed to the Company, under dates 25th of November 1841, and the 1st Instant, you will find that I have reported very fully on the affairs of the Columbia, likewise those of the Northwest Coast and California, entering into some of the statistics of these districts of country; and I take the liberty of suggesting, that extracts be made from those despatches, for the information of Her Majesty's Government,²⁴ if you think they are likely to be interesting; and as I hope to get back to England in the course of November next, I shall be happy to give every further information I possess in regard to those countries.

This, together with the despatches for the Company, and some other letters will be handed to Mr. Charlton [the British Consul] for the purpose of being forwarded in the government mail-bag, by a vessel proceeding forthwith to Valparaiso. Another copy will be sent by the first ship from hence for England, and a third, *via* the Columbia, for the purpose of being forwarded overland to Canada.

It is my intention to leave these islands from the 20th to the 25th of March for Sitka, taking my passage from thence to Ochotsk, in one

²⁴ This was done, such extracts being found with this letter.

of the Russian American Company's vessels, and returning via Siberia to England.

I have the honor, etc.,

GEO. SIMPSON.

P. S. By the Brig *Nereus* which arrived here from Salem a few days ago, we learn that the *Providence*, Frigate, accompanied by the Transport or storeship, sailed from New York for the Columbia River, as it is said, for the purpose of taking military possession there on behalf of the United States. These statements are made by the Americans here with great confidence, but I cannot give them credence, as I scarcely think that government would take so decided a step without the consent of H. M. Government, which could scarcely be obtained without your knowledge. And by recent advices from Mazatlan, we learn that a governor general has been sent by Mexico, backed by a force of 150 men to assume the reins of government in California. But reports for which there is not the least foundation are of such frequent occurrence here, that little reliance can be placed upon them. It is further stated that the United States Govt are in treaty with Mexico for the district of country, situated between San Francisco and Lat. 42°, the northern Mexican Boundary, notwithstanding the claims of Great Britain to that country, founded on the discoveries of Sir Francis Drake and the Treaty of October 1790 between Spain and England.

G. S.

V. EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM SIR GEORGE SIMPSON TO SIR JOHN H. PELLY, DATED MOWEE, SANDWICH ISLANDS, MARCH 24, 1842.

I had this pleasure [of addressing you] about ten days ago from Honolulu and immediately proceeded to another island Mowee²⁵ on a visit to the king and Royal family of the Islands.

I have had much confidential intercourse and communication with the king, Queen, and Premier, likewise with the Reverend Mr. Richards, who is the great counsellor or advisor of the Government.

I have been successful in acquiring during my short acquaintance, a great degree of influence over these good people, with whom I feel much interested, and at my suggestion it has been determined that Mr. Richards will proceed to England, so as to be there about the time of my arrival. Mr. Richards will be invested with full power to enter into treaties with Great Britain, France, and the United States, and to transact important business on behalf of the King and government of these Islands; and at my suggestion, your name and that of Mr. Colville, likewise my own, will be coupled with that of Mr. Richards in the letters of credence with which he is invested, and I now forward copies of letters, the originals of which are in my possession, in order that you may be prepared for important negotiations connected with these Islands.

VI. EXTRACTS²⁶ FROM A LETTER OF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON TO THE GOVERNOR, DEPUTY GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, DATED HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE, NOVEMBER 16, 1842:

Par. 2.

The voyage from Sitka to Ochotsk occupied 42 days which may be considered an average passage.

²⁵ Maui.

²⁶ Only portions of these extracts are here copied.

Par. 3.

In the 14th paragraph of the same despatch,²⁷ I had occasion to notice that in our voyage from Sitka to Ochotsk we fell in with one of about 200 American whalers that were fishing very successfully in the Northern Pacific between Lat. 50° and 57°. The Russian Gov^{mt}. look upon the encroachments of U. States citizens engaged in this branch of trade with much jealousy, and as a measure of protection of their coasts and seas - - - the Russian American Company are of the opinion they would readily favor any measure likely to prove advantageous to that Association that would have for its object the protection of that source of commerce.

²⁷ Despatch of July 6, 1842, from Ochotsk, extracts from which are found in Foreign Office, America, 399.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Ancient Italy: Historical and Geographical Investigations in Central Italy, Magna Graecia, Sicily and Sardinia. By ETTORE PAIS. Translated from the Italian by C. DENSMORE CURTIS. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1908. Pp. xiv, 441.)

IN this volume Professor Pais has gathered together in English form twenty-six papers which originally appeared in the proceedings of various Italian learned societies or were separately printed for private distribution. Of these more than half deals with southern Italy and Sicily, three have to do immediately with the early history of Rome, while the remainder is allotted to various fields. Naturally many of the conclusions here reached have been already given in the author's well-known *Storia di Roma*. Here as there Pais often shows himself a keen and sometimes over-destructive critic of tradition, but it would be unfair to speak of his work as wholly of that kind; indeed in these papers we must recognize that there is a large amount of constructive work of a high order; it is the more to be regretted that many of the conclusions seem at best but probabilities.

The two papers which will prove of most interest to the majority of readers are the one on the Siciliot elements and its companion on the Italiot, Samnite and Campanian elements in the earliest history of Rome. In the former Pais examines the traditions of early Sicilian influences on Rome and shows how these were due to the commercial relations existing between Rome and Syracuse, which city after the battle of Curnae in 474 B. C. occupied a foremost position in Sicily and Magna Graecia until the middle of the third century at least. The synchronism established by the early Greek and Roman historians in the history of the two cities, which indeed Dionysius of Halicarnassus noted in connection with the traditional secession of the plebs in 493 B. C., leads Pais to the view that the story of this first secession, of the establishment of the plebeian tribunate, of the introduction of the cult of Ceres, and in fact of the whole series of events connected therewith, was consciously imported into Roman history from the account of Gelo's success in obtaining possession of Syracuse as the result of a (forced) withdrawal of the owners of the land, to which may be added the possible influence of a sedition at Gela, known to us from Herodotus. Such borrowings by early Roman historians were due to those

patriotic motives which led to the adaptation of many striking events and heroic deeds in Greek history to the conditions of early Rome. While it is not improbable that the cult of Ceres and the tribunate of the plebs came from Syracuse, or were strongly influenced by Syracusan institutions, and although it is impossible to deny that Pais may be right in his other contentions, still here as in the case of many of his conclusions we cannot escape the fact that the data are insufficient to warrant certainty. The paper relating to the Italic, Samnite and Campanian influences on early Rome deals briefly with questions of agriculture, metrology, military organization, civil and political institutions, law and religion. The most important conclusion here is that the laws of the Twelve Tables were largely derived from the Thurian code of about 446 B. C.

The limits of this notice permit only the mention of a few of the other papers. In the opening chapter toponomic evidence is employed to prove that the Ausonians once occupied not only a large part of southern Italy but also much of central Italy as well, including Latium. Again Pais argues in his paper entitled *Eryx=Verruca?* that the Elymi were of the same stock as the Sicani; in his discussion of the early history of Ischia he proposes a probable correction of Strabo V. 247 C τὰ χροσεῖα to χυτρεῖα, and makes some valuable observations on early trade relations with Africa; the following paper maintains the thesis that Naples did not lose Ischia in 326 B. C. when she fell into the hands of the Romans, but in 82 B. C. when she capitulated to Sulla. In the last paper in the volume, by arguments which certainly deserve careful consideration, Pais arrives at the conclusion that Strabo, contrary to Niese's view which has generally been accepted, wrote his geography, based on materials collected by him in Alexandria and Rome, from the point of view of a Greek of Asia Minor and in the interests of Greeks of that region not much later than 7 B. C., in some remoter part of the Asiatic provinces, possibly at the court of Pythodoris, the talented queen of Pontus; twenty-five years later it was worked over and published.

We must regret that the original date and place of publication are not given with each paper, or in default of this, that more account has not been taken of work done since the papers first appeared; then we should not find for example on page 404, note 4, an unqualified acceptance of Landgraf's hypothesis—long since discredited—of the authorship of the *Bellum Africanum*. Mr. Curtis's translation, in spite of a few slips, is on the whole well done and readable; there are a few obvious errors in proof-reading; but barring these matters the book is well made and attractive.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

The History of the World: a Survey of Man's Record. Edited by Dr. H. F. HELMOLT. Volume V. *South Eastern and Eastern Europe.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1907. Pp. xi, 650.)

IN his preface Dr. Helmolt declares: "the present volume may fairly claim to be a fuller and more accurate account of Southeastern and Eastern Europe than any which is to be found in the older universal histories." We may grant this, for it represents the fruits of later investigation than the corresponding parts of Lavissee and Rambaud, but, on the other hand, it is far from being as well written. Few indeed will wish to wade through all its pages. Some of the contributors err on the side of too many names and facts, others on that of obscurity and sweeping statement. Still, whatever their faults, they have given us a work which has been put together with the painstaking care of modern German scholarship and which offers us much information, some of it not easily accessible in Western languages. They have thus fairly earned our gratitude.

Of the separate sections, number I., the Greeks after Alexander the Great, by Professor Rudolf von Scala, is the best. His description of the spread of Hellenism and of its influence not only in Roman but in medieval and in Turkish times is often highly interesting. It is a pity, however, that doubtless so as not to leave a gap in a *History of the World* he felt it necessary to tag on a futile page on the Kingdom of Greece (from 1832). Section II., Turkey in Europe and Armenia, is scholarly but too often vague and rhetorical, and the translation increases its shortcomings. For instance we read that under the reign of Suleiman II. (p. 154) "sword and pen were never dry. Messages of victory alternated with songs, and intellectual rivalry outshone the trophies of captured weapons. . . . Everywhere greatness, power and splendour . . . a splendour which defied the sharpest introspection (for the German word *Blick*) to discover the germs of decay in the roots of the flourishing growth which bore these trophic blooms." Again, to take another example, almost at random, the three meagre, unsatisfactory paragraphs on the Omens (German *Vorboten*) of the Crimean War are rendered still more confused by the careless substitution of the word "Hungary" for "Russia" in the first line of the second paragraph, and by the statement that in the dispute about the Holy Places the Porte decided "in favour of Greece", when what the original says is "the Greeks", here a very different matter.

Sections III.-VI., dealing with the Albanians, Czechs, Serbo-Croatians, the Danube Peoples, etc., contain much that will be new to most readers. If none of the articles are very notable, at least they offer us in compact form a large amount of rather inaccessible information, though it is perhaps not quite as new in itself as the editor thinks. Although different writers are not free from national prejudice, they

puted questions are open to doubt. we note in passing that, contrary to the opinion of Burý and of a number of other scholars, Dr. Wlislöcki in the first line of his account of the Huns (section vi.) takes for granted their identity with the Hiung Nu. He regards the Huns as originally Turks, but soon much mixed, and believes the Bulgarians and probably the Magyars to have been chiefly Finns. On the particularly vexed question of the origin of the Roumanians he cautiously admits the possibility of truth in all the conflicting theories.

Section vii., Eastern Europe, by Professor Vladimir Milkowicz, deals with Russia and Poland. The Russian part, in spite of the praise bestowed upon it in the editor's preface, is not especially good. Its facts are familiar, its conclusions are often biassed and not over-convincing. The Polish portion is better as well as fuller. There is still so little of serious historical writing on Poland in the Western languages that we welcome every addition to the store. The author's tone is in the main fair and dispassionate, but at times he is most disappointing, as in his unpardonably inadequate account of the partitions of Poland, which is followed by less than a page (in this six hundred and fifty page history of eastern Europe) to bring the history of Poland down to the present day!

There is one last severe criticism we have to make that falls on the translation. In a work full of proper names for the most part transliterated from another alphabet, a consistent system of spelling is of obvious importance. The matter should have been turned over to some competent person, instead of which the translator of each section seems to have been free to follow his or her will, regardless of any one else. In section vii.—to name the worst offender—*f*, *v* and *w* are used indiscriminately for the same Russian letter, and even the Polish names are tampered with in spite of the fact that as Polish uses the Roman alphabet no changes are admissible.

These evils are brought out glaringly by the egregious index, whose compiler was evidently incapable of recognizing the same word under two separate spellings or the same person with two qualifications attached to him. A few examples will show the result of this. The first heading in the index is Aachen, p. 55; a little later, p. 62, we find Aix-la-Chapelle. The Hungarian patriot Count Louis Batthyány is mentioned on page 396. When he is spoken of on the next page his first name is not repeated and an extra accent has somehow got on to the last, so the cautious index has another heading. Katharine II. has only one reference, to her (which is more than that spelling deserves) but she comes to her own as Catherine II. We have separate headings for Justinian and Justinian Emperor; for Council of Nicaea and Council of Nicea; for Alexij Orloff and Alexei Orlov; for Otranto and Otranto in Apulia; and eight different ones with Basil or Basilius to cover two Byzantine emperors. The form Wladislaus comes in but once, and the

same is true of Wladislaw, but there are Lădislauses and Vladislavs in plenty, and in utter confusion. Under the plain heading Casimir, the first three references relate to three different persons, one of whom comes in again under four other headings—but it is useless to continue with examples of this kind. Any one with time to waste can find plenty for himself. We can only regret that the English rendering of a painstaking and useful historical work should be marred by such disgraceful slovenliness in some of its details.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

Histoire du Dogme de la Papauté des Origines à la Fin du Quatrième Siècle. Par l'Abbé JOSEPH TURMEL. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1908. Pp. 492.)

THE Abbé Turmel has gathered into a book the studies which he has published in the *Revue Catholique des Églises*. He professes by his title to give a history of the dogma of the papacy in the first four centuries, but the work is not so much a contribution to the history of dogma as a study of the historical development of the Roman authority in the early period. The progress of dogmas of which the author speaks (p. 189) means, in this instance, the progress of actual jurisdiction. In more than one passage the term dogma is used when power would have been more exact. A sentence midway in the book might well have stood as a preface: "Tels étaient les droits de la papauté considérés, non dans leur réalité intime que la théologie peut seule nous faire connaître, mais dans leur exercice historique" (p. 189). The story of this historical development is, however, somewhat confused by the constant implication that the Roman consciousness of dogmatic and governmental authority was in full existence at all times, even when it found no expression and was not presented as the basis of action. Possibly Turmel's adhesion to this dogma prevented him from following the example of Sohm's *Kirchenrecht* in exhibiting the growth of Roman authority as a special case of a class of facts, as a signal instance of the preponderant influence won by the great centres and their bishops. In one passage (pp. 178-186), however, Turmel makes an admirable statement of this general case of development, and his scientific integrity is illustrated by the frank and admirable candor with which in one matter of great importance (p. 64) he acknowledges a conflict between historic induction and theology. Probably no more lucid and incisive statement of the problem of transition from collegial episcopate to monarchic episcopate can be named than that which leads to the acknowledgment just cited.

The work is able, minute, clear, erudite, interesting, and shows an amazing knowledge of the work of German and English scholarship. It is a monograph of great value especially in dealing with the fourth century where the general church histories like the recent admirable work of the Abbé Duchesne sacrifice the detail of this particular matter to

the larger story of state establishment. The reader of the monograph is often aware of a special theological and national interest. The discussion of himself to some valuable discussion. The monographs have been more brief.

Although the Abbé Turmel has a background in historical science, able to present both sides of the question, to give justice to each, and to find a conclusion. In the facts, there are some instances where the historian triumphs over his accuracy. He renders the phrase of Irenaeus ("primatium") by "prééminence suprême", and translates the notion of absolute Roman authority which condemned Novatian: "sur un point les opinions se rassemblent" (p. 102). Turmel's first docile to Roman authority and early submissiveness is got by forcing a translation. "I thought it well to stand before you" ("putavi et cum vestra sententia") becomes "à votre décision" (p. 95), and with the dropping of the remaining words of Cyprian's submission to authority. A promise of obedience is rendered "non sans nous mettre à votre disposition". A Roman acknowledgment of Cyprian's ("fecisti") becomes the approbation of the pope (p. 97) and Cyprian's request to Stephen ("litteras") in a matter of discipline becomes "décisive" (p. 124). Turmel's final conclusion in the baptismal controversy "dénote une primauté de la primauté" (p. 172) is a point of view, but the long discussion reached the conclusion that Cyprian's primacy of authority but a primacy of fact.

It is possible that such misreading is due to haste and the standing misconception. It is certainly only carelessness that the third canon of the council of Sardica (which gave an appeal of deposed bishops to be resumed by the bishops who are not deposed). Turmel's translation means that to refer an appeal to Rome for decision. The generation of Roman authority is, however, not of the canon. Two pages later Turmel returns to the canon in his discussion. Yet the canon simply delegates to Julius of Rome the right to summon a new council.

of deposition. Turmel writes: "il a attribué au pape . . . un droit de révision." His discussion on the other hand sets forth that the right was a novelty in practice, instituted at that particular time.

The book is a useful help in tracing the development of Roman appellate jurisdiction, though it is obvious that it must be read with cautious, critical attention.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Recueil des Actes de Lothaire et de Louis V., Rois de France (954-987). Publié sous la Direction de M. H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, Membre de l'Institut; par M. LOUIS HALPHEN, avec la Collaboration de M. FERDINAND LOT. (Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1908. Pp. lv, 231.)

Recueil des Actes de Philippe I^{er}, Roi de France (1059-1108). Publié sous la Direction de M. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, Membre de l'Institut, par M. PROU, Professeur à l'École des Chartes. (Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1908. Pp. ccl, 567.)

It is a curious fact that although the science of diplomatics had its origin in France and the traditions of the Benedictines have been well maintained by the École des Chartes yet the documentary sources of French history have not been collected and sifted with the same system and thoroughness as in Germany, and the French student has at his disposal no such body of *Urkunden* and *Jahrbücher* as his German colleagues have prepared. Even the field which interests France and Germany equally, the period of the Carolingians, has been tilled almost wholly by German and Austrian scholars. Projects for such undertakings have, however, not been lacking in France. Even before the Revolution the Academy of Inscriptions and the government formed plans for publishing in chronological order all the documents important for the history of France, and by the middle of the nineteenth century a large mass of copies had been accumulated for that purpose. These schemes were, however, too vast for execution, and they failed to take sufficient account of the need of studying critically each group of documents by itself. Only comparatively recently, largely through the efforts of the late Arthur Giry and M. Maurice Prou, has the Academy of Inscriptions turned to the more practicable task of issuing an edition of the documents of the West Frankish and French sovereigns from 840 to 1223. The first two volumes are now before us, and we learn from M. d'Arbois's preface that the work for the others is well advanced. A series of non-royal documents will be inaugurated next year by M. Léopold Delisle's monumental study of the charters of Henry II. for his continental dominions.

charters of these sovereigns, besides twelve forgeries and some scattered references to other documents, and, thanks to the excellent studies of M. Ferdinand Lot on this period, he has not been able to bring out much that is new for its history. The diplomatic introduction is a model of sober and concise statement, and occasionally, as in the account of the chancery, it throws light on the vicissitudes of royal power during these reigns and the growing demoralization toward the end. M. Prou deals with a longer period, and the one hundred and seventy-two charters which he has collected furnish the indispensable basis for the still unwritten history of Philip I.'s reign. On the whole, though, the perusal of these documents is disappointing, both for political history and for the study of institutions. Philip I. was not a personage of importance, and while his long reign fell in a notable period of history, his own official acts throw singularly little light upon his times.

Both volumes are admirable types of what such works should be. The text has been established with scrupulous care, the various copies and earlier editions are fully indicated, and the typography is excellent. To many the pains taken will seem almost too great, for the index refers regularly to lines as well as pages, and the list of copies is extended to the point of including all modern transcripts, even when they have no value for the text. The introductions are important contributions to diplomatics, and it is a convenience to be able to consult them in the same volume with the charters instead of having to seek them elsewhere, as in the case of the series with which this one takes rank, the *Diplomata of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

English Society in the Eleventh Century: Essays in English Medieval History. By PAUL VINOGRADOFF, D.C.L., LL.D., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. Pp. xii, 599.)

THE middle ground between the conditions described in his two earlier works, the *Growth of the Manor*, in so far as it is a study of origins, and *Villainage in England*, a study of the perfected manor, Professor Vinogradoff has covered with a close and systematic investigation into the social conditions disclosed by *Domesday Book*. He has cut, in a sense, a section across English society at the moment when Norman institutions and customs were being imposed upon the already complex conditions resulting from Scandinavian occupations and the natural development of the Anglo-Saxons. In the first of the two essays into which the book is divided he approaches the subject from above, discussing the influence of public law on society as seen, first, in the military organization necessary for the defense of the country, the *fyrd*,

the *here*, the feudal host; second, in the maintenance of order by means of judicial institutions, public and private; third, in the assessment and collection of the revenue necessary for the support of the government. In the second essay he deals directly with the actual conditions of rural life—with the manor, the soke, the township and the classes of society. This comprehensive arrangement of material has enabled him to include in his discussion many of the intricate problems of early English history. The subject-matter is complex, the argument highly detailed and technical, and sometimes difficult to follow, but clarity and unity of treatment have been secured for the work as a whole by a close dependence upon *Domesday Book*. Earlier and later conditions are treated only in so far as they are explanatory or illustrative of those described in the Great Survey.

Of great value is the insistence on the "fundamental dualism" of life in pre-conquestual England, on the necessity, that is to say, of distinguishing clearly the conditions in the Scandinavian North and East from those in the Saxon South and West. The difference which Professor Vinogradoff finds is not so much one of essential characteristics, legal, political, or economic, as of time and stage of development, the Northern and Eastern counties presenting in the eleventh century conditions not generally dissimilar to those which must have been reached by the South and West in the ninth and tenth centuries. The distinction is seen, for example, in the military organization of the two districts. The "remarkable congestion of small freemen in the Danish districts", and also the "heterogeneous mass of tenures" in which these freemen still played a great part, were not peculiarly Danish, but rather a later appearance of conditions that must have been common throughout England at an earlier date, and the *here* of Harold which was drawn from these freemen must, therefore, have resembled the *fyrð* of the seventh and eighth centuries. In the South, on the other hand, large units of land under separate landlords had been formed, the military service of which was being rendered by a class of more or less professional soldiers, who had naturally become the lords of the "professional labourers". The feudal military tenure of the Conquest did not, then, come to the North as a natural growth, but was imposed prematurely on a region where military service was not yet clearly attached to definite stretches of land, whereas in the South the ground was in part prepared, and the carving out of knights' fees was easy to accomplish. The Conquest brought a definition of the service due from fees, and a differentiation of the knights, in "point of quality of service and tenure" from other freemen. It brought also, Professor Vinogradoff believes, an attempt at the construction of normal or average knights' fees, the large or ordinary fee and the Mortain fee.

These conclusions regarding military service are an indication of the lines of argument in several other general directions. The gradual differentiation of the military class, the growth of the landed aris-

tocracy and the accompanying dismemberment of public institutions by franchises, the weight of taxation, all of these factors in social life led necessarily, since the balance of society had to be maintained, to the increasing dependence of that part of the population which was engaged in agricultural labor. Manorialization by various processes and under different names had advanced far in the non-Scandinavian counties by the time of the Conquest, although not so far nor so uniformly as the Domesday commissioners would have us believe. The allowance that is made for the many possible lines of development of the manor, and, with it, of the class of villeins, is very important, and also the examination of the distribution of the various types of settlements in certain counties along lines not ethnological, and the variations in the meaning of the Domesday *manerium*. Professor Vinogradoff finds that Domesday manors are not uniform, but may be divided into five types, the form depending in a great measure upon the existence of a demesne or home farm, and of the jurisdictional tie, or soke. The division into *inland* and *warland* and the relation of the parts of the manor to the geld is carefully studied. Back of the manor, and, in a sense, underneath it, Professor Vinogradoff finds the township the earlier, natural unit of society, an agricultural community with a certain corporate character, with by-laws of its own, in origin composed of a group of freemen who held each a hide, and who rendered military service and followed the communal courts. This "independent township", and side by side with it the "private estate cultivated by slaves or serfs", are "the fundamental units underlying the manorial organization".

Domesday Book remains slow to disclose all her secrets, but many of her difficult statements have gained new life and meaning from Professor Vinogradoff's investigations. Certainty, or even common agreement, on all points cannot be expected in a period for which the evidence is incomplete and difficult to interpret. Professor Vinogradoff's book is, however, much more than a series of special and important Domesday studies. Its highest value lies in the fact that it is a reasonable, well-ordered explanation of English society at an important moment, an explanation which is the result of a very comprehensive understanding of a difficult subject, and which shows a remarkable constructive power generally restrained by a knowledge of facts gained from the laborious compiling of Domesday statistics.

Les Légendes Épiques: Recherches sur la Formation des Chansons de Geste. Par JOSEPH BÉDIER, Professeur au Collège de France
 Volume I. *Le Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange.* (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1908. Pp. 431.)

THE accepted theory of the origin of the leading French epic poems makes them at their inception ballads, celebrating the hero of some contemporaneous event. These ballads would grow with time into half-

narrative poems, and would absorb songs on local heroes who bore the same name. Finally poetical invention would come in, and complete the transformation of lyric into epic. This theory, hitherto unquestioned in its general outlines, is now tested by M. Bédier's studies, which begin with the volume on the cycle of William of Orange. Sifting out the history scattered through the French poems and the Latin legends on William, and comparing it with authentic statements of ninth-century writers, M. Bédier finds that both sources agree in making William a leader against the Saracens under Charlemagne and Louis, his son, and in converting him to monkhood in his later years. But he also discovers that this slight historical residuum could have been supplied to the minstrels by the records of the rival monasteries of Aniane and Gellone, with which William was connected, and that some facts, including the name of William's wife, could have been supplied only by these records. As to the absorption of the legends on local Williams by the epic of the great William, who was duke of Toulouse, in history, there is no evidence at all. All the Williams of the poems are manifestations of the one real warrior-saint, and the particular poem which is supposed to prove a multiplicity of Williams, the *Couronnement de Louis*, is shown in a hundred or more brilliant pages to prove the opposite. It has unity of hero, and unity of action.

The historical element in the cycle being determined and its distribution through the leading poems clearly shown, the question as to the respective dates of these principal poems and the nature and composition of their immediate predecessors arises. Analyses of all the epic material on William which is available, confirmed by the lesson drawn from a comparison of the earliest-known poem of the cycle, the *Chanson de Guillaume*, with its later revisions, seem to establish beyond a doubt that the poems at hand, and surely the reworkings of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, are more consistent, less unfinished, more reasonable than the compilations which preceded them. And epic development, if development there is, is from the disorderly to the orderly, from the confused to the logical.

The cycle of William of Orange, therefore, is in no sense the final form of folk-songs, contemporaneous with the events and heroes celebrated, and gradually evolving from simplicity to complexity. On the contrary it owes its birth to the rivalry of the monasteries of Aniane and Gellone, which exploited William's actual relations with themselves. To attract to their shrines the pilgrims who journeyed along the neighboring highway from Paris to Santiago, they magnified in emulation the prowess of the soldier-saint, whose tomb they guarded and relics of whom they provided for the worship of the faithful. And making common cause with the minstrels, who won their bread along the same artery of piety and commerce, they entered into collaboration with them for their mutual profit, furnishing the material which the singers embellished and carried abroad. The peculiar facts drawn from the records

of the monasteries, and certain Provençal forms of proper names in the poems betray this conspiracy.

The importance of M. Bédier's conclusions cannot be minimized. They affect the history of epic poetry in all ages. However they may be received, they will compel by the force and incisiveness of the arguments through which they are reached the adoption of a more practical method by other investigators, and one which will be more productive in lasting results. So far as the cycle of William is concerned, M. Bédier has destroyed the idea of a fusion of separate traditions in the legend of one glorious homonym. And at the same time he has disclosed the great source of its epic material in the stories of interested monasteries, fabricated for the use of minstrels. But the period for this partnership, which M. Bédier would set near the first Crusades, when the vagabond singers, filled with pious zeal, would come upon the relics of the great Christian chieftain and would learn of his deeds, seems too late by half a century or more. And, after all, how did the monks become aware of the value of their assets? Has M. Bédier positively proven that popular tradition, nay, even a folk-song, did not give them the hint?

F. M. WARREN.

The Dawn of the Constitution, or the Reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. (A. D. 1216-1307). By Sir JAMES H. RAMSAY, Bart., of Bamff, M.A., LL.D. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. xxxii, 591.)

IN this work Sir James Ramsay continues his essentially narrative history of England through the reigns indicated. The interpretation of events is to be gathered, partly from direct statement, but mainly from the sequence of the action. This does not mean, however, that the author does not evince decided views as to interpretation or emphasis.

So far from giving the customary laudation to the political activity of the Franciscans in Henry's reign, Sir James plainly minimizes and even deprecates it. Although, of course, bound to mention their relations with Earl Simon, Bishop Grosseteste and the University of Oxford (pp. 51, 116, 136, note 2, 247), he lays equal stress on their utility to the king and pope, particularly in matters of finance (pp. 92, 115 ff.; cf. p. 213). The authorship of the *Carmen de Bello Lewensi* is definitely assigned to a non-Franciscan writer (p. 303, note 5).

Equally notable is the attitude of reserve adopted toward Simon de Montfort in general, and in particular toward his Gascon administration (pp. 132, 135; cf. pp. 246-247, *et passim*). Sir James, moreover, obviously thinks the "Forte nominabitur recte leopardus" of the *Song of Lewes* a better text for treating Edward than the "Pactum Serva" of the tomb at Westminster. Apparently the author would agree with Professor Jenks's view that Edward was probably waiting for Llewelyn

"to commit himself beyond forgiveness". Edward treated Llewelyn "with liberality", says he, "so far as money went, but it is not clear that in other respects he gave him a fair trial" (p. 335). The whole carefully written account of Scottish relations points to conscious duplicity on Edward's part. In particular are alleged the violation of the treaty of Brigham (pp. 381 ff.; cf. p. 380), the suppression of the protest of the Scottish *Communitas* (p. 384), the small part played by the Scottish arbiters among the One Hundred and Four (p. 394), the falsification of the records (pp. 385, 395, note 5) and the cancellation of the treaty of Brigham (p. 397). "Balliol was not a man of great parts, but he was no felon; he had behaved far more honourably to Edward than Edward had to him" (p. 427). The treatment of the Scottish question is one of the most valuable parts of the book, and a helpful supplement to other English histories.

That topical treatment which is so helpful in dealing with constitutional problems is obviously impossible in a strictly narrative account. One cannot but feel, in addition, that the author is somewhat inclined to read the present into the past. He follows Bishop Stubbs in seeing a not improbable origin of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility in the regency during Henry III.'s minority, and what amounts "in modern phrase to a demand for Ministerial responsibility to Parliament" is made by the twelve representatives of the prelates, earls and barons in 1244 (pp. 46, 108; cf. Charles Bémont, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 111, and G. B. Adams, *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIII, 726, note 24). On the other hand we note with pleasure the very subordinate position (in a foot-note, p. 418, note 4) accorded the familiar *quod omnes tangit*, etc., of the clerical writs of 1295; and if Montfort's Parliament of 1265 is not discussed at length, its essentially opportunistic and temporary nature is indicated (p. 234). A hint only is accorded the process of the development of representation (p. 146), although a discussion of Riess's views of early Parliamentary rights and the working of borough-representation would have been welcome—as well indeed as of Professor Jenks's account of the Edwardian jurisprudence.

In matters of general accuracy and apparatus somewhat is left to be desired. The List of Authors Cited is not very scientifically worked out. Questions of edition and date are loosely cared for; we miss such familiar names as Bémont, Riess and Jenks; there is a tendency to cite older rather than more recent writers, Green and Martin for example rather than Sabatier and the Lavissee history—not that the statements are unreliable, but that the utility of the note to the student seeking the last word is sensibly diminished. Occasional use is made of the Lavissee history. The unity of the paragraph is not always preserved (e. g., pp. 368-369), and sharp transitions in subject-matter are sometimes confusing (e. g., pp. 28-30). There are obvious misprints and *lapsus calami* (pp. 4, note 5; 6, note 7; 383, 520). In note 2, p. 422, the reference to "Rot. Parl. IV, 427" might with

propriety have been altered to the original record, *Rot. Parl.*, I. 117. In note 2, p. 145, the reference should be to *Epp.*, no. 128, instead of to no. 123. "Similiter" is intrusive in page 418, note 4. The inference that Bek was a sorely abused man in the Quo Warranto proceedings (p. 422) is hardly consonant with the bishop's easy evasion of the issue and the fact that these proceedings, taken in connection with the trial of Archbishop Romanus shortly before, brought the Durham franchise to its highest point.

Sir James Ramsay has again done a great service, especially to students, who may at any time be helped by one or another apparently superfluous detail. Single minor incidents are made to contribute to the progress of the story; familiar dramatic events are sanely and soberly described (pp. 328, 409); the royal finance is treated with unique fullness and clearness; the military element is not preponderant. The historian has, within his limits of matter and form, provided "those desirous of knowing the cardinal facts of English history with a consecutive and verified narrative" (preface, p. v).

ROBERT K. RICHARDSON.

Marine World Chart of Nicolo de Camerio Januensis, 1502 (circa).

A Critical Study with Facsimile, by EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, Ph.D., Professor of History in Rutgers College. Issued under the joint auspices of the American Geographical Society and the Hispanic Society of America. (New York. 1908. Facsimile map, ten folio sheets; key-map, one folio sheet; octavo text; pp. 115.)

THIS is the second publication in a series of maps illustrating early discovery and exploration in America, issued under the joint auspices of the above societies, of which Mr. Archer M. Huntington is the head and patron. The initial publication, the world-map of Jodocus Hondius (1611), was noticed in the REVIEW (XIII. 179). The original map is a manuscript on coarse parchment, measuring 225 by 115 cm., inclusive of the border, and is well drawn and colored in green, blue, red and gold. It is one of the choicest treasures in the Archives du Service Hydrographique de la Marine, of Paris, and seems to have come originally to the French Department of State about the year 1669. For years it had lain neglected, hence is yellowed, much crinkled and the edges are badly frayed. Its antecedent history is unknown. Professor L. Gallois presented the first extended notice of it in 1890. Some years ago the French government had a few photographic copies printed, and outlines of facsimile reductions of sections have appeared in several works, by Gallois, Marcel, Harisse, Ravenstein and others. But the present facsimile in the original size, dissected on ten large folio sheets, is its first publication in full for scholars and libraries, at the moderate price of twenty dollars. It required the ingenuity of

an expert photographer to make the negatives, and an equally expert firm to multiply it by the gelatine process. The joint results of the French photographer and the F. A. Ringler Company, of New York, are of a superior excellence.

Canerio, of whom almost nothing is known, was a native of Italy, and he calls himself a Genoese in an inscription in the lower lefthand corner of the map: "Opus Nicolay de Canerio Ianuensis"; yet he employs, in the main, the Portuguese language for nomenclature and legends, and more or less corruptly. Although undated, the year of the map is determined approximately as 1502, because it records "no original entry of discovery after 1502". In fact, it belongs to the same type of marine charts or portolani as the Cantino map (1502), which it resembles in nomenclature, and Professor Stevenson suggests that both may be modifications from a now lost common original. Yet, the Canerio chart has important additions, represents a greater scientific value, and is believed to be the oldest marine chart which marks degrees of latitude. Besides being one of the oldest known maps on which any portion of the New World is given, it is also among the first maps to break away from Ptolemaic traditions in outlining the Far East; is one of the first maps employing a grouping of wind-roses; and it or its prototype exerted an unequalled influence on the cartography of the New World for a quarter of a century, on such men as Waldseemüller (1507 and 1516) and Fri-sius (1525).

Professor Stevenson's critical text lays emphasis upon the place-nomenclature of the New World and Africa, and the sources and influence of Canerio's map. His comparative tables of geographical names (27 pp.) present a parallel study *de novo* of the Cantino, Canerio, Pilestrina, Waldseemüller (1507) and Waldseemüller (1516) great maps. He gives also a complete list (4½ pp.) of the Names and Legends of Canerio beyond Cape Guardafui. Anybody familiar with cartography realizes the difficulties of reading correctly these old maps, and how much the subject is yet in penumbra. Different pairs of eyes interpret differently; yet, we believe, the following must be classed as errata in Stevenson's Canerio columns—the only portions investigated by the reviewer under intensified light manipulated by a strong glass, *viz.*: p. 85 read .y. Santa for .y. *Sanra*; caty for *cary*; p. 88 read Rio de Sam Fransesco for *Rio de sam Francesco*; p. 91 read .C. de canti for *.C. de canñi*; caffin for *caffin*; rio de sancus for *rio de saneus*; bulleza for *vulleza*; p. 92 read ang^a de S^o desuit^a, or ang^a de So^o desint^a for *ang^a de S^o desuiro*; p. 94 read C. roixo for *C. roix*; p. 97 read perhaps todas barbas for *rodas barbas*; .c. damon for *.c. darnore*; p. 99 read Rio feroso for *Rio fremoso*; rio de S. miguel for *Rio de S. moguel*; rio de peto de sinta for *rio de pero de sinta*; p. 100 read Serra guerera for *Serra querero*; cauo de .S. iohã for *cauo de .S. johã*; insulla de corissco for *insulla de corisco*; p. 103 read read plaia darca for *plaia darea*; p. 104 read Santo anbroxio for *Santo Ambroxio*; p. 105 read Cabo de bona

speransa for *Cabo de boa speransa*; p. 106 read *ilehaos decruz* for *ilcheos dacruz*; p. 108 read *Gorffo de meros* for *Gorffo de meras*; Rio de bono sutaes for *Rio de bono futaes*; p. 109 read *insulla primeras* for *insulla primera*; *monbacha* for *moncacha*; p. 114 read in column 1, line 3, *preciosa* for *pecciosa*; also a few others of less importance. He dates (p. 66) the first voyage of Diogo Cão or Cam as beginning in 1484; but Cão received his orders in 1482, and set out from Lisbon, Ravenstein believes, in June of that year, returning to Portugal before April, 1484 (*Geog. Jour.*, XVI. 628-629; cf. XXXI. 591, 614-615). Martin Behaim was not with Cão's second expedition in 1485 (*Geog. Jour.*, XVI. 633). It is now known that none of the "padrões" or pillars set up by Cão contained any part of the inscriptions in Arabic (*Geog. Jour.*, XVI. 642, note). Ravenstein's most recent indentifications, apparently overlooked by Stevenson, locate the four pillars of Cão, (1) at the mouth of the Congo, (2) at "Cabo do Lobo" (now Cape St. Mary)—during the first voyage; and (3) at "Monte Negro" (now Cabo Negro), (4) "Cabo do Padrão" (now Cape Cross)—during the second voyage. Rock inscriptions, commemorating a landing during the second voyage were found some years ago at the mouth of the river Mpozo, a tributary of the Congo (*Geog. Jour.*, XXXI. 590). Professor Stevenson is doing commendable work for historical cartography in America.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Slavonic Europe: a Political History of Poland and Russia from 1447 to 1796. By R. NISBET BAIN. (Cambridge: University Press. 1908. Pp. viii, 452.)

"SLAVONIC EUROPE" is hardly an accurate title for a book which treats of only Russia and Poland. It is, of course, difficult to disentangle the events of the confused history of even these countries within the compass of 450 pages, and Mr. Bain has not been fully equal to the task. He has crowded his book with useless detail, probably as a result of hasty writing which leaves too little time to discriminate between the essential and the unessential.

What English-speaking students need in a history of Russia and Poland is an intelligent and clear explanation of the principal institutions of these countries, of the principal events of their history, and of the principal causes of these events. Mr. Bain probably knows this as well as anyone else, but he certainly has not given a clear idea of the principal institutions of Russia and Poland, nor of the principal events of their history. He has, however, succeeded to a much greater extent in pointing out the principal causes. He would in all probability have done much more in respect to institutions and events, if he had not given so much space to military and diplomatic history. There is entirely too much of this:

There are some annoying uses of words, which seem almost as puerile as annoying. Thus, Mr. Bain insists on using the Russian word for annalist though the meaning of the English word is exactly the same. Again, he uses Stambul for Constantinople, except when speaking of the Patriarch. He is not always consistent in this, however. Added to the rather pretentious use of Polish and Russian words, and unusual designations, one finds frequent evidence of haste in the use of proper names. Thus he speaks of Kievlians and Kievlyan; he mentions the well-known Novodyevechy nunnery; but what does he mean when he calls it the Dyevichesky monastery? Why Svety Krest and Svyestui Krest? Why Marienberg and Wittenburg? And Lowositz and Bagchaserai? Why, if he says George Lubomirsky and James Dolgoruki, should he say Hieronymus Radziejowski and Yakov Dolgoruki? Why use Ermak and Yermak? If Ermak were correct (as it is not), he ought to write Avorsky instead of Yavorsky.

The use of sources does not strike a reviewer as critical. Most of the old stories are accepted without the least hesitation. Even where critical skill is not requisite, the writer is far from being impeccable, for he is too much given to hasty judgments: Sophia Paleologa, we are told, "was certainly superior, both in craft and courage, to any of her contemporaries", but Louis XI. was a contemporary of Sophia. It is almost absurd to say that the least Sobieski "had to expect from his subjects was loyalty", for the words subject and loyalty can hardly be used in speaking of the relations of Poles to their kings. Peter's sister Sophia did not refute the Old Believers; Peter the Great was not a "singularly backward child", and Mr. Bain's evidence to support the assertion does not support it.

It must be admitted that there is considerable information in the book, that Mr. Bain properly emphasizes the causes of historical events, that he gives an excellent account of the relations between Russia and Poland, and that he has great skill in drawing life-like portraits. But all in all, the book is disappointing.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

History and Ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi. In three volumes. By GEORGE MCCALL THEAL, Litt.D., LL.D., formerly Keeper of the Archives of the Cape Colony and at present Colonial Historiographer. Volume I. *The Portuguese in South Africa from 1505 to 1700.* (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Company. 1907. Pp. xxii, 501.)

THIS is the first volume of the third and rearranged and enlarged edition of Dr. Theal's great work on the history of South Africa. According to the new plan, series one, extending to 1795, will contain two additional volumes on the Dutch in Cape Colony and on the relations of the Dutch, Portuguese, Hottentots and Bantu. Series two contains

volumes already familiar, though apparently the fifth and last volume, covering the period 1861-1872, is undergoing a revision. As the result of the separate publication, sometimes under varying titles, of books later included in a series, the bibliography of Dr. Theal's works is somewhat confusing.

The genesis of this volume may be traced through *The Beginnings of South Africa* (1902) to *The Portuguese in South Africa* (1896) and finally to volume I. of the first edition of *The History of South Africa* (1888). In the present edition there is unfortunately no sufficient indication of these facts as well as of others of like character which cannot be taken up at this time.

The whole set is based in large part on the personal observations and studies of the author as to native races and on the invaluable collections of documents which he has edited in time past for the government of Cape Colony; in particular, the *Records of South Eastern Africa* is the set of which a partial digest and summary is given in the course of the last 300 pages of the book under review. In the edition of 1902 a short bibliography was given (now omitted), but no references were supplied; likewise in the present edition. The result is that, though the serious student would in any case turn to the documents, even the investigator of a particular point is left almost helpless to verify some significant statement. The lack of an index, which is supposedly retained for concluding volumes, will also tend to decrease the prompt usefulness of this volume. Yet we are gladly grateful for the book as it stands.

In particular it is worth noting how Dr. Theal has grown in concise and sober statement, how he now refuses to commit himself as to points on which when less familiar he wrote, not always with caution. Thus, on the Ophir question we may read (p. 101 in ed. 1902) "Probably many centuries before the commencement of the Christian era, people more civilized than the Bantu, but still very far from reaching the level of modern Europeans, made their appearance on the central table-land of Africa south of the Zambesi. They were Asiatics, but of what nationality is uncertain. It is indeed possible, if not probable, that they came from the great commercial city of Tyre", etc. In the present volume (p. 174) we read "At some unknown period in the past the territory between the Zambesi and the Limpopo rivers was occupied by people more advanced in knowledge than the Bantu who were found living there at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their nationality is uncertain and nearly everything connected with them is involved in mystery. . . . It is not impossible, though it is only a conjecture of some writers, that traders from the great commercial city of Tyre on the Eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea visited them", etc. The difference here indicated, while perhaps not typical, is at least indicative of some of the gains of the newer book for the student.

The notably welcome features of the book are due to the relatively

large space given to native races and to the relations between Europeans and natives, and to the fact that while other books which deal with the history of European expansion rush past Africa to Asia, here you find what you may often have wondered at but have rarely found explained. In return the book would have gained had greater attention been paid to the relation of European expansion in Africa to that in Asia, though such a perspective would have made the book somewhat less exclusively a history of South Africa. In any case, Dr. Theal's industry and ability have here a fitting embodiment.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Les Origines du Schisme Anglican (1509-1571). Par J. DE TRÉSAL.
(Paris: Victor Lecoffré. 1908. Pp. xxiii, 460.)

THIS book is one of the volumes which compose the *Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique* initiated in 1897 at the suggestion of Leo XIII. with the avowed object of producing a "histoire ecclésiastique universelle, mise au point des progrès de la critique de notre temps". Save for the first chapter of 21 pages, which treats of the earlier reforming movements in England, the book deals with the history of the English church from the accession of Henry VIII. to the excommunication of Elizabeth.

In his preface, the author expresses his desire to write "un récit impartial, clair et puisé aux bonnes sources", but this laudable intention has not been very fully carried out in practice. The closing pages of the book form a startling contrast to its earlier professions of impartiality. After telling us that the Anglican church "ne sort pas des entrailles de la nation", but originated in the "caprice d'Henri VIII. pour une jeune fille irlandaise", M. de Trésal concludes with a hope that "quand l'État aura retiré son patronage à leur Église" Englishmen will remember "que Henri VIII. et Élisabeth ont fondé le schisme contre la volonté de la majorité de la nation" and turn a sympathetic ear to the call of the Church of Rome "qui a besoin de l'esprit raisonnable et pratique, des fortes qualités morales de la race anglaise".

To follow every winding of the somewhat tortuous path by which M. de Trésal connects these two opposing standpoints would demand far more space than is allotted to this review. It may not however be amiss to point out a few of the most important causes of his divagations, especially as they are common to many of the Catholic historians of sixteenth-century England, who profess to write according to the canons of modern historical criticism. In the first place, our author's bibliographical knowledge leaves much to be desired. He is either unacquainted with or else wilfully disregards a large majority of the scientific works dealing with his field which have been published since 1900. In the second place, he looks to such high-church and semi-Romanist historians as Dixon and Gairdner as representing fairly the

Protestant point of view, and scarcely gives his reader an inkling of the fact that such authors as Pollard and Fisher interpret the course of events in a very different, and, on the whole, more generally accepted manner. Lastly, M. de Trésal's knowledge of the political history of the period is somewhat scanty; his general standpoint is as essentially clerical and foreign as that of most of the men with whom his book deals was lay and national, and the net result is that his work totally fails to fulfill its initial promise of impartiality. Hence his inability to see no deeper cause for the English Reformation than Henry VIII's passion for the "jeune fille irlandaise"; hence his surprisingly one-sided account of the result of the suppression of the monasteries.

It would be unjust to M. de Trésal to imply that his book is utterly without merit. As he rightly says, the period with which he deals is little known in France, and there was plenty of room for a work which affords, as his does, a fairly clear and readable presentation of one side of the case. The pity is that he does not intimate that there is any other side, that his book should claim impartiality, when, by a series of almost imperceptible gradations, it develops, from what professes to be an impartial beginning, almost into the position of a polemic at the end.

RÔGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum. Published under the auspices of the Schwenckfelder Church, Pennsylvania, and the Hartford Theological Seminary, Connecticut. Volume I. *A Study of the Earliest Letters of Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig.* Editor, CHESTER DAVID HARTRANFT, Hartford Theological Seminary; Associate Editors, OTTO BERNHARD SCHLUTTER, ELMER ELLSWORTH SCHULTZ JOHNSON, Hartford Theological Seminary. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel. 1907. Pp. viii, lxxi, 661.)

WHOEVER has wandered through the pamphlets and letters of the sixteenth-century reformers has grown used to meeting at every turn a certain Silesian nobleman, refined of bearing, courteous of spirit, affable of address despite a slight hardness of hearing, but uniting with his gentleness, as so often do the slightly deaf, an opinionated persistence which was the despair of the oracles of Lutheran and Zwinglian orthodoxy. An exile, pushed from town to town of Germany by their distrust and growing hate, and soon, so far as censorship had power, excluded from the printer's aid, his imperturbable individualism found utterance still, and notably in long expository letters to the elect souls who in all the warring communions gave ear to his peaceful teaching of the religion of the spirit and the freedom of the conscience. But these epistolary pamphlets, read to pieces by friends or torn to pieces by foes, could only in part be gathered up by the courageous disciples who straightway after his death (1561) undertook a collective edition of his writings; and the four volumes they succeeded in printing, pro-

scribed and hunted down, have long been excessively rare. Yet it has been known that there lurked in German libraries the materials for a far more complete reproduction of the teachings of Caspar Schwenckfeld; and it was with joy that students of the Reformation learned some twenty years ago that such a task had been undertaken by the little remnant of his followers, who now for nearly two centuries have found a refuge in America. The enterprise found a natural leader in a scholar of their own number, the Rev. Dr. Hartranft, then professor of church history in the Hartford Theological Seminary, of which he has since for many years been president; and that institution has lent also its support to the undertaking, at last relinquishing Dr. Hartranft entirely to this research.

The first fruits of these years of labor lie before us. The handsome volume suggests those of the great Weimar edition of Luther. An opening "Advertisement" tells us the history of the work and a long introduction by the editors sets forth their plans. Beginning with the complete works of Schwenckfeld—the prospectus reckons them at seventeen volumes—they hope to add those of the other advocates of "the Middle Way". A history, too, of the Middle Way is in their plan, and to that they leave the biography of Schwenckfeld, here but summarizing his life and devoting the bulk of their space to an exposition of what they conceive his fundamental tenets—individualism, the rights of the laity, Christian liberty, brotherhood, freedom of religious assembly, the superiority of spirit to letter, the supreme importance of character, spiritual unity, the training of the conscience; a religion biblical and mystical rather than speculative, and the application of religion to social betterment. Then, with but a glance at his eucharistic views, at his Christology and at certain misconceptions of his teaching, they outline the unusual plan followed in the publication of his writings. The text of each pamphlet, each letter, is not only preceded by the usual bibliographical and critical preface and followed by a translation, but to each is further added a glossary and three excursions—on its language, on the history involved in it, and on its theology. How costly this must be in repetition they recognize; but "it is only by continuous reaffirmation", they think, "that one can get a hearing under the stolid system of orthodoxy which has shaped historic judgment and style." Yet one may doubt whether a plan which in this thick volume gives us but a half-dozen documents—some sixty pages of text to six hundred of comment—makes a hearing absolutely certain. At least they assure us they have "tried not to overburden their pages with constant references"; for, "in the attempt to be scientific, editors and historians have fallen into the reprehensible fashion of multiplying the vouchers for their integrity, whereas anyone who is a student of the particular period ought to look up the whole subject for himself." Some critic will try to verify the citations, "and will crow lustily if he thinks he has found an error"; wherefore he "ought to find little apparatus to help him in this favorite abuse of science".

Yet the serious blemish of their work is by no means as this might lead one to suspect, a lack of wide and accurate knowledge, but rather an excessive expansiveness and a want of the best-schooled editorial training. Three noble products of contemporary scholarship, the great critical editions of Calvin, of Luther and of Zwingli, might well have served them as a model; and the rules for the editing of sources have in Germany been codified with especial care. The editors of Schwenckfeld profit by these, indeed, but for the most part prefer their own way. Their manuscripts, thus far Schwenckfeld's autographs (a pity that they could not give us even a single facsimile), they edit with great care, but with a superstitious reverence (retaining the most palpable slips in text instead of notes) and with a somewhat inadequate palaeographic experience (*e. g.*, the familiar abbreviation for final *-us* no more than any other needs reproduction in print, and the word which, page 10, they read *sma* and interpret as *summa* is clearly the *smia* of *sententia*). Their printed sources are most conscientiously reproduced, the title-pages in facsimile. Their translations are rather paraphrases, with words and even clauses inserted for edification. Their excursions are learned but diffuse. What much more than repetition or fewness of citations strikes one in these, as throughout the volume, is the surprising diction. In part, this, like the odd German punctuation and capitalization, is but suggestive of the editors' German blood and training. Stillstand, éthicality, tendentists, letterism, tactuality, Christic, favorment, accommodational, celebrative, reinstaurating, futuristic, reluctatingly—such are a few of the strange words with which they enrich the English tongue. Rare ones as queerly replace familiar: a reviewer becomes a recensionist, a dogmatist a dogmatician, punctuation interpunction, an insane asylum a house of errancy. But their contributions to literary English are by no means all drawn from foreign sources. If Schwenckfeld, as they regretfully admit, fell short of Luther in "capacity for turning slang into golden speech", his editors need fear no such comparison. "Stacks and castles of hopes", "the cocky airs of the preachers", "the tony oligarchy of Geneva", "the inherent cussedness of man", "lots of faith", "the clerics did want to silence him the worst sort", "toplofty airs", "priestly bib and tucker", "an absurdity of the first water", "the bibulous fluidity current in social channels", "to boss and hetchel an inferior", "pestilential critics", "cleaned his feet on his own mental reservation", "to swipe him as a naughty invader", "chuck full of ancient and lively tares"—these phrases barely suggest the luxuriant vocabulary with which they do battle for one who, as they tell us, "treated his antagonists with rare grace and courtesy".

Vigorous all this unquestionably is—it fairly reeks with vigor; and one must not forget that the prime purpose of the work is to edify and hearten those two hundred and fifty families of surviving Schwenckfeldians. But the vigor which can thus err in taste is at the price of a defect which mars every page of the book—its intense and intolerant

partizanship. To his editors Schwenckfeld's foes are fiends, his friends angels, himself a faultless saint. For development in his character or in his views there is no room; and, what is worse, no room for development between his day and ours. Whatever to these modern Schwenckfeldians is true and right and Christian their master must have taught and practiced. Their study purposes, they tell us, "to set him before us as if he were now thinking and speaking and writing among us". "He had a prophetic insight into the requirements of the future life of the Church and we may justly claim that modern Christianity is approximating his views. If therefore we are accused of forgetting the age and commingling with Reformation times the phases and phrases of the present day, it would be true and it would also be justifiable because there is only a difference of a few words; the thoughts are precisely the same." So John Knox might have edited Calvin, or Tilemann Hesshus Luther. So some still edit the New Testament. But it is the method of the sixteenth century, not of the twentieth. It is apology, not critical edition; and no man less than Caspar Schwenckfeld needs apology.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Papsttum und Papstwahl im Zeitalter Philipps II. Von Dr. PAUL HERRE, Privatdozent an der Universität Leipzig. (Leipzig: Teubner. 1907. Pp. xx, 660.)

THIS book is an attempt to estimate the nature of the relations between Philip II. of Spain and the revived and strengthened Catholic Church of the Counter-Reformation, by describing in detail the attitude of the Spanish king to each of the eight popes and papal conclaves of the period of his rule. The author's thesis, briefly summarized, is as follows: It is an error to regard, as most historians do, the course of the relations of Philip II. to the See of Rome as a single consistent development, for the earlier part of his reign was dominated by a principle utterly different from that which inspired the latter. In the sixties and early seventies the Spanish king devoted himself primarily to the maintenance of the principles of the Counter-Reformation; he abandoned political advantage in the interest of the faith, united with the ancient foes of his house for the suppression of heresy, dedicated himself and his people to the cause of Catholicism. In this period Dr. Herre represents him as primarily the servant of Rome, using his influence in papal elections to secure the choice of the candidate most valuable for the interests of the church. But in the later seventies there came a change. The spirit of the Counter-Reformation was waning in France; the old political lines of cleavage had begun to reappear; Philip began to discover that he was draining his land to the dregs in the interests of a foreign power who offered him no reciprocal advantages, and reluctantly exchanged his earlier attitude of abject devotion to the interests of the

church for the more patriotic one of solicitude for the welfare of Spain. Gradually he began to require that papal elections be conducted with a view to securing the interests of his country as well as those of Rome, at first by insisting on the debarment from candidacy of cardinals unfriendly to himself (*Exklusion*), later by the more direct method of actually demanding it for his adherents (*Inklusion*), until finally the papacy, feeling that Philip's protection had become a burden, proudly shook it off. Thus the end of the century saw the two powers, which forty years before had been bound together by the closest of ties in the interests of Christendom, almost in an attitude of mutual defiance; the lay striving to dominate the clerical in its own interests, the latter struggling for independence. Viewed from the Spanish standpoint, the story of this long development is a tragic but familiar one—reckless national sacrifice for the sake of an antiquated ideal, exhaustion in the interests of a foreign power, which uses and casts aside but never reciprocates. But it adds one more to the already long list of favorable revisions of the older and more hostile verdicts on the Spanish monarch. Philip's attitude toward the papacy, though not always wise or statesmanlike, was at least far more honorable and loyal to the church than it is usually represented (as, for instance, by Philippson): the first part of his reign is marked by his single-hearted devotion to the cause of Rome, and even at the last that devotion does not falter, though the interests of his country forced him to adopt a more national policy toward the papacy than that with which he had begun.

There can be little doubt that Dr. Herre's conclusions are substantially correct, and students of the period of the Counter-Reformation certainly owe him a debt of gratitude for the thorough and scholarly way in which he has unravelled the tangled skein of events and cross-purposes which determined the issue of the different papal conclaves between 1559 and 1592. Those who are not disposed to accept his conclusions will find their most obvious line of attack in his failure to explain away certain important episodes which militate somewhat against the validity of his general contention. The whole story of Bartolomeo de Carranza, for instance, which is scarcely mentioned at all, is indicative of much which is at variance with Dr. Herre's theories of the relations of the Spanish king and the papacy in the early part of the reign. The omission of such standard works as Cabrera de Córdoba's *Felipe II.* and Lea's *History of the Spanish Inquisition* from the "Verzeichnis der häufiger benutzten Literatur", and several uncorrected misprints in the rendering of Spanish titles and quotations, make one wonder whether Dr. Herre is as familiar with the authorities on the policy of the Escorial, as with those on the Italian states and the papacy. All this, however, is rather by way of suggestion for future amplification and improvement than of adverse criticism. Dr. Herre's book will probably not be perused from cover to cover by many students in this country, but it will doubtless remain for a long time a standard authority for

those who wish to acquaint themselves with any phase of Spanish papal politics in the second half of the sixteenth century.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Blaise de Monluc Historien: Étude Critique sur le Texte et la Valeur Historique des Commentaires. Par PAUL COURTEAULT, Ancien Élève de l'École Normale Supérieure. (Paris: Picard et Fils. 1908. Pp. xlviii, 685.)

AMONG the narrative and military works of French writers of the sixteenth century the *Commentaires* of Blaise de Monluc will always hold a high place. Henry IV. called them "le bréviaire des soldats". They cover in all a period of fifty-four years, from the campaign of Bicocca in Northern Italy in 1521-1522 to the siege of Gensac in the fourth Civil War in July, 1575. The first draft of the greater part of these *Commentaires* was composed very rapidly between November, 1570, and June, 1571, largely from memory, and while the author was smarting under the disgrace of removal from his post of lieutenant of Guienne, and therefore anxious at every turn to justify himself and his conduct; a supplement, characterized by a more philosophic tone, followed in 1576. Monluc's indebtedness to other writers of his time is almost negligible. It is true that in his accounts of the wars of Francis I. and Henry II. he makes use of the works of du Bellay, Jovius, Paradin and Rabutin, for the purpose of weaving together the isolated events he describes, and for correction in matters of detail, while for the period of the Civil Wars he relies somewhat on documents—on several occasions reproducing entire the text of important letters, and frequently analyzing and summarizing memoirs and instructions. But it is easy to see that Monluc had supreme confidence in his own really prodigious memory and estimates the value of a description by an eye-witness like himself (though that description might be written years after the event) as far higher than that of the verdict of the professional historian. "Que si je voulois estre historien", he once wrote, "et que le Roy me commandast d'escripre la vérité, je voudrois bien asséurer que je le ferois aussi bien que homme de France, encores que je ne sois pas grand clerc . . . j'entendz des lieux où j'estois, et non des aultres. Car je ne voudrois escripre chose aulcune pour ouir dire."

The *Commentaires* have been published and republished a number of times since the appearance of the first edition in 1592 (most recently by the Baron Alphonse de Ruble, in 1864-1867, in the *Collection de la Société de l'Histoire de France*); they have been used, abused, applauded and reviled by chroniclers and historians from Monluc's time to this day. It has remained however to M. Courteault, in the present work, to subject them to the scrutiny of modern critical research. And he has produced a volume which is to the last degree sane, thorough and scholarly from cover to cover. It adds much to our knowledge of the life of

Monluc as well as to our appreciation of the historical value of his writings, for, in the course of his exhaustive examination of every separate passage of the *Commentaires* M. Courteault has incidentally been led to recount in detail many chapters of the life of their author, which have hitherto remained obscure. The index and table of contents are unusually full and detailed, and the bibliography a boon to all students of sixteenth-century France. An unsigned and unaddressed document in the Record Office (State Papers, Eliz., vol. CXI, no. 612), dated March 2, 1570, and vindicating Monluc's conduct in Quercy and Guienne, alone seems to have escaped the author's notice.¹ An excellent recapitulation at the last summarizes effectively the results of this brilliant investigation and characterizes the *Commentaires* as "une oeuvre composée sans art, touffue, aventureuse, souvent obscure, mais qui, malgré ses imperfections, résiste assez bien à la critique pour mériter d'être toujours consultée avec profit".

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

The King's General in the West: the Life of Sir Richard Granville, Bart., 1600-1659. Compiled from various sources by Reverend ROGER GRANVILLE, M.A., Sub-Dean of Exeter Cathedral. (New York and London: John Lane Company. 1908. Pp. xiii, 217.)

A History of the Life of Colonel Nathaniel Whetham, a Forgotten Soldier of the Civil Wars. By CATHERINE DURNING WHETHAM and WILLIAM CECIL DAMPIER WHETHAM, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xviii, 237.)

SUCH a happy conjunction as the simultaneous appearance of these lives of Granville and Whetham does not often fall to the reviewer's lot. Almost exact contemporaries, each playing a considerable part in the same stirring events, yet precisely opposed to each other by birth, training and circumstance, temper and habit of mind, political opinion and public service, it would be hard to find two other characters which better typify the Cavalier and Roundhead of history and tradition. At least one historian has voiced the desire felt by many for lives of obscure men at great epochs of history, that there might be deduced from them the real effect on the individual of far-reaching movements. And though neither of the men whose lives are here set down is to be classed as obscure, they serve the better on account of their position the purpose of enabling us to comprehend the drama of the Puritan Revolution.

On the one hand Granville, grandson and namesake of the hero of the *Revenge*, brother of the Bayard of the Civil Wars, Sir Beville, and

¹The reviewer is indebted to Professor J. W. Thompson of the University of Chicago for this reference.

cousin to George Monck, by birth and tradition a Royalist and a soldier, offers a perfect example of one type of Cavalier. Bred to arms from his youth, he served in France, in Germany and the Netherlands under Maurice and Vere, took part in the ill-fated expeditions to Cadiz and Rhé, and, after sitting in Parliament as a blind opponent of the Petition of Right, marrying an heiress to pay his debts, and quarreling with her, her family and his own, completed his military education by six years of Swedish fighting under Swedish commanders in Germany. On the outbreak of trouble with the Scots he returned to enter his king's service, whence he was later despatched to help suppress the Irish rebellion. Recalled from that by the war in England he induced Parliament to vote him money, arms and men and deserted with them to the Royalists. Thereafter he played no small part in the war in the West, contributing at times to the success but as often to the failure of the royal cause, finally imprisoned by his own side, and allowed to escape to the Continent, where he lived until his death at Ghent, about 1659. Loyal, brave, obstinate, contentious, wrong-headed, rash, overbearing, at times cruel, he quarreled with his family, his wife, his friends, his fellow-officers and his superiors till the end, scarcely less of a terror to his own side than to his enemies, yet with a certain curious hold on his followers through it all. Even in the pages of his biographer, who is by no means his apologist, he makes no pleasant picture; nor, with all his fighting qualities and military experience, was he ever quite a success as a commander, completely failing in his one great exploit, the attempt on Plymouth.

Compare with this that stout Parliamentary Colonel Nathaniel Whetham, who, sprung from a Dorset yeoman family, went to London as a boy, was apprenticed to a baker, busied himself as a young man in promoting the "Company of Husbandmen" to colonize in New England, married his master's widow, and rose to be baker to the Inner Temple. Puritan by instinct, when the city raised troops for the war, like his neighbor the wood merchant, Richard Browne, later Major General Sir Richard, he enlisted, became major of dragoons, and after some service about Oxford was made governor first of Northampton, then of Portsmouth, and finally member of the Council for Scotland. He dared to oppose the extreme Cromwellians at the height of their power, and, returning to his command at Portsmouth, played an important part in co-operating with his former associate, General Monck, in the events leading to the Restoration. Thereafter failing or refusing to swim with the popular current he retired to private life, and declining to compromise with the claimants of the church property he had bought, he died relatively poor and neglected some seven years after the Restoration. Cautious, prudent, brave, conscientious, he offers the best type of Puritan.

In these men we have the Revolution personified, and the biographies have been well worth doing. Bald and sober in themselves, genealogical or antiquarian in tone, when taken separately these plain stories are

little inspiring or inspired. Together they are of the highest significance and importance. For those who desire to understand as well as to know such a movement they are invaluable, the more so that, unlike too many such, they are wholly restrained and impartial. Neither is especially remarkable for literary merit or the lack of it. Each is well illustrated with pictures and maps, some of considerable historical or antiquarian value. That many scholars will prefer their own historical judgments on matters outside the direct line of the biographies proper may be evidenced by such assertions as that Whetham was like Monck, that the English navy still smarted from Raleigh's death as late as 1641, that Essex's army could not have been protected after its surrender, or that Clarendon's bitterness toward such men as Granville was not wholly justified. None the less such sound and serious attempts to set before us the careers of men like Whetham and Granville are deserving of praise and encouragement. For it is only by such work that we may ultimately come to comprehend such periods as that of the Puritan Revolution. It is to be hoped that the example thus set may be followed in many more cases, whether the motive be, as here, a proper family pride, or the more disinterested one of pure scholarship.

W. C. ABBOTT.

English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: the Manor and the Borough. In two parts. By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1908. Pp: viii, 404; vi, 405-858.)

THE present installment of Mr. and Mrs. Webb's great work on English local constitutional history maintains the very high rank of the initial volume, noticed in an earlier number of the REVIEW (April, 1907). Indeed no other book has ever given us so intimate an acquaintance with the institutional side of English social life. The very numerous and detailed marginal notes show that an enormous amount of original material has been thoroughly exploited. The achievement of the authors is especially praiseworthy, because of the amazingly complex and unsystematic character of English local custom and local organization. For this reason it has been found needful to treat in detail a large number of concrete examples or types and to examine a great variety of local records.

The first volume, corresponding to part I., comprises seven chapters of which the first four deal with the manor and the manorial borough. These organizations performed a vast number of governmental functions which in form were "exemptions from or exclusions of" the jurisdictions of the county and the parish. Chapter I., on the Lord's Court, sets forth the familiar "lawyer's view" of the various manorial courts, each with a separate constitution and jurisdiction. There is a

strong "tendency to elaboration". Besides the courts baron, customary, and leet, one authority (R. B. Fisher, 1794) makes out the existence of a "court of survey" and of a separate court for "view of frankpledge". But the court of survey was merely a special sitting of the court baron; while the view of frankpledge originally was a duty of the sheriff's turn and later of the lord's court leet. Moreover, for the period 1689-1835, the lord's court, as it actually existed, "differed widely from the lawyer's view of what it ought to have been". On many manors, in practice, there was but one court which, in a single undivided sitting, through one set of officers and one jury, without distinguishable order or precedence, "transacted all the business of the little community". In the majority of cases there was a single undifferentiated court. Although this court was in ruins, as revealed in the second chapter, its functions were still many and important. On thousands of manors it still had a large share in the business of local government. In particular it had the management of the "agricultural operations of the little community". In "nearly every manor there were common pastures; sometimes woods into which the tenants of the manor might send their pigs; sometimes valuable hay-meadows shared by lot or by primitive scramble; more frequently large open 'commons' of coarse herbage; and invariably roadside strips and odds and ends of unoccupied land forming part of the lord's waste." The administration of these common rights formed a part of the business of every manorial court. This fact ought to have a special interest for the student of American local institutions. Is it not probable that here we may find an explanation of the communistic customs of the old New England towns? In the first half of the sixteenth century, all over England, the lord's court was administering the common pastoral or agricultural rights of the tenants. May not a study of manorial rather than of parish customs and records disclose the true origin of the so-called "Germanic" usages of early colonial days?

The third chapter presents a most interesting account of the manorial borough. Under this name is embraced a "somewhat heterogeneous collection of local authorities . . . intermediate between the lord's court and the autonomous municipal corporation creating its own justices of the peace". These are the village meeting, having but slight connection with the manor; the chartered township; the lordless court; the lord's borough; the enfranchised manorial borough; and the borough whose government is shared "between a manorial court and one or more trade guilds". Examples of all these types are discussed in an enlightening way; while a separate chapter (the fourth) is devoted to the most anomalous of them all, the city and borough of Westminster.

Among the many facts of fresh interest with which these chapters are fairly packed, one is particularly impressed with the evidence presented of the manorial origin of many of the functions of the modern city. Such were the authority to suppress nuisances and the general

police power exercised by the lord's court. The characteristics of the English manorial boroughs are repeated in those of "fifty or sixty so-called boroughs in Wales", considered in the fifth chapter.

The interest of the reader of these important volumes culminates in the investigation of the municipal corporation, whose distinguishing mark is the creation of its own justices of the peace. To this subject the last third of the first volume and all of the second volume are devoted. For the first time, from an adequate consideration of the original sources, we have here a critical account of this most difficult and important part of English constitutional history. In succession, the instrument of incorporation, the corporate jurisdiction, the corporate obligations, the area of the corporation, the membership of the corporation, the servants of the corporation, the chief officers of the corporation, the head of the corporation, the bailiffs, the high steward and the recorder, the chamberlain and the town clerk, the mayor's brethren and the mayor's counsellors, the courts of the corporation, the courts of civil jurisdiction, the court leet, the borough court of quarter sessions, the courts of specialized jurisdiction, the administrative courts of the municipal corporation, and the municipal constitution of 1689, are carefully considered; while the whole of the seventh chapter deals with municipal disintegration during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Following this systematic and general analysis of the municipal constitution, 1689-1835, are three chapters devoted to the study of particular corporations. Thus the administration of the close corporations of Penzance, Leeds, Coventry, Bristol, Leicester and Liverpool is treated in chapter VIII.; that of the so-called municipal democracies of Morpeth, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Norwich and Ipswich, in chapter IX.; and the city of London, in chapter X.—an important monograph in itself.

The book concludes with a vigorous estimate of the causes, character and consequences of the municipal revolution effected by the Act of 1835. It is remarkable that until the very eve of that revolution there was no general agitation for the reform of the antiquated municipal corporations. "In spite of the frequent applications to parliament made by the corporations themselves, we have not come across a single petition, from any person whatsoever, praying that the municipal constitution might be changed to an elective one." Only during the fifteen years preceding the appointment of the Royal Commission of 1833 did there exist any real popular movement for reform. Fundamentally this movement was the result of the industrial revolution. The borough constitution was out of harmony with the new economic and commercial needs of society. Moreover it was oppressive to the dissenter. More than was dreamed of at the moment, the municipal revolution threw power into the hands of the Whig nonconformists. "There never was such a coup", exclaims a writer in the *Creevey Papers*, "as this Municipal Reform Bill has turned out to be. It marshals all the middle classes

in all the towns of England in the ranks of Reform, aye and gives them monstrous power too. I consider it a much greater blow to Toryism than the Reform Bill [of 1832] itself."

The ready use of the mass of materials comprised in this excellent book is facilitated by an elaborate index of subjects, supplemented by separate indexes of persons and places.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

La Guerre de Sept Ans: Histoire Diplomatique et Militaire. Tome IV. *Torgau; Pacte de Famille.* Par RICHARD WADDINGTON. (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1907. Pp. viii, 637.)

THIS new volume of M. Waddington's important work is devoted to the campaigns in eastern and western Germany from the spring of 1760 to that of 1761, to the futile negotiations between France and England during the same period, and to the successful negotiations between France and Spain which resulted in the Family Compact of 1761. The author's plan and methods are now too well known to need description; no deviation from them appears in this volume. The work is on the whole admirably done, and while no strikingly new conclusions are indicated the reader can scarcely help being inspired with strong confidence in M. Waddington's grasp of his material and in the constancy of his effort to deal objectively with it.

It does not seem necessary to repeat the strictures of the author's methods, made by the present reviewer in connection with earlier volumes; in a word, we have here a detailed military and diplomatic narrative of classical style, and the result will undoubtedly be appreciated, and deservedly, by many students. The present installment is divided almost evenly between war and diplomacy; naturally the civilian reader will be chiefly interested in the latter field, embracing as it does incidents of great interest—the fall of Pitt, the close allying of France and Spain, and the latter's entry into the war. The narrative is both lucid and agreeable, and seems to be less overladen with detail than earlier accounts of less important transactions. But there would seem also to be a serious omission in the failure to set forth political conditions in either France or England in such a way as to show us the springs of policy—*why* the policy of France was so mistaken, and *why* Pitt fell. That the author has no new conclusions to present on the former point is shown by his reproach of the French government for being satisfied "se trainer à la remorque de l'alliance autrichienne, sacrifier l'essentiel, la conservation du domaine d'outre-mer, pour l'accessoire, l'acquisition de quelques cantons en Flandre" (p. 392).

The treatment of English policy and of Pitt is more likely to evoke criticism, and the prevailing opinion will probably be that both that statesman and his country have fared rather hardly at M. Waddington's hands. It is rather extreme to represent the minister's haughtiness and

lack of tact as largely if not mainly responsible for the trouble with Spain, and exception might also very reasonably be taken to the placing of Pitt and Choiseul on an equality in statesmanship. The failure to deal adequately with the conditions of English politics after the accession of George III. causes the narrative of the retirement of Pitt to give the impression that the crisis was due wholly to the latter's overweening self-confidence and arrogance; that this is really the author's opinion is perhaps indicated by his quotation without comment of Lord Granville's bitter attack on the Great Commoner in cabinet council. That the crisis was not due to Pitt's insistence on war with Spain will be made clear by a study of the cabinet history of the previous months, published some years ago in the *English Historical Review* (XVII. 678-691). That M. Waddington does not appreciate Pitt or his work is clearly shown by the remark (p. 617), "Il est peut-être difficile pour un étranger d'expliquer et de justifier la renommée extraordinaire que Pitt acquit auprès de ses contemporains." This renown, however, he goes on to explain, somewhat lamely, as due mainly to the coincidence of Pitt's ministry "avec une période qui marqua les débuts et les progrès de la puissance et de la grandeur britannique", adding that it was aided by the degree in which Pitt "incarnait la personnalité de ses concitoyens du XVIII^e siècle". The language in which M. Waddington proceeds to describe the qualities of which Pitt was so admirable a representative is not quite in the spirit of the *entente cordiale*, and is perhaps also hardly in keeping with the usual courteous and objective tone of this narrative—a fact all the more surprising as M. Waddington has long been understood to be one of the Frenchmen who best knew and most admired the modern England. These qualities, according to him, are: "confiance inouïe en leur propre supériorité, mépris, souvent haineux, des nations voisines, fierté de race dégénérant dans l'égoïsme le plus pur et parfois le plus naïf, politique des résultats sans ombre de générosité et sans souci du sentiment". M. Waddington benevolently adds that "toutes ces caractéristiques essentiellement britanniques ne sont, après tout, que l'exagération des vertus correspondantes", as who should point out that the midnight burglar and assassin was after all only a little immoderate in his business enterprise and devotion to the interests of his family. Yet a little further on he is forced, we might say almost unconsciously, to bear witness to other reasons for Pitt's leadership and success. For when he discusses the change made by the alliance of Spain with France, he concedes that the English statesman's estimate of Spanish power was much more accurate than that which led Choiseul to fear lest the news of the Family Compact should frighten England into a pacific mood, and thus lead to her escape from the chastisement in preparation for her. And it need hardly be pointed out that this conception on the part of the man who is ranked with Pitt bears witness to as fatal a mistake in regard to England as in regard to Spain.

VICTOR COFFIN.

Paris sous Napoléon. In four volumes. Par L. de Lanzac de Laborie. I. *Consulat Provisoire et Consulat à Temps.* II. *Administration; Grands Travaux.* III. *La Cour et la Ville; La Vie et la Mort.* IV. *La Religion.* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1905, 1906, 1907. Pp. vii, 377; ii, 382; ii, 386; iv, 394.)

THE author of these interesting volumes disclaims all political bias. He desires to write a chapter of Napoleonic history unsmirched by partizan passion and founded on a truly scientific basis. But he is positive that in performing such a task the author may hold convictions of a dogmatic nature in religion, and presumably in politics, both clear and strong. He reveals the true historic spirit in a demand upon his readers that they should judge the actors of the time according to the conditions of their lives and not by standards which have arisen "from the license of the press, the disappearance of any sense of authority, the habitual violence of our verbal display".

On the other hand he smiles at the juvenile admiration of his contemporaries for Lanfrey, regrets the animosity even of Taine, and ponders why Napoleon, that prodigious man, capable of enormous enterprises, nevertheless failed in founding a dynasty, or creating imitators. His history must be studied as a thing apart, for the vivid interest in what it means, and for its remote consequences, with no regard whatever for existing politics. For these purposes there are at the bar of the author two parties in evidence, in juxtaposition and in opposition: the First Consul and the City of Paris. Neither one loved the other, yet neither could dispense with the other. For the author's study, France, Europe, the world, are nonexistent. To reproduce in all exactness the physiognomy of Paris at the opening of the nineteenth century is his sole end and aim, so that the interchange of relationships between the parties may be understood.

To this end he has divided his task into four portions: the provisional consulate, the consulate for life and the empire, the religious and ecclesiastical establishment of Napoleon, and the *débâclé*, from the Russian campaign to the end. This last study has not yet been published. The commune of 1871 destroyed all the archives of the metropolitan prefectures, but there still remains an enormous mass of original material in the national archives, in the reports of the police as published by Aulard under the title of *Paris under the Consulate*, in the papers of Emery, deposited in the collections of St. Sulpice, and in the records of Notre Dame. There is also the overwhelming literature stored in the libraries: the National, the Municipal and that of the Institute. To all these due acknowledgment is made as well as to the general historians and their work. The foot-notes are bewildering in their number; useful no doubt to the still higher specialist but utterly valueless to the reader who can have no access to the originals and who finds in title, page and date no means of determining the use made of material; of course quota-

tions would be worthless, too, because an excerpt gives no idea of the whole, and bulky fine print is an annoyance as well as a useless expense. The moral of foot-notes adorns no tale. Either way their liberal use is mere exasperation; but our author represents the school that makes a display of apparatus and is embattled against that of Frederic Masson, which omits all foot-notes whatsoever and woos the reader by internal evidence. Yet he is not above quoting Thiers and Masson and Vandal and all the host of chroniclers, memorialists and pamphleteers who stand or fall on their personal character rather than substantiate their veracity by the exhibit of their tool-chest and laboratory.

M. de Lanzac de Laborie's successes have been recognized by the Academy and crowned with their highest literary prize. A perusal of his pages makes evident the reason. His erudition is rather oppressive and his style is not of the highest French standard. But his moderation, his judgment, his fairness, are everywhere in evidence. No class, no movement, no ebullition of temper, no doubtful morality, no fanaticism, radical or ecclesiastical, is stigmatized, held up to scorn, or used to blacken the motives of those concerned. On the contrary he has a dispassionate explanation of all that is apparently abnormal, he sees the underlying currents, marks the chains of causation, clarifies the evolutionary processes and eschews sensationalism of every kind. In short, he is calm and philosophical where others are didactic and dry like Aulard, or picturesque and theatrical like Stenger, or polemic as are Fauriel and nearly all the contemporaries.

The most original and enlightening portions of the book are those on the religious life of Paris during the period. The tenth chapter of the first volume in particular gives a better account than can be found elsewhere of the revival of religious feeling during the provisional consulate. The decline of that curious semi-official cult Theophilanthropy, the general neglect of the tenth-day official festival, the restoration of Christian services and the observance of the First Day, the reappearance of the Constitutional Church, the new attitude of the Roman Catholic Church and its official re-establishment in spite of ill-will on the part of the authorities; all these details are lucidly and fully given. The entire fourth volume entitled *Religion* was hurried through the press in order to meet the demand for information as to the origin and negotiation of the Concordat during the recent agitations incident to its abolition and the complete separation of church and state. There are however no marks of haste in the book. On the contrary the volume is singularly free from vague generalizations and is marked by careful portraiture of the great ecclesiastical personages, Belloy, Fesch, Emery, Maury and Astros. Indeed it is almost a series of biographies and characterizations that illuminate the process by which the Church of Rome, saved as by fire in the Concordat, regained its prestige and influence despite the impatience and tyranny of Napoleon.

Indeed these volumes are characterized by the quality now observable in much of the contemporary French literature, especially in the novels of René Bazin. If the true Frenchman is to regain his birthright, the thirty millions to be no longer governed by the one or two which comprise radicals, Israelites and Protestants, as has been the case since the foundation of the Third Republic, they must accept accomplished facts. The emancipated Church of Rome must be French and patriotic, moderate and considerate, modern as the Continental phrase runs, forgetting its bitterness, ceasing to pose as a victim of martyrdom, relegating the past to oblivion, granting to the masses the religious morality essential to secular morality; and, minister, not be ministered unto. In this service the historian must not emphasize or exaggerate the sorrows and rebuffs of well-meaning fanaticism or of ultramontaniam, but set forth the constructive processes, the repentance of medievalism under chastisement, and the new life which results from the never-ending struggle of the present with the past. This policy marks these volumes one and all. If the reader desires a portrayal of the baseness of men, their wallowings in vice and spite, their enervated luxury and pagan self-indulgence, he must go elsewhere to find it. The theatrical, vaudeville, even dramatic aspects of the Consulate are rarely indicated. The renewed protoplasm and life-force of the capital and the nation are most in evidence.

This quality appears notably in the treatment of a very knotty question, the clandestine efforts to re-establish monastic institutions, even of lay fraternities, in Paris and in France. Intimately connected with this was the persistent reassembling of nuns and sisters, the educational work of the Christian Brothers and the whole subject of home and foreign missions. The ramifications of these interests into every social rank, as religious life and practice gained strength and intensiveness, are traced with delicacy and truthfulness by the author. No one can be offended by his treatment of a process out of which the ecclesiastical situation during the last years of the last century has grown. In particular there is a refreshing frankness as to the responsibilities of persons. Writers of scientific history are strangely impersonal in these days. The flow of events is traced so dispassionately that somehow an impression of necessitarian hopelessness is left on the minds of readers. Things happened because they must; men behave in any way whatsoever as the puppets of fate; it is too bad, the terrible consequences! but nobody is really to blame. M. de Lanzac de Laborie has other ideas and, as he sees the sequence of things, matters turned out as they did because the controlling minds were free agents; the praise or blame is theirs and they are responsible. It is very refreshing to read his truthful characterizations of Bernier, Consalvi, Spina and all the ecclesiastical negotiators of the Concordat: his sketching of the prelates under whom the church renewed its vigor. Scant justice however is done to the leaders of the Constitutionals and to the Protestants who are held up to a certain contempt, especially Marron, Le Coz and Grégoire. The

pliancy of churchmen and dissenters, of freemasons, Israelites and radicals in the hands of the First Consul, well delineated in these pages, puts everybody concerned more or less in the light of puppets and opens the way for sarcasm. But there are periods when the "pliables" comprehend most of those desiring to restore order and give coherency to organic life in church and state, without which both perish and chaos ensues.

The other volumes are antiquarian rather than historical; the rebuilding and reconstruction of the city interests the author profoundly and he is rather prolix on the subject. Its economic regeneration is also a matter of intense interest and the thousand small but important articles which in their manufacture once more employed great masses of the populace are made the subject of considerable eloquence. The habits of each social class, their homes and their festivals; their clothing, scant and diaphanous in the case of the upper-class women; their luxury and their extravagance, their loose morality, their scandalous tongues, the monstrous proportions of illegitimate births—there is little that escapes notice though the facts are merely enumerated, not elaborated. On the other hand the persistent virtue of the elect few is steadily presented to the reader, and care is taken to emphasize the structural strength of society in all its normal functions. The exemplary home life of the many in every class is not forgotten. The final impression after perusal of the book is of a people buffeted by reversals of belief, of institutions, of government; by foreign wars and intestine revolutions; all due to a survival of the old order far beyond its time. Yet it is nevertheless a people keeping a firm anchorage in essentials, quick to resume evolutionary processes, and sloughing off exaggerated folly with little permanent damage to the nation and community as a whole. This book must be reckoned as one of the most important recent contributions to the life of a new France. It will reach many Frenchmen who have been loath to believe that history is in the making day by day, that the old must pass and be forgotten, that the nation must shed its outgrown garments, that all this is imperative if France is to preserve her identity. Elsewhere it has dawned on the present generation that democracy means active participation in politics of every citizen or subject, that otherwise an oligarchy must emerge. Here in America we have still the pernicious obligarchies of local and party politics; in France the government entire is carried on by a minority. For both conditions there is the same cause; the majority wants all or nothing, the best or the worst. Such citizenship results in the final elimination from efficient life of those who practice it. M. de Lanzaç de Laborie presents a picture of how easy it is to discover and exaggerate vice, how hard to find virtue and appreciate it; he shows the indefatigable man at work on the ruins of an antiquated state, using other men as he found them, improving conditions by accepting and modifying them, and delineates the solid, homely, industrious population of Paris both holding its own and

restoring the good that seemed lost because Napoleon knew the value of cities to a country, of a metropolis as the heart-centre of a nation and made short work with irreconcilables—Jacobin or Ultramontane.

A History of the Peninsular War. By CHARLES OMAN, M.A.
Volume III. *September, 1809–December, 1810. Ocaña, Cadiz, Bussaco, Torres Vedras.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908.
Pp. xii, 568.)

ANOTHER sumptuous volume of Professor Oman's *Peninsular War* lies before us, manufactured with all the care and skill of the Clarendon Press, the 568 pages covering the period from September, 1809, to December, 1810—what the author considers "the turning point of the war". Oman is fortunate in having no metre and bounds set to his work, for it enables him, while not losing sight (as so far he certainly has not) of such perspective as there is in this disjointed and long-drawn-out struggle between Wellington and Napoleon's marshals, to enrich his chapters with personal references, acts of individual skill or gallantry, and other facts dear to his especial *clientèle*, which make the work more readable than one which has to be confined to more or less technical details; for when will that fighting animal, man, ever cease to gloat over deeds of heroism or fields of glory? Moreover, he is fortunate in having been over the ground himself, and in having studied much of the topography carefully. His description of the battle of Bussaco, as a result, is the clearest that exists. The most interesting part of the book is that devoted to Masséna's failure in this campaign, and the author is just to this able marshal, who began his military life by triumph and ended it in disaster. But then, so did Hannibal, greatest of all soldiers.

Oman's space likewise enables him to indulge in character sketching, and one gets a novel idea of what manner of men they were who struggled through these long years. The professor is quite frank in such portraiture. Craufurd (he of the wonderful forty-three mile march in twenty-two hours to just miss Talavera) is a disappointed man, "on the lookout for slights and quarrels", due to his lack of promotion, although one of the best equipped men in the army, and "on one of his happy days . . . the most brilliant subordinate Wellington ever owned". Masséna "was a detestable character—but he was a great general; of all the marshals of the Empire he was undoubtedly the most capable"—in which latter opinion one might perhaps disagree with him. The bombardment of the citadel of Lérida, filled with noncombatants, "places that polished writer and able administrator Louis-Gabriel Suchet on the moral level of a king of Dahomey".

The lines of Torres Vedras are well described—one conceives a clear idea of the gigantic nature of the work; and the devastation of so great a part of Portugal to neutralize Masséna's advance, Oman shows to

have been not only justifiable, but authorized by the Portuguese authorities, and "an old custom essentially national and familiar to the Portuguese from time immemorial". Many of the customs and precedents of war are horrible; only in this generation are we getting humanized out of some of the worst of them; but after all the devastation of a province is no worse than a battle like the Moskwa, or Waterloo, or Gettysburg, and entails less actual loss of life or suffering, although these are apt to fall on noncombatants.

The great work of Napier can never be crowded from the shelf of classics; neither does Oman pretend to supplant him; but, from sources Napier did not have, he is enabled to correct some errors in his predecessor's volumes. Thus, in one paragraph in Napier's account of Busaco he finds that "almost every statement here is incorrect", and gives at length seven valid reasons for his statement.

The operations in other sections of Spain during these months are allotted full space, yet the interest of the volume centres about Mas-séna's campaign.

Professor Oman always seeks the original sources, and he acknowledges his indebtedness to a number of those who have furnished him with documents or who have obtained data for him from the French and Spanish archives when he himself had not had time for further research. His having visited much of the ground is an unequalled aid in describing operations, and he writes with a positiveness bred of conviction. His chapters, with excellent maps, are much easier reading than even the most brilliant of Napier's.

From the days of Fabius Cunctator—if we leave out the Middle Age generals who believed battle injudicious, but who manoeuvred with abundant skill, and, a manoeuvre ended, sat down to smile at it and see what reply the enemy would make—no better sample of patient campaigning exists than the Peninsular War. All that England cared at first to accomplish was to chase and keep the French out of Portugal; to this, until much later, was the task of Wellington confined, and he executed it well. Only when Napoleon had been shaken from his strong European position by the events of 1812 and 1813 did England pretend to wage a war of invasion. She had all along done her full share with her fleets and her treasury. Yet it will always be a source of wonder—one can scarcely even speculate upon it—what Wellington would have accomplished had England several years earlier agreed to drive the French from Spain and carry the war into France.

Each succeeding volume of this important work will be welcomed with interest.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

Giuseppe Garibaldi e la sua Legione nello Stato Romano, 1848-1849. Per ERMANNO LOEVINSON. (Roma-Milano: Società Editrice Dante Alighieri di Albrighi, Segati e Co. 1902-1907. Pp. II, 278; 6, 274; 12, 372.)

THIS is one of the most scholarly of the many important monographs in the collection *Biblioteca Storica del Risorgimento Italiano*, edited by T. Casini and V. Fiorini. Part I. was published as volumes IV.-V. of series 3 of the collection; part II. as volume VI. of series 4; and part III., which was timed to appear among the numerous works which heralded the centenary of Garibaldi's birth, as volume II. of series 5.

Garibaldi landed in Nice at the close of his South American Odyssey in June, 1848. He hastened to participate in the Lombard campaign, but with a commission under the Provisional Government of Milan arrived only in time to make the brief campaign of a forlorn hope for two or three weeks about Lake Maggiore and Varese. Determined to strike further blows in behalf of Italian independence he set sail with some seventy companions for Sicily. Touching at Leghorn he was persuaded to land in the hope of placing himself at the head of Tuscan liberal forces. Rejected in Tuscany he passed over to Bologna, and by recruiting considerably augmented the number of his followers. The papal authorities expected him to go over to Venice and join in its gallant defense against Austria, but the murder of Pellegrino Rossi precipitated revolution in the Papal States, and Garibaldi, with his rapidly growing "legion" saw in the defense of Rome the most efficient service to be rendered the Italian cause.

Loevinson's three volumes form a carefully prepared monograph upon the formation and conduct of this strange body of volunteers, made up of men of all stations in life and of all moral shades, but drawn principally from the commercial and artisan classes, with a small contingent of released convicts. The number of the legion rose from seventy to about thirteen hundred men, and heterogeneous as were its elements, and raw in great part, it won golden laurels under its great chief in the defense of Rome, the history of which is in considerable part the history of the legion. The account begins in November, 1848, gives special prominence to the wanderings of the legion in the Romagna, the Marche and Umbria, and comes down through the defense of Rome, with the battles of Palestrina and Velletri, to the surrender of Rome and the departure of the legion on its famous retreat, July 2, 1849. It is based largely upon unpublished material, upon the records of the legion itself and other documents of the war office of the period; upon police records and documents of varied character in the Archives of State in Rome, and in numerous other archives and libraries, including those of more than forty municipalities. It is a work of patient research and minute study which has occupied several years and has been done with a thoroughness which secures it a place as a permanent authority. The first volume is a

general account; the second is made up of special studies upon enrollment, equipment, discipline, etc.; the third consists of nearly one hundred and forty letters of Garibaldi, many of them unpublished, and one hundred and seventy-one documents, with a bibliography and a subject-index of the names of persons and places mentioned in the whole work. Although written with considerable impartiality, it might have given more attention to papal authorities, several of which are wanting in the otherwise comparatively complete bibliography. The general reader might wish that more consideration could have been given to political and diplomatic conditions, but the work professes to be only a regimental history, and within the restricted limits of such a work it should be judged. It is indispensable to the biographer of Garibaldi, as well as to the historian of the period, who must await the publication of many such works of patient scholarship and minute research before any definitive history of the Risorgimento or of any of its many phases can be written. G.

Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic. By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xv, 377; second edition, pp. xv, 387.)

THIS volume marks the entry of a new foreign historian in the field of the Italian Risorgimento, a period much neglected, or, what is worse, generally unworthily treated, outside Italy. In English the Risorgimento works of W. R. Thayer and of Countess Martinengo Cesaresco are at once sympathetic and scholarly; those of King are painstaking and useful, though hastily compiled and colorless; Whitehouse's volumes are able and generally trustworthy; Probyn's history was timely in its day; other original Risorgimento works published in English during the last fifty years may best be passed over in silence. No student would think of undertaking such works as a pretentious history of the German Reformation or a life of Frederick the Great without some years of serious study and preparation. But so low is foreign scholarship of the Risorgimento, so casual is foreign interest in modern Italy, and so limited is foreign knowledge of the Italian language, that more than one aspirant to easy historical honors, after a year or two of desultory reading, with inadequate knowledge of Italian, and no knowledge of even the titles of innumerable primary sources, has ventured to publish bulky volumes upon the characters and events of the complicated and significant half-century of moral and material conflict which gave to Italy unity and independence.

Trevelyan's historical publications have hitherto related to the age of Wycliffe and the peasants' rising, and to Stuart England, and he too has entered the Risorgimento field with comparatively little preparation. But he has entered it with much earnestness, with more than the average historical activity and power of work; and what is more, he has

been wise enough to recognize the insufficiency of his own unaided Italian studies, and to place himself under the wings of several able Italians who have made thorough researches on the period, Loevinson, whose *Giuseppe Garibaldi e la sua Legione* he has followed with a deference due to infallibility, Menghini, the scholarly Mazzinian specialist, Captain Paganelli of the war office, and others. Furthermore Trevelyan has taken the trouble to visit the scenes of the events which he describes, he has interviewed many Risorgimento contemporaries and recorded their impressions, and he has made a critical and at some points a minute study of many, though by no means all, published primary sources.

The volume does not profess to be a well-rounded history of the Roman Republic of 1849. Its title declares it to be a military account giving special prominence to the figure of Garibaldi who was the soul of the defense. The first hundred pages—a third of the volume—relate to Garibaldi's early life and to conditions in Italy and Rome prior to the proclamation of the Republic, and they constitute the less interesting and less scholarly part of the work. The author lavishes much space upon the enrollment, character and appearance of the conglomerate corps engaged in the defense of the Republic, but he gives only a brief and quite inadequate description of the body politic which was being defended. His pictures of military action are striking and his heroes of the Republic are carefully drawn, but the reader obtains at best a vague and incomplete impression of the character and rule of the Republic itself. A third only of the volume relates to the actual defense referred to in the title. The last hundred pages are devoted to Garibaldi's so-called retreat, July 2–September 2, which followed the surrender of Rome. The retreat is a striking exploit, interesting principally for the biography of Garibaldi; it so interested the author that he went over the whole route on foot, thus obtaining good local color for his topographical descriptions. This is the part of the work most minutely studied.

Trevelyan's point of view is that of unbounded enthusiasm for the Risorgimento movement and of lively admiration for his hero Garibaldi. His enthusiasm prevents him from doing full justice to the papal government and its claims, and several of his statements and expressions (pp. 57, 87), as when he speaks of "the Neapolitan gang"—evidently composed mostly of cardinals and monsignori—that now surrounded the pope, make it clear that he is writing for a distinctly Protestant or anticlerical public. His authorities quoted in non-military matters are almost exclusively anticlerical; furthermore he has erred in parts in following too closely one or two untrustworthy secondary sources; Johnston's *The Roman Theocracy* has led him into more than one error. For example, Bowring, entrusted with an English government mission of investigation in the Papal States, reported in 1837 that but 2 per cent. of the population was to be found in the schools. Johnston (p. 13), quoting Bowring, says that but 2 per cent. of the rural districts received any education whatever. Trevelyan (p. 55), quoting from Johnston, says that but

2 per cent. of the rural population could read. But if, as Bowring said, 2 per cent. of the population was to be found in the schools, at least 8 per cent. more of the population had passed through the schools, and say 10 per cent. could probably read.

Trevelyan's enthusiasm has led him into some extravagances and inconsistencies, as when he declares (pp. 92, 97) that the sordid period of the democratic revolution was over (February), and that Mazzini's "saintliness cast its spell over the Roman people" (March), although a few pages farther on he is obliged to record many unpublished murders of unoffending priests and the sacking of religious and public institutions. He generally cites in foot-notes the sources of his information, but the rapidity of his work has not enabled him generally to mass and sift the evidence with the care necessary to give his statements the stamp of finality. As a whole, however, the volume gives an excellent picture of the period, and is calculated to arouse interest in a wide-reading public. Trevelyan has an eye for picturesque detail which gives much freshness to the narrative; many of his appreciations are peculiarly happy and some of his pages are eloquent. His keen sympathy with the liberal movement has enabled him to penetrate well beneath its surface, and the character of Garibaldi has been well interpreted.

A good bibliography is appended, to which, however, many additions might be made, including several important primary sources. The second edition contains a few, mostly insignificant, changes and additions, exclusively relating to Garibaldi's retreat; and a few titles have been inserted in the bibliography.

H. NELSON GAY.

The History of Twenty-five Years, 1856-1880. By Sir SPENCER WALPOLE, K.C.B. Volume III., 1870-1875; Volume IV., 1876-1880. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1908. Pp. xv, 331; xii, 410.)

WHEN he died a year ago Sir Spencer Walpole left the manuscript of the concluding volumes of his history in such shape that it could be edited for publication. This has been done by his friend Sir Alfred Lyall, a competent hand, who states that the work as it stands comprises Walpole's material, rearranged where necessary, owing to the lack of two chapters which he intended to write. Walpole's method of historical construction and his general point of view are familiar to students of recent British history. He treats his subject topically, so that his chapters are really monographs. Analysis rather than narrative is his forte. He has so wide a range of interest that he takes not merely politics proper for his province, but industrial and sociological conditions, religion and literature. And he has, for an Englishman, a remarkable acquaintance with the contemporary history of the European continent.

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The great topics of these volumes are the Treaty of London, the Eastern Question (1856-1876), the Russo-Turkish War and the Berlin Treaty, ritual and religion, and the beginning of the Home Rule struggle. In addition, there is a careful description of the main features of routine politics during the Gladstone and Disraeli ministries. Walpole draws few pen-portraits of his *dramatis personae*, although his volume of biographical essays proved that he was a close observer of character, and estimated at its proper value the influence of dominant personalities in determining events.

His chapter on the negotiations between England and the United States, which resulted in the Geneva award, embraces also a survey of British foreign policy at the fall of the French Empire and the denunciation by Russia of the Treaty of Paris. His treatment is eminently fair. He describes without bias the exaggerated demands of Sumner and the American fire-eaters and the mistakes of Lord Granville. With equal candor, but with perfect respect, he states how unpopular the queen had become through her persistent withdrawal from royal functions, and how much the sympathy aroused by Albert Edward's illness reacted in favor of the dynasty. In the early seventies, Radicals used to predict that Victoria would be the last sovereign of Great Britain. In 1908 John Morley, one of those Radicals, is a viscount, and Joseph Chamberlain, another Radical, was only a little while ago the drive-wheel of a reactionary, Tory administration. The throne seems more firmly established than ever.

The beginnings of the drift toward imperialism appear in the account of Disraeli's transactions in Egypt, of the crowning of Queen Victoria as Empress of India, and of the theatrical exploits of Beaconsfield at Berlin. While Walpole gives throughout a fair statement of party policies, he does not refrain from exercising the historian's right to pass judgment after the evidence is all in. His verdicts are generally those of the enlightened Liberal of the generation which grew up in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

The two most important monographs in this part of his work cover the Eastern Question from the end of the Crimean War to the Treaty of Berlin, and the ecclesiastical difficulties which perturbed the Church of England between 1850 and 1880. In the former Walpole's criticism of policies which the Tories themselves now regard as mistaken, is particularly pungent. The incompetence of the British Foreign Office to deal with Orientals has been recently confirmed by Lord Cromer in his remarkable account of Modern Egypt. That the Foreign Office, which trusted in the fifties so hot-headed and obstinate a guide as Stratford Canning, should have been equally misled in the sixties and seventies, cannot surprise us. It was only natural that Beaconsfield should treat the Ottoman Empire in the magician-like way in which the heroes of his romances dispensed fortunes and kingdoms. Walpole, however, prefers to throw his searchlight on the buncombe and tinsel. Beaconsfield

"might have ascertained from the teachings of history", he says, "that he could not possibly divorce the Bulgaria of the north from the Bulgaria of the south by the childish device of giving it a new name. He might have learned from the lessons of geography that the occupation of Cyprus could not control the caravan road between Trebizond and Tabriz" (IV. 186). Beaconsfield's apologists would probably retort that he succeeded in preventing Russia from occupying Constantinople, and in riveting England's hold on the Suez Canal—the two objects which the British then regarded, and probably still regard, as indispensable to the furtherance of British interests. But however readers may differ from Walpole's opinions, they can hardly impugn the accuracy of his statements.

The most unusual chapter of all is that which discusses ritual and religion. The internecine quarrels of the various parties of the Church of England, their appeals from church to Parliament, and the desperate efforts to maintain at least a semblance of orthodoxy, are here described with sober fairness. Possibly, had Walpole lived, he might have added a page or two of résumé, so that we might see at a glance where this struggle left the Established Church. Walpole's own views can be inferred in his brief survey of the diffusion of the evolution theory and of agnosticism. Incidentally he pays tribute to Tennyson as the representative poet of the age.

There are other noteworthy sections—on the early Home Rule movement, on the state telegraphs, on Plimsoll's efforts to protect seamen, for instance—which deserve special mention. In a review like the present, however, it is necessary to define, if possible, the main characteristics. Walpole's work deserves to become the standard for readers who are not pursuing minute investigation of details. Several of his short monographs are the best in English on their several subjects. He writes from a full store of information, in a judicial temper, and with the conviction, which happily still survives in England, that history is written to be read.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

The Rise and Decline of the Free Trade Movement. By W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., F.B.A., Honorable Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. (Cambridge: University Press. 1905. Pp. x, 212.)

IN this second edition of his work on the free trade movement, Professor Cunningham has made only unimportant changes, barring the addition to it of two addresses, already separately published, one on *The Real Richard Cobden*, and one entitled *Back to Adam Smith*. The book is really a political tract but not for that reason less worthy the attention of the historian. The use of the historical argument in modern political and economic discussion has become increasingly important

and nowhere has its significance been greater than in the field of commercial policy. The most influential protectionist work of the nineteenth century was List's *National System*, and the most striking characteristic of that work was the use of the historical method. This does not mean simply an attempt to prove the economic benefits or evils of particular tariff measures by a study of industrial statistics but rather the broader attempt to interpret tariff questions in the light of great political and social changes, including not only changes in economic conditions but also changes in national ambitions and ideals. Of peculiar interest is the fact that in the great tariff discussion which has agitated England since Chamberlain threw down his challenge in May, 1903, the economists have very largely divided according to their devotion to the theoretical or the historical method. The great theoretical writers, such as Marshall at Cambridge and Edgeworth at Oxford, have remained true to the orthodox free trade teaching, while the economic historians, especially Cunningham, Ashley and Hewins have become champions of the Chamberlain programme. This is doubtless primarily due to the fact that the historians have approached modern economic problems in the light of the whole course of national political growth. Protectionism in England is but one phase of imperialism and both of them are primarily political rather than economic in their character.

We are prepared, then, to find Dr. Cunningham saying in his preface: "It hardly seems possible that anyone, who has been influenced by the political ideas of Sir John Seeley and is true to the economic teaching of Adam Smith should hesitate. I hope to march with the men who have wisdom to reconsider a decision, honesty to acknowledge a blunder, and courage to try to retrieve it." This does not mean that the author looks on the free trade movement as a "blunder" in its inception. He traces briefly but sympathetically the efforts of Pitt, Huskisson and Peel, and the period of the commercial treaties after 1860. The blunder, according to his views, lay in the exaggerated views of the free traders and the holding to their doctrine as a dogma of absolute truth, after all the changes that have taken place. Despite the advantages which came to England from a generation of "one-sided free-trade", she was coming to the period of "the great divide" in which the growth of rival industrial nations and the decay of her own resources have brought her face to face with the problem of maintaining her prestige among the nations. This problem, the author believes, is not to be solved by the continuance of a policy of unlimited "cosmopolitan competition", but by a new "imperial system" of co-operation and interdependence among all parts of the empire.

So far as either his historical account of the movement or his analysis of the present situation is concerned, Dr. Cunningham gives us little that is new. It is not so much a history as an interpretation of familiar events, which derives its importance from the nature of the modern

problem and the authority of the interpreter. Naturally the reader's opinion will be largely determined by his own attitude toward the problem itself. He, no more than the author, can escape the personal basis of judgment. Even the orthodox free trader, however, will recognize that this tract is written in a more moderate vein and with a greater effort at fairness than is much of the literature of the controversy. The author feels the wrench of breaking with the great names of the past, and with characteristic English conservatism he tries to show that the really great leaders were not extremists and had many points of contact with the modern notions. This is especially marked in his two new chapters on Adam Smith and Cobden. In the case of the latter, at least, the effort seems rather far-fetched. To Mongredien, the Cobden Club historian, Cobden was a moral hero endowed with economic infallibility. To a writer like Fuchs he was a shrewd manufacturer with a keen eye to the profits of the cotton trade. Doubtless "the real Richard Cobden" was neither of these and yet it seems futile to try and save him as an object of sympathy for the modern imperialists. Underneath any divergence of economic theorizing between them lies the deeper and ineradicable difference of divergent ideals as to the mission and destiny of England and her colonies.

HENRY C. EMERY.

The Government of England. By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, Professor of the Science of Government in Harvard University. In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. xv, 570; viii, 563.)

MR. LOWELL has admirably succeeded in a task which no other student of political science—English or American—has attempted. Even to enumerate all the departments of government activity that are comprehended in his *Government of England* would absorb at least half of the space assigned for this review. Six full pages of the first volume are occupied with the table of contents—the headings to the sixty-seven chapters into which the two volumes are divided. Here it must suffice to state that Mr. Lowell begins at the top and works downward. He begins with the crown; then proceeds to deal with Parliament, the cabinet and the state departments, and with the relations of the colonies to the mother-country. Then having described the governmental and ecclesiastical machinery, the law courts and the political activities of which Whitehall and Westminster are the centres, he takes leave of official London and devotes himself to municipal government in its several aspects in the local government areas of the metropolis and of provincial England.

Even this brief outline of Mr. Lowell's great work will afford a basis for the statement at the outset that he has succeeded in a task which no other student of the English governmental system has at-

tempted. There are not lacking books of recent date which treat of subdivisions of the subject. Many of these are special studies and are accepted as authoritative; but heretofore there has existed no one book covering comprehensively the whole subject, although the need for such a work as this with its inclusiveness and its scholarly accuracy had long been obvious. Such a work could have been undertaken at any time after 1888; for with the enactment of the County Government Act in that year there remained only the District and Parish Councils Act of 1893 and the Act of 1899, which replaced the London vestries by municipal councils, to complete the era of constitutional reform which began in 1832. Many of the special studies of English government which are now of permanent value have been written since 1893; but Mr. Lowell is the only student who has realized the need of a work covering the entire field of governmental and party activity and who has devoted himself with success to meeting this need.

It was the fortune of the present reviewer to spend sixteen or seventeen years in daily contact with the governmental machinery which Mr. Lowell has described. This experience began with local government as it existed in the later seventies, and was followed by an experience of the working of Parliament and the state departments in London during the period when the last of the great reforms in local government were in making. In those years he learned to admire these institutions from the ease with which they work, and their adaptability to changing political, economic and social conditions. Much time in later years has been spent by him in working out the history of several of these institutions; and a study of Mr. Lowell's two volumes has filled him with wholehearted and thorough-going appreciation. It is because this review must be, in the main, if the reviewer follows his sense of the exceeding merit and value of Mr. Lowell's work, an appreciation of an ambitious task well performed, that he prefaces it with the little criticism which he finds occasion to offer.

Mr. Lowell is uniformly accurate in statements of fact and description. Errors of fact are singularly few, as might be expected from the care that has been bestowed on the work; and from the fact that the proof-sheets were read by the Right Honorable James Bryce. Of what misstatements there are, none is vital, and the same may be said of some observations and conclusions to which exception might perhaps be taken. All told the few misstatements do not detract from the value of the book as a work of reference to anything like the same degree as the unfortunate fact for Mr. Lowell that developments so quickly succeeded each other in the labor movement both in Parliament and the constituencies after it was no longer practicable to bring the chapters on this significant phase of English politics down at least to the incoming of the Asquith administration in April, 1908.

This is a misfortune likely to happen at any time in connection with a work of this character. It can be made good when Mr. Lowell pre-

pares his second edition. At such a revision also it might be well to correct the statement (I. 170) that until 1896 provincial postmasters owed their positions to political influence. Rural postmasters were nominated by members of the House of Commons until about twelve years ago; but provincial England means areas outside London, and it is much more than twelve years since postmasters in such cities as Liverpool, Manchester or Birmingham were nominated by members of Parliament. Another statement requiring correction is (II. 176) that municipal officers, except the town clerk, do not ordinarily attend the meetings of the town councils. The reviewer's experience is that municipal officers are very generally in attendance; and there are good grounds for such attendance, as at any time the recommendations of a committee may be challenged, and information at the command of the committee's expert may be essential to save the reference of minutes back to the committee.

Here and there one might ask for a line or two of amplification. It would have been well if Mr. Lowell had quoted some authorities for his statement that the calibre of men now offering for service on city councils is deteriorating. Again in summing up the case for and against municipal ownership it would have been helpful if Mr. Lowell had taken note of the ease of working in municipal economy which results from municipal ownership and operation of gas, electric lighting and street-car undertakings, an ease which is often patently lacking in this country where these undertakings are in the hands of private companies whose interests are not and never can be identical with those of a well-administered municipality.

Turning to quite another section of Mr. Lowell's book, it would have been fairer to Free Churchmen in England if Mr. Lowell had made it clear in his analysis of the political controversy over the elementary schools that the aim of the partizans of the Established Church is to retain a large proportion of what are really civil-service appointments—head-teacherships in the schools—as an exclusive possession of the Church of England.

It is not possible to make any comparison between Mr. Lowell's book and the half-dozen other books the joint use of which might be made to take its place. It stands in distinguished isolation by reason of its comprehensive plan, the masterly way in which the plan has been developed, and the sympathetic insight with which Mr. Lowell has described and analyzed the spirit in which English people work their Parliamentary and municipal institutions. The index—twenty-two pages—is full and likely to meet all calls upon it. There is no bibliography, but the authorities which Mr. Lowell has used are fully set out in the foot-notes.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Struggle for American Independence. In two volumes. By SYDNEY GEORGE FISHER. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 1908. Pp. xxii, 574; vii, 585.)

THIS is a larger and more detailed work on the period of American history from 1763 to 1783 by the author of *The True History of the American Revolution*. Like *The True History* it serves as a corrective to the orthodox and usually accepted ideas concerning the issues and merits of the Revolution. Americans have been taught to believe that their fathers in the Revolution stood for their constitutional rights as Englishmen; for local self-government; for right of trial by jury; for self-taxation, vouchsafed from English experience; against the quartering upon them of armies "to eat out their substance" without the consent of their representative assemblies; and for the principles of liberty and self-government proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence; while Great Britain was resolved to govern the colonies by arbitrary power, and to subject them to injurious laws and to principles of taxation contrary to the old English conception of English liberty.

These ideas have been deeply imbedded in the American mind. They are regarded as the verdict of history and as the final interpretation of the vital issues raised by the American struggle for independence. It is not likely that Mr. Fisher's volumes will do much to disturb this verdict. They may, however, be of distinct aid to some teachers of American history and to some half-informed "Sons" and "Daughters" of the American Revolution who have been led to suppose there was only one side to the Revolution, and that there was nothing but liberty, glory and unselfish patriotism on the American side of the struggle of 1776. Such readers may follow with profit, if not with approval, through Mr. Fisher's pages, wherein the author seeks to put the traditional and patriotic causes of the American Revolution in what he regards as their true light, namely, as minor and incidental to the real and original issue of the struggle.

That struggle arose, according to Mr. Fisher, because of an effort of the British to establish a modern colonial system by so reorganizing their American colonies as to assert and make real the nominal sovereignty recognized as belonging to Parliament by the departure of the French from America. This reorganization of her colonies was necessary if England was to retain her control; and it was a policy begun, not after a careless and ignorant fashion by a corrupt government, or a stupid king, but after deliberation and investigation by capable statesmen who were asserting principles on which alone colonies could be retained and governed. On the part of the Americans independence was the object in view from the opening hour of the quarrel, or even before open friction began, prepared for by political ideas and material interests that had long made independence inevitable. This view Mr. Fisher maintains

in two volumes of clearness and force and with an interesting array of evidence. He has gone to the original sources for information; his citations and references are numerous and valuable; the arrangement of his material is good, and his style is readable and attractive.

Yet however creditable his work, it must be confessed that the author seems excessively "otherwise-minded", and his spirit of criticism and correction seem, in a measure, to outrun his spirit of historical impartiality and fairness. He makes most use of what makes most of his cause. For the years of discussion preceding the call to arms Mr. Fisher's readers would be led to conclude that in all the long controversy the Americans had no cause. They were without good ground for contention, short of independence. Any claims of principles or purposes short of that are evasions, concealments, or false pretenses. Monopoly of colonial trade was "an essential part of the colonial system"—though Adam Smith was soon to disprove the theory. "No taxation without representation" was "never a part of the British constitution"—though Chatham apparently thought otherwise. There was "no ground for the American claim against the Stamp Act"—though that claim received the assent of some of the best men in England. Parliament had the right to rule, as it had long ruled, the colonies without their consent, as every true English colony is ruled to-day. The American distinction between internal and external taxes was "weak and absurd"—though Franklin gave his testimony to sustain it. Dickinson's idea (which seems, also, to have been that of Burke) that a duty on commerce could be kept from becoming a tax was a "flimsy one"; while Samuel Adams's doctrine on the need of colonial consent to standing armies was equivalent to a declaration of independence. American mobs and tar-and-feather parties made the army necessary; while even the revival of the notorious act of Henry VIII.'s time providing for the transportation for trial of colonists charged with treason was well founded in precedents and in the right of a nation to establish order in its colonies. It was not any want of conciliation that lost Great Britain her American colonies. "She lost her colonies because she wanted colonies and the colonies wanted independence." "No amount of graciousness, friendliness, or kindness could make the colonial condition acceptable to the patriots of 1770"—the testimony of the patriot leaders Washington, Adams, Franklin, Jefferson and others being rejected as unconvincing or unimportant. The conditions in the patriot army were "very different from what most of us have been led to believe". The "beautiful buff and blue uniforms" were only on the fashion plates, not on the backs of the patriots. The patriot troops were merely a set of volunteer riflemen, without uniforms, in ragged clothes and butternut hunting shirts, at times barefooted, at times "destitute of both shirts and breeches", and at all times without much sense of order or discipline. They could shoot straight, but no one could tell how soon they would desert to the enemy or go trooping home. High-toned respectable so-

ciety was disgusted with such a levelling soldiery. It was not they who won our independence. It was the aid of France, or the political complications in Europe, or the Whig partizanship, or incompetency, of English generals who were willing to have the American rebellion succeed.

These suggestions will serve to indicate the tone and temper of the work. In their scope the volumes embrace all the subjects worthy of notice within the period described, including the foreign relations and the military and personal aspects of the war, while the second volume closes with a suggestive chapter on the Effect of the Revolution on England's Colonial System. The volumes bear the stamp of originality—they lead a departure from beaten paths. There is much of interesting detail and the author shows a wealth of knowledge as well as an acquaintance with scholarly and scientific methods. Grounds for the author's conclusions are given, but the reader will hardly escape the feeling that in his treatment of the controverted political questions of the period the author has been a one-sided rather than an all-around impartial historian. Yet one wishing to know the whole story of the Revolution must feel grateful to Mr. Fisher for his volumes.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry, Secretary of War under Washington and Adams. By BERNARD C. STEINER. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1907. Pp. x, 640.)

Now that the lives and works of the statesmen of the first rank of the early period of our history as a nation have been published, it is quite fitting that the biographies and correspondence of those of second or even lesser place should be given to the public. In this latter class James McHenry naturally falls. That such was his rank in the judgment of his contemporaries is evidenced by several of the letters of Hamilton, Pierce, Washington and Wolcott (pp. 69, 97, 162, 322, 394, 379, 422). Thus Hamilton wrote when suggesting to Washington a number of persons for Secretary of War: "McHenry, you know. He would give no strength to the administration, but would not disgrace the office. His views are good." As Secretary of War he revealed few qualifications for the position, for, as Wolcott said, while a man of honor he was "not skilled in the details of executive business".

We are indebted to Dr. Steiner's interest and zeal in carefully examining a mass of correspondence and papers preserved by McHenry's descendants, and in selecting therefrom all that was of general interest and value connected with the career of this well-nigh forgotten statesman. McHenry had a large correspondence with many persons prominent in public life including Washington, Hamilton, Wolcott, Murray, Pickering, Tracy, Tallmadge and other leading Federalists.

In so far as possible the author permits McHenry's correspondence

and that of his friends to tell the story of his life and times, merely connecting them by a biographical thread. This method has its disadvantages as well as its merits. We are by no means sure that a brief introductory biography followed by the correspondence would not have made a more useful volume, as it is the correspondence that constitutes the chief value of the work. Whatever view we may hold in regard to this matter, all will recognize the skill with which the editorial work has been done. Much of the best material has been drawn from the papers of contemporary statesmen and several have here been published for the first time.

Less than fifty pages suffice to cover the earlier period of McHenry's life, including his varied services during the Revolutionary War, as surgeon, Washington's secretary and Lafayette's aid. In 1781 he entered upon his public career as a member of the Maryland senate. From that time to 1796 he was almost continuously in the service of his state, either in the Continental Congress, the Federal Convention, the state's ratifying convention or as a member of the state legislature. The correspondence of this period is not very full and the diary which McHenry kept during the time he was in attendance upon the Federal Convention is disappointing, but a few letters from Washington are of importance. Notwithstanding the meagreness of the material, the introduction of certain letters of a purely personal nature, especially those to the lady he later married, is open to question.

Fully three-fourths of the volume is devoted to the last twenty years of his life, opening in 1796 with his appointment by Washington as Secretary of War, which position he continued to fill under Adams until the disruption of his cabinet in May, 1800. The correspondence for this period is voluminous and interesting. It reveals how fully McHenry was under the domination of Hamilton, although he frequently tried the latter by his lack of administrative ability. The detailed account of the strife between Adams and his cabinet over the appointment of the generals would appear to be the final word on this affair, which contributed so largely to the disruption of the Federalist party. Some idea of the bitterness of the strife between our first parties and the current belief in the depravity of one's opponents is gained from a letter of Washington's, urging McHenry not to appoint Democrats to office, as "you could as soon scrub the blackamoor white as to change the principles of the profest Democrat" who "will leave nothing unattempted to overthrow the government of the country". McHenry likewise characterizes Jefferson, Madison and Gallatin as "political adventures on the tempestuous sea of Democracy". It is interesting to learn from one of Hamilton's letters in 1799 that he not only advocated "the possession of Florida and Louisiana", but also believed that "we ought to squint at South America", a suggestion that even goes beyond the designs of the most ardent imperialist of our own day.

Although after 1800 McHenry passed the remainder of his life as a

private citizen he continued a keen observer of public affairs and in active correspondence with several of the New England Federalists. Their letters throw many new and important side-lights upon the Federalist attitude towards contemporary events, showing how partyism and sectionalism had triumphed over their earlier tendencies toward nationalism.

Dr. Steiner is so warm an admirer of McHenry's attractive personality that he is a very sympathetic but by no means an uncritical biographer. He comes to his defense in several instances and rates his genius and ability more highly than do his contemporaries or most historians.

The volume is illustrated with several successful reproductions, in color, of miniatures, and is provided with an excellent index.

The Works of James Buchanan, Comprising his Speeches, State Papers and Private Correspondence. Collected and edited by JOHN BASSETT MOORE. Volume I., 1813-1830; Volume II., 1830-1836; Volume III., 1836-1838. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 1908. Pp. cxxiii, 451; x, 514; viii, 526.)

THE basis of what will doubtless be the definitive edition of Buchanan's writings, undertaken and carried through with the support of his niece, the late Mrs. Henry E. Johnston, formerly Harriet Lane, appears to be the Buchanan papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Professor Moore has been able to include, however, important papers from the Library of Congress, especially the Jackson and Van Buren collections, and from the Department of State; he has reprinted from Curtis's biography what could not be found elsewhere; while for Buchanan's speeches in Congress he has used the official reports. It is disturbing to find that Curtis should often have printed his documents carelessly or fragmentarily, but Professor Moore points out numerous instances of erroneous or partial reproduction. The arrangement of the papers, in these three volumes extending only to 1838, is strictly chronological, the source of each document is carefully indicated, and brief notes supply necessary data, mainly of a personal nature. As pieces of straightforward and attractive book-making the set promises to be in every way praiseworthy.

Buchanan entered upon his long career of public service in December, 1821, when, at the age of thirty, he took his seat in Congress as a representative from Pennsylvania, his native state. Of his writings previous to this time Professor Moore prints but two specimens: a letter to Jared Ingersoll, in 1813, soliciting an appointment as deputy attorney-general, and a fragment of a Fourth of July oration, 1815, in which his early Federalist sympathies appear. In Congress he soon won distinction as a man of legal ability and laborious industry. A speech of

March 12, 1822, against the pending bankruptcy bill (I. 24), he declared in his autobiography to be one of the best ever delivered by him in Congress. He favored the tariffs of 1824 and 1828 (I. 56, 233, 330), and at first gave his support to internal improvements (I. 252); but in 1829, after considering Monroe's constitutional objections (I. 383), he opposed further appropriations for the Cumberland Road, and urged the cession of the road to the states through which it ran. His close acquaintance with Jackson, first instanced here in a cordial letter of May 29, 1825 (I. 138), involved him in the scandal of the "corrupt bargain". October 16, 1826, we find him writing to Duff Green that, although he (Buchanan) had seen Jackson in regard to the Clay vote a few days before the decision to vote for Adams was known, "I had no authority from Mr. Clay or his friends to propose any terms to General Jackson, in relation to their votes, nor did I make any such proposition" (I. 219). As to a "corrupt bargain", that, he says, was a natural inference, but it will never be proved by direct evidence. He returned to the subject again the following July in a letter to Ingham (I. 260), in which he still shows anxiety not to be thought an emissary of Clay. He championed without reserve, however, Jackson's view of the election of 1825, and in 1828 spoke several times in favor of retrenchment and against the alleged extravagance of the Adams administration.

That Buchanan could on occasion take a position which, if it correctly represented his opinion, was indicative of a curious mental twist, is shown by a remarkable speech of 1830 (I. 440), in which the withdrawal of the Supreme Court justices from circuit duty was strongly opposed on the ground, among others, that by living always at Washington they would lose touch with the people, be unable to keep up with the course of state legislation, and become in time wholly subservient to the President! For the most part, however, his course was consistent and increasingly influential. In 1830, as chairman of the House Committee on Judiciary, he drew the articles of impeachment in the case of Judge Peck; and in January, 1831, courageously resisted the famous attempt to repeal the twenty-fifth section of the Judiciary Act of 1789, regulating appeals to the Supreme Court (II. 67). The same broad views of public policy as distinct from party advantage dictated his opposition, in February, 1831, to the proposal to strike out the appropriation for the salary of John Randolph, then minister to Russia.

In May of the same year Buchanan was himself offered the Russian post, and accepted it. His diary, beginning March 21, 1832, supplements for this period his public and private correspondence. As minister he had a chance to display the tact and diplomatic skill which Professor Moore notes as his special gift, and his success, particularly in the negotiation of a treaty of commerce and navigation, was gratifying. A treaty of maritime rights, however, he was unable to secure. The business methods of the Department of State were evidently unsatisfactory, for Buchanan repeatedly complains that necessary books and documents

are not sent to him, and on December 20, 1832, writes: "I have not received the scrape of a pen from the Department of State since I left home" (II. 307). He found time to correspond with Jackson and others about American politics, commended the bank veto (II. 241), and noted the praise of European newspapers for the nullification proclamation and messages (II. 316).

Buchanan returned to the United States in the autumn of 1833. Although already several times mentioned as a vice-presidential possibility, he had himself been inclined to think that his public career was over (II. 333), and had considered opening a law office in New York or Baltimore. In December, 1834, however, he was chosen a United States senator. In response to a letter from Jacob Kern and others, informing him of his election, he admitted the right of the legislature to instruct its senators (II. 402); and in February, 1838, he yielded to a resolution of the assembly and voted against the Subtreasury Bill, which he had previously supported (III. 380). In the Senate he at once championed Jackson's course in relation to France (II. 408), maintaining that the time for a vigorous assertion of American rights had come. In January, 1837, he spoke at length in support of Benton's expunging resolution, voting, as he observed, "not cheerfully" but from "imperious duty" (III. 168). In 1836 he opposed the recognition of Texan independence (III. 60), though sympathizing with Texas; and he was still in opposition on March 1, 1837 (III. 247), and voted against the resolution which prevailed. He was already on record as approving Jackson's course with the bank, and his letters contain a number of references to the popular approval which he detected. Like Jackson, too, he came to believe in the wisdom of a complete divorce of the federal government from banks.

The question of slavery Buchanan could not dodge even had he wished to do so, and his treatment of the subject at this time was at least as enlightened as that of most of his party associates. In February, 1836, we find him opposing petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia (III. 1), notwithstanding the fact that in 1819, at Lancaster, he had been one of a committee which drafted strong resolutions against slavery in new states and territories; but the opposition in the Senate to the reception of abolition memorials called out his unqualified condemnation (III. 553). He agreed with Calhoun, however, in desiring the exclusion of anti-slavery matter from the mails (III. 83). There is nothing to show that he as yet saw much below the surface of events. Jackson had written to him exultantly on March 21, 1833, "Thus die nullification and secession", and Buchanan saw no reason to fear that the dead would rise.

A useful feature of this edition is an index to Buchanan's career in Congress, extending to 1845. The documents in volume III. stop with June, 1838.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

The Life and Letters of George Bancroft. In two volumes. By M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1908. Pp. xi, 294; 364.)

THE basis of Mr. Howe's work has been a collection of Bancroft's papers placed in his hands by the late Mrs. John C. Bancroft, daughter-in-law of the historian. While the papers were voluminous, they had been already somewhat classified, and contained not only many originals of early letters, but also copies of those of later date. In addition, Mr. Howe has made use of such manuscript collections as the Jackson, Van Buren and Polk papers in the Library of Congress, and has had the invaluable assistance of numerous friends and correspondents of Bancroft. Here and there a letter which had already seen the light is reproduced, but far the greater portion of the contents of these volumes is now for the first time printed. The volumes represent, however, only a selection from the great mass of Bancroft papers, and make no claim to completeness in any direction. On the other hand, Mr. Howe systematically gives to the letters the foremost place, and his narrative, though dealing informally with the general course of Bancroft's life as well as with its critical moments, is as a rule elaborated only to the point of skilfully piecing the letters together. It may be said at once that Mr. Howe has done his work judiciously, and that the picture of the great historian which he presents is at least clear in outline and interesting in detail.

Fortunately for the biographer, Bancroft was not only a voluminous correspondent, but a matter of fact one as well. He wrote in the greatest detail of what he did from day to day, of his friendships, his journeys and his work; and his letters, almost always lively and forcible in style, are a readable chronicle of his multifarious activities. What strikes one most often, perhaps, in these volumes is the remarkable range and character of his acquaintance. From the time when as a youth of eighteen he began his studies at Göttingen to the closing days at New York, Newport and Washington, he was fortunate in his friends. Extraordinary indeed is the galaxy of scholars, statesmen and scientists whose names stud the pages of his letters, and among whom he moved on terms of admitted equality and not seldom of intimacy. To few Americans of the nineteenth century did the intellectual leaders of Europe pay such spontaneous and ready homage.

Mr. Howe well observes that the periods of a man's life are not marked off one from another with the definiteness of chapters in a book, and warns his readers that the topical grouping of his material does not imply sudden transitions or absence of gradual growth in Bancroft's career. In the case of Bancroft, however, the natural divisions are exceptionally well marked. Beginning as a brilliant student at home and abroad, he passed a few years of unsuccessful schoolmastering and preaching before finding his sphere in politics and history. Mr. Howe

points out; perhaps with over-emphasis, the social disadvantage which the entertainer of Democratic opinions was under in the New England of the thirties, though suggesting that Bancroft may have been one of those who foresaw the coming change of the Jacksonian régime and shrewdly took his position early. Still, when one considers his intimate relations with Van Buren and Polk and his selection for the navy portfolio, not to speak of his later distinguished service as minister to Great Britain and Germany, it must be admitted that social discrimination had its compensations. The fact was, however, as his letters abundantly show, that Bancroft, notwithstanding his ten-volume assertion of American democracy, was himself cosmopolitan, and could somewhat do without New England in the larger social life in which he moved.

As a private citizen, on the other hand, Bancroft's attitude towards politics had in it much of aloofness. He expressed himself with frankness on political subjects in his letters; he gauged with singular accuracy the nature of the struggle between the North and the South in 1861-1865, and saw more clearly than many active leaders the dangers of Republican reconstruction; but he was not much consulted by public men on questions of the day, nor did he often affect the course of events. The claim that he was chiefly instrumental in securing the nomination of Polk, already made in a letter of Bancroft's published in this REVIEW in July, 1906, is further enforced by the letter of July 6, 1844, to Polk (I. 251-255), in which the episode is circumstantially described. This, and his essential authorship of Johnson's first message, constitute his chief unofficial contributions to politics.

The many who doubtless will turn to these volumes for details regarding Bancroft's method and work as a historian are doomed in the main to disappointment. Beyond brief mention of the inception of the *History* and of the appearance of the successive volumes and revisions, Mr. Howe's pages give little information not accessible in Bancroft's own prefaces. The letters contain occasional allusions to the visitation of archives, the search for documents, and journeys undertaken to settle some geographical point; but these allusions are not many. The defects of Bancroft's historical method have long since been pointed out, and Mr. Howe wisely refrains from anything more than a brief and judicial restatement of the case, free alike from harsh censure or unfrank apology. As for the letters, they throw no valuable light on the historian's frame of mind. It was worth while, however, to call attention to the zeal and painstaking with which Bancroft pursued his ideal of accuracy, his generous appreciation, albeit with some disheartening exceptions, of those who pointed out his errors, and his readiness to sacrifice in later editions many a florid passage that had had its day. That Bancroft was, on the whole, more highly regarded outside of historical circles than within them, these volumes seem to show; for, of the notable names which fill their pages, those of historians, save Ranke, are relatively few.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden. In two volumes. Edited by JOHN BIGELOW, LL.D. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1908. Pp. xxxii, 394; 395-752.)

THESE volumes must be considered as a complement to Mr. Bigelow's *Life of Samuel J. Tilden* and his collection of Tilden's *Writings and Speeches*. It is only natural to look for the best available material which may throw light upon his career and character, and incidentally justify the statements of the biography. The editor states that Tilden from an early period of his life saved his papers. "At school he preserved all his composition exercises, and from that time to the close of his life it may well be doubted if he ever wrote a note or document of any kind of which he did not preserve the draft or a copy." It is to be presumed he was equally careful to preserve the important letters he received from others, for the accumulation of correspondence which fell into the hands of his executors was "measured by the ton" and covered "almost every important political question by which this nation has been agitated" since 1829. The results are not very rich. There are only some 130 letters from Tilden himself, and of those only about one-half relate to public or political questions. The 700 pages of the two volumes are made up of letters to Tilden, newspaper clippings of articles, interviews and papers of the editor of the compilation. Much is trivial, and not a little is better calculated to display the prejudices of the editor than Tilden's opinions.

As a test of the value of this collection the reader naturally first turns to the two leading incidents of Tilden's career—the exposure of the Tweed ring, and the presidential election of 1876. It cannot be said that new light is thrown upon either event, or that the known facts are emphasized by collateral evidence. The letters from Charles O'Connor on the legal aspect of the case against the ring are very interesting, and the position of Tilden as the leader on the side of public morality is established; but that phase of a great public event, in which the effect upon the spectator serves, as it were, as a measure of civic spirit, is sadly wanting. Was not Tilden overwhelmed with letters offering assistance, sympathy, the moral support of wealth and social position? Were not party feelings sunk in a general union to hold up his hand against the strongly entrenched corruptionists who had so shamelessly robbed city and bound the state? If so, the letters given in these volumes give very faint evidence of such an expression. It is much the same in the electoral crisis of 1876. No new light is thrown upon Tilden's own position, and the leaders of the party appear to have been paralyzed so far as giving comfort and advice to the wronged candidate. The Electoral Commission never received the support of Tilden, but there is almost nothing to show what he wrote to, or received from, those who were involved in the crisis. Hints of betrayal by his "friends" will not

compensate for the absence of actual letters and documents. Nor are there many important letters from public men. The names represented are Silas Wright, Martin and John Van Buren, John A. Dix, Francis P. Blair, Horatio Seymour, Charles O'Connor and Daniel Manning. Less than one hundred letters from these writers make up the most important part of the two volumes—a somewhat slight showing. So many of the political leaders of the Democratic party in New York, from 1845 to 1885, are not even mentioned in these volumes that one is puzzled to know to what Tilden's eminence in politics was due.

We can draw only one conclusion, that the papers of Tilden had been examined before they came into the keeping of the literary executors, and much of personal and historical value removed or destroyed.

Tilden never intended to pursue a public career, but always had a close connection with the party activities in New York. His very association with Van Buren colored his views and gave him a certain tendency of action. He was not so large a figure in the party councils as to command influence, and it was his wealth and position as a lawyer that made his party managers turn to him for advice and party manifestoes. In 1845 he declined to be considered for the New York collectorship, because he was reluctant to hold "a mere pecuniary, professional office" at the sacrifice of his professional pursuits. His suggestions for Pierce's cabinet, made in 1853, make very interesting reading, if only for his recommendation of Dix, whom Seymour afterwards denounced to him. As early as this, Tilden believed that "in our time the chief political duty seems to be to protect the people from plunder under the forms of legislation and in the abuse of administration." He was a supporter of party—"the truth is that four-fifths of the rank and file follow the organization, by whichever leaders it is wielded." For this reason he was severe on those who had lent their official character and influence to disorganize the party. Yet he was not aggressive. "It seems to me, however, that there is more *not* to be done than *to be* done. It is a safe rule in affairs—and not less so in mere declarations that simply commit you without producing any practical result—that when you are in doubt what to do, do as little as possible." He was suggested for candidate for governor of New York by the Van Buren men in 1866, but his great opportunity came with the Tweed ring.

He was scrupulous about undertaking to influence his successors in office or those who might publicly be looked upon as deeply indebted to him for aid in securing office. This is illustrated by his letter declining to recommend anybody or anything to Governor Robinson "of my own motion, or unless he had occasion to consult me". When Cleveland was elected to the presidency, he took the same stand, but did make some suggestions through Manning, whose relations with Tilden were close. It is difficult to believe, however, that Cleveland ever offered to turn over the making of his cabinet to Tilden, and the letters printed in the *Life* but not reprinted in these volumes, would point to the bias

of the editor's mind and ambitions. In matters of appointment, Tilden urged consulting with local leaders, who should not however govern absolutely the appointing power. "Distrust of one's friends will generally result in misplaced confidence in inferior persons or in ill-advised action." True, but the President was often misled by placing his trust in the recommendations of party leaders. Cleveland gave Noyes an appointment at the instance of George Hoadley; yet Noyes had been closely associated with the republicans in the "fraud of 1876", and Hoadley asks Tilden to press him on Cleveland for the office of Attorney-General.

It is such a collection as this that should throw light upon the trend of the Democratic party during Tilden's ascendancy, but we are somewhat disappointed in the poverty of record. There were demands for the renomination of Tilden in 1880 and in 1884, not only because he was "defrauded" in 1876, but because he was the strongest experienced man available. Weed's comment on the convention which nominated Hancock is not without suggestion. "In the talk and action the old dictation of the South was prevalent without the old intellect." Then, too, Henry Tilden's comment on the Cincinnati convention of 1880: "There is little to consult about. There is so much jealousy, and so many statesmen I am glad you are out of it." It is curious to recall that Payne of Ohio came near obtaining the nomination, and might have succeeded but for his connection with the Standard Oil, "which had ruined too many men" in Ohio and elsewhere to make it safe to take him. Hancock was a political blunder; but Tilden's positive withdrawal in 1884 made Cleveland's nomination certain. There is nothing on the convention of that year, but some letters from Smith Weed on Manning and Cleveland. An extract from the editor's diary is hardly conclusive evidence of what was promised or performed. The process of cabinet-making is one of great difficulty, and in Cleveland's case must have been greater than usual because his acquaintance with public men was not wide. If Tilden was promised a "practical influence" in selecting the cabinet, and understood from Manning that he should name the member from New York, Manning himself was the man. Lamar appears to have been Tilden's suggestion, but the attempt to give support to Randall's tariff views hardly showed a broad idea of cabinet functions. Fortunately the effort failed. Tilden's advice to Manning, freely given, is judicious, but he never seems to have realized the importance of tariff reform, and he advised the gradual correction of the political influence of postmasters, then wholly Republican.

Mr. Bigelow can hardly be responsible for the many errors in names and arrangement of papers. If we find somewhat too much of the genial editor in the volumes, he has good examples to quote, and we should be grateful for what he has given.

F.

Alexander H. Stephens. By LOUIS PENDLETON. [American Crisis Biographies, edited by ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER, Ph.D.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1908. Pp. 406.)

MR. PENDLETON has made a decidedly interesting book; and a book to be taken rather seriously. He had a good opportunity. The two earlier books about Stephens—Henry Cleveland's *Life, Letters and Speeches*, and Messrs. Johnston and Browne's *Life*—were both written before he died, both are out of print, and neither is a critical, scholarly biography. And the character and career of Stephens do really justify careful study.

Throughout a long life, Stephens was continually catching the attention, not of the South only, but of the entire country. He could do this largely by virtue of an unusually appealing personality. Lincoln's sense of the person was well-nigh unerring, and Stephens seems to have taken stronger hold of him than any other of the many interesting Southern men whom he encountered during his term in Congress. February 2, 1848, he wrote to his law partner in Illinois: "I take up my pen to tell you that Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, a little, slim, pale-faced, consumptive man, with a voice like Logan's, has just concluded the very best speech of an hour's length I ever heard. My old, withered, dry eyes are full of tears yet." As with Lincoln himself, a rooted melancholy seems to have been, in part at least, the source of Stephens's personal charm; and Mr. Pendleton now surprises one with the suggestion that the secret source of this characteristic may have been the same mysterious misfortune which is thought to have darkened the lives of Dean Swift, of Carlyle and of Ruskin. But the pitiful slightness and frailness of Stephens's body, in such striking contrast with his really extraordinary intellectual energy, might alone account for the interest he always aroused. "A queer looking bundle" a Northern newspaper called him. "An immense cloak, a high hat, and peering somewhere out of the middle a thin, pale, sad little face." And one recalls Lincoln's irresistible remark at the Hampton Roads conference that Stephens, doffing his great coat, was "the smallest nubbin to come out of so much husk" he had ever seen. That was not all, however. Out of a cruel struggle with poverty in his childhood, Stephens had brought an intense sympathy with suffering, and a deep sense of human brotherhood. To whites and blacks alike he endeared himself, in his personal relations, by countless generousities. There were more reasons than one why he was the kind of man people liked to see and hear.

So far from making too much of his personal traits, I think Mr. Pendleton makes decidedly too little, although he presents them very well; and there is not enough of his personal history. Apparently, it is Stephens's part in the great sectional controversy, and that controversy itself, which has absorbed his biographer. Mr. Pendleton turns from the

man to his times as often as Roosevelt does in his *Benton*, in another series; but of these two biographers Mr. Pendleton is decidedly the superior in knowledge of his background. He belongs, one would say, to that school of Southern workers in history—including such men as Professor W. L. Fleming and Mr. A. H. Stone—which is distinguished less by freedom from the sense of a duty of loyalty to their section than by painstaking thoroughness and a rather formidable readiness with verified facts. Should Mr. Rhodes ever revise his earlier volumes, he should find it worth his while to read Mr. Pendleton's chapters on Nullification at the North, Georgia Secedes, and the South's Handicap in the War.

Mr. Pendleton is weakest, I think, in his discussion of the question of the right of Secession. At one point (p. 190) he writes as if the national theory of the Union conferred the sovereignty on the government at Washington, instead of the American people as a whole. Like Mr. C. F. Adams and other recent writers, he attaches, I think, too much importance to mere selfish sectional movements and declarations looking toward separation, as throwing light on the nature of the constitutional bond. He does not anywhere give the national view fully, or the reasoning—such as that in Webster's *Reply to Hayne*—which sustains it. That Webster himself, both earlier and later in his career, used language which seems inconsistent with the great *Reply*, is not of the first importance; the main thing is the relative strength of the two arguments, fairly stated.

Mr. Pendleton is strongest, on the other hand, when he is setting forth the case of the South against the North, particularly in the matter of the actual history of slavery and the slave-trade. It was General Lee's conviction that the North had really oppressed the South—not his adhesion to the Secessionist theory—which largely governed him in his momentous decision in 1861; and the trend of recent writing on this general theme is toward a more and more respectful consideration of the South's contentions.

The book, although without distinction of style, is on the whole well written. There is a list of authorities which—curiously enough—does not include Rhodes's *United States* or Professor John C. Schwab's *Confederate States of America*.

W. G. BROWN.

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Edited by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. Volume XLVII., 1728-1759. Volume XLVIII., 1751-1765. Volume XLIX., 1762-1765. Volume L., 1764-1800. Volume LI., 1801-1840. Volume LII., 1841-1898. Volume LIII. *Bibliography*. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1907, 1908. Pp. 332; 339; 348; 324; 317; 358; 437.)

Bibliography of the Philippine Islands, Printed and Manuscript.

Preceded by a Descriptive Account of the most important Archives and Collections containing Philippina. By JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1908. Pp. 437.)

WITH volume LII, the historical text proper of this monumental series on the Philippine Islands came to its end and to the close of Spanish rule. Volume LIII, the *Bibliography*, has been issued separately, in a limited edition, as is shown by the second of the two title-headings of this review. Two more volumes will be devoted to an analytical index of the fifty-three preceding volumes. Mention of these volumes will be made later in connection with a final review of the series as a whole.

The eighteenth-century volumes here considered are notable especially for documents shedding light on economic and fiscal matters, as well as on the Spanish colonial administration from a political standpoint. Matters ecclesiastical and politico-ecclesiastical questions are as much at the front as ever, but their importance begins to be overshadowed. Moreover, the editors, by choice of material and by their annotations, have here made distinct contributions to the politico-economic history of the Philippines, hitherto neglected.

Volume XLVII, is particularly notable for a host of such minor data, not indicated by a summary of its documents. The treatises on the *Misericordia* and the Order of St. John of God, for example, besides covering the record of public charity in the Philippines up to 1740, and incidentally serving as checks on each other, also shed much light on failures and misfortunes in the galleon-trade, and upon the consequent loans from charitable funds to keep the government running. The *Survey* of 1739 of Governor Valdés Tomón shows the other side of the shield, *viz.*, government support and aid of the church and of charitable organizations—this, incidentally to an exposition of the organization of Philippine government, military as well as ecclesiastical. Letters from Auditor Enríquez (1746) and a Jesuit father (1749) bring out, respectively, the rivalry with Dutch and English for Oriental trade and the spectacular events connected with the "conversion" of a sultan of Sulu and his visit to Manila. The manuscript (1759) of a proposal by Nicholas Norton, an Englishman naturalized in Spain, regarding direct trade with the Philippines via the Cape of Good Hope presents much evidence of the Spaniards' neglect of Philippine internal development.

The abstracts from Spanish histories, especially Zúñiga, in volume XLVIII, treat Sultan Ali-Mudin's "conversion" more fully. Documents on Augustinian parishes and missions and the friar-estates, besides bringing out facts as to usurpation of the natives' lands, are also enlightening regarding eighteenth-century population statistics. The Memorial (1765) by Viana, royal fiscal, shows the common unreliability of Philippine statistics of population on the tribute-lists. This Memorial, which

was never printed, perhaps because Viana was hostile to the religious orders and perhaps because the Council of Indies thought it impolitic to print its data on Dutch, English, French and Portuguese traders and trade methods, is a document of prime importance, especially regarding commerce and Philippine administration. It occupies nearly one-half of this volume.

Volume XLIX. is devoted to documents, mostly by participants, both English and Spanish, regarding the capture of Manila by the English in 1762, its occupation and the events connected therewith, 1762-1765. The editing of this historical episode has been done in a very commendable way. Various charts and plans that are helpful are also reproduced. The English documents here printed add to our knowledge considerably, but in the main are supplementary to the various relations of this episode already published. There is a well-selected bibliography of these at the end of the volume.

Volume L., covering the last third of the eighteenth century, and the two remaining volumes of text, embracing the entire nineteenth century of Spanish rule in the Philippines, deal with just that period which is most important to the student whose interest in Philippine history relates to its bearing upon the events subsequent to 1898, and upon American policy, present and future. In the general review of the series, it will be in point to consider the distribution of material in the fifty-three volumes of text. Here, one may note the great condensation that has been necessary in these three volumes. In part, abstracts from Montero y Vidal's history, covering the periods 1764-1800, 1801-1840 and 1841-1872 respectively in these volumes, have been relied upon to make the historical record complete. But this results in pretty curt treatment in volume L., for example, of such important matters as Archbishop Sancho's contest over secularization of parishes and episcopal visitation, the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768, and the Anda and Basco administrations. Regarding the expulsion of the Jesuits, however, a good brief summary of the events is given from Dánvila y Collado, Crétineau-Joly and Montero y Vidal; one notes, only, the notable lack of references to the extended bibliography of the subject. The contest over secularization and episcopal visitation also gets further mention in two little documents of 1771, but still is not adequately treated. Anda's famous Memorial of 1768 is reproduced from Pardo de Tavera's edition of 1900, while Viana's letter to the king in 1767 shows where Anda got many of his data. Another document, a memorial on the financial affairs of the Philippines, is from the pen of the same useful critic, Viana. Spanish administration of the islands is also revealed from the legislative side in the "ordinances of good government" of Governors Corcuera, Cruzat and Raón, reproduced, partially summarized, from J. F. Del Pan's edition.

The new material of volume LI. is found in three documents: a reprint of *Remarks on the Philippine Islands and on their Capital, 1819 to 1822* (Calcutta, 1828) by an anonymous Englishman, containing some

data of value on social and economic matters and the Spanish hostility to foreign traders; a report by a Spanish official in 1827 on administrative evils, recommending a yet more illiberal political régime and trade policy; and, appended to the above, a brief letter of a Spanish merchant in Manila, much more liberal in his ideas on economic matters but a bitter critic of the natives. A useful appendix to this volume traces the record of the representatives of the Philippines in the Cortes of 1810-1813, 1820-1823 and 1835-1837, drawn chiefly from the *Diario de las Cortes*. A second appendix gives a list and brief biographies of the archbishops of Manila down to 1898. Here, one notes, Pedro Payo (1876-1889) is dismissed in two lines, without relation of his connection with the political troubles of the eighties, while injustice is done the last Spanish archbishop, Nozaleda, in repeating Foreman's statement that he was rejected by the citizens of Valencia in 1905 "because of evil reports about him". The truth is, Nozaleda was made a political scapegoat for the disasters of Spain in the Philippine Islands.

The condensation becomes more noticeable in volume LII. The privately printed and hitherto little known third volume of Sinibaldo de Mas's *Informe* of 1841, the two first volumes of which constitute one of the standard works on the Philippines, is reproduced in a translation partly synopsized. His final suggestion regarding a policy looking toward future independence of the Philippines is of more than merely curious interest to-day. His long passages advocating greater power for the friars and illiberal and retroactive measures in general are, of course, in direct contradiction with the liberal programme finally presented as an alternative; a possible explanation, not advanced by the editors, is that Mas, in the major portion of his privately-printed discussion of the Philippines, was really making a sly attack on the friars and showing the absurdities that would result from pushing the logic of the reactionaries to its final consequences. The report of the official Matta in 1843 is a short one, but valuable both for corroboration of Mas and comparison with him. The period 1860-1898, which may be called the "modern era in the Philippines", is covered in a hundred-page contribution by James A. LeRoy, which attempts to furnish a working bibliography for the study of this period in all its phases, and primarily as a period of Filipino development, socially, economically and politically, with an editorial introduction and comment. It is very fittingly followed by the constitution of the Philippine League, as drawn by José Rizal in 1892. This document, which has been published in Spanish for the first time during the past year (in Retana's *Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal*), makes plain how flimsy was the charge against Rizal that this league was revolutionary, a charge which lay at the very basis of his conviction and execution in 1896. The chronological record of Spanish rule is very appropriately closed with a document of the religious orders, which had from the first been at the forefront in this history; it is the memorial signed by the four Philippine orders that had figured in the

political controversy and by the Jesuits and addressed to the Colonial Minister at Madrid (but never formally presented) on the eve of the outbreak of war in 1898 and just before Dewey's ships sailed from Hongkong. Those who believe that the friars' mission in the Philippines was over will find confirmation of that view in the arrogant tone and intolerant viewpoint of this message, a veritable gauntlet of defiance flung down before the Liberal administration at Madrid. But it is an eloquent defense of the friars' record in the Philippines, nevertheless, and a fine piece of rhetoric. Though the translation is faulty in places, it makes available a document practically unknown heretofore. A brief appendix deals with agriculture, and the last thirty-five pages are devoted to errata and addenda to volumes I. to LII.

Mr. Robertson has not attempted, in his *Bibliography*, to make a full and comprehensive catalogue of Philippina. There is no complete list of printed Philippina. Retana's recent *Aparato Bibliográfico* lists the greatest number of titles, though the Library of Congress bibliography of 1903, when used in conjunction with Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca Filipina*, likewise issued by the Library of Congress in 1903, is the most useful compilation of this sort. Mr. Robertson's aim has been, not to supplant the works mentioned, but to supplement them and lesser works of the sort; and in so doing, he has made a distinct contribution in several different lines. In the first place, in an introduction of about fifty pages he has brought together an array of informative data to be obtained elsewhere only in fragmentary form; this concerns principally the chief stores of Philippine manuscripts and books in public archives, libraries and private collections the world over, and secondarily notes on Philippine linguistics, cartography, photographs, museum-collections, sales-catalogues, etc. Secondly, he has "pointed out the sources for a complete bibliographical study of the Philippines" in three lists of printed works, as follows: (1) Philippine bibliographies and important bibliographical lists, ten pages; (2) other bibliographies, catalogues of public and private libraries, and sales catalogues, listing Philippina, seventeen pages; (3) books and pamphlets containing bibliographical information on the Philippines (with some rare entries), fifteen pages. Following are forty-three pages devoted to a list primarily of the printed works on the Philippines which have been used or extracts from which have been printed in this series, though some rarer Philippina not directly used have been listed and described here. The descriptions and data regarding copies of the rare Philippine titles are, in fact, the chiefly valuable features of this list; and no other Philippine bibliography can compete with Mr. Robertson's in this respect.

As a cataloguer, Mr. Robertson set for himself primarily the task of listing manuscripts on the Philippines. Two-thirds of this volume are therefore occupied, first, with a list and full descriptions of the manuscripts used in whole or in part in this series, and, second, with a longer list of other Philippine manuscripts, for some of which descrip-

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tions have not been available. The lists are drawn from the Archives of the Indies at Seville more than from anywhere else, this being the chief Spanish depository of Philippine manuscripts. As this work was originally planned to extend only to 1800, and as the archives at Manila are not yet catalogued, nor have the Philippine manuscripts recently unearthed by Professor Bolton at Mexico City been examined, it need not be said that this list is not complete, nor could it be, in any case; but it is the first real attempt to catalogue Philippine manuscripts. The nineteenth is less well represented than any other century, but the gap is partly filled by the entries of the valuable documents in the collection of Mr. E. E. Ayer, of Chicago, and of the Guam documents now in the Library of Congress. Moreover, it should be mentioned that few of the years between 1565 and 1898 are not covered by some manuscript in this list, which thus forms a quite complete historical record.

A good index, chiefly of names of course, closes the *Bibliography*. Painstaking editorial work is apparent all through it. The reviewer has handled it considerably without detecting an error of statement, and the very few mistakes in proper names thus far noted seem chargeable rather to original transcription than proof-reading.

JAMES A. LEROY.

The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia). By NICOLAS DENYS. Translated and edited by WILLIAM F. GANONG, Ph.D., Professor in Smith College. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Volume II.] (Toronto, The Society. 1908. Pp. xvi, 625.)

THE narrative of Denys, published in Paris in 1672, has never before been translated into English, and the book has been practically inaccessible, since it was not only of excessive rarity, but written in uncouth French marred by frequent obscurities.

Though born in 1598 of a somewhat distinguished family, Nicolas Denys emerges for the first time from the mists which had concealed his youth and early manhood in 1633. His book furnishes indisputable evidence that in these earlier years he had had little to do with schools, and that he was an expert in everything pertaining to the important industry of fishing. This naturally suggests that he had long been an exile from the paternal roof and, probably, an adventurer in the fleets which had annually quitted Honfleur and neighboring ports to court the ever-present dangers of the fishing grounds of Acadia, or Terre Neufve. Twelve years were passed, it would seem, in affairs of small significance, when suddenly his day came. He was now fifty-five years of age, hardened and sharpened by exposure and experience, this "Great-beard", as he was called; in fact, in the zenith of his physical and mental powers.

The Company of New France had secured in the usual way through favoritism at court immense possessions in the New World, and in due time after a wintry existence came as is usual in such cases to a serious turn in its affairs. The "Great-beard" was on the spot and conversant with the company's condition, so it was not over-difficult for him to secure from it "a grant of the coasts and islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence from Cape Canso to Cape Rosier", a vast region comprising "Cape Breton, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, the Magdalens and a part of Gaspé". He was now a great land-owner with a monopoly of the fur-trade within the region mentioned, and to distinguish him still more as a favorite of Fortune, the king, on January 31, 1654, endowed him with letters patent as "Governor and Lieutenant-General" over the territory granted him by the Company of New France, as well as Newfoundland, together with a monopoly of the sedentary fishery on the coast of Acadia "as far as Virginia". He returned from Paris to reign the proud monarch of all he surveyed, with a domain larger than the king's. But, taking advantage of his failure to procure the requisite number of settlers to meet a condition in his grant, a competitor arose, one *Sieur Doublet*, who caused him to be shorn of a large slice of his rich possessions.

For twelve years he struggled against this and other difficulties, and then went again to Paris, where he succeeded in getting all his former rights and privileges confirmed to him, and in 1668, now seventy years of age, he returned in triumph to his headquarters at St. Peter's; a short-lived triumph, however, for a few months after his return his establishment with all its contents was destroyed by fire. Impoverished and well-nigh discouraged, he returned to France to publish his book, doubtless hoping by its sale to reap some pecuniary benefit, and, above all, to excite interest enough in his distant principality to induce emigration thereto; but in this he was disappointed, and he remained in France for many years, it is said "in beggary". Finally, being granted a seigniory in his former domain affording a shred of his old wealth and power, he found his way back to America. Death in 1688 soon ended his remarkable career of ninety years. This brief sketch of Denys will give the reader a glimpse of what the book holds in store for him and prompt him to peruse it.

As already said, we are under especial obligations to Professor Ganong for this excellent translation of Denys's work, and for the painstaking and scholarly manner in which he has accomplished his difficult task, for to make a good translation of this work was a labor involving difficulties which would pass unnoticed by one who had never considered them. The fact is that in translating a book from illiterate, archaic French an author may at the outset lay down the best of rules to follow, yet be obliged to abandon them one after another and, at the end, find himself dissatisfied with his work. Some readers will doubtless wish that the bracketed English words intended to clear passages

from ambiguity; as well as the French words likewise in brackets, which are readily found in the French text, had been left out altogether or placed at the bottom of the page, leaving the text clear. These however are minor blemishes in a good piece of work. The enterprise of the Champlain Society in publishing rare works elucidating the history of French exploration and occupation of what is now British North America is to be highly commended, and especially the excellent manner in which their task is being accomplished. The present volume is a praiseworthy specimen of book-making, and should be sought by all lovers of historical books.

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER.

La Intervencion Francesa en México, segun el Archivo del Mariscal Bazaine. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by GENARO GARCÍA. Tomo XVII.] (Mexico: Bouret. 1908. Pp. 284.)

La Intervencion Francesa en México, segun el Archivo del Mariscal Bazaine. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by GENARO GARCÍA. Tomo XVIII.] (Mexico: Bouret. 1908. Pp. 275.)

THESE two volumes of documents selected from the papers of Marshal Bazaine carry on the presentation of material from the date reached in two earlier volumes of the same series, November 20, 1863, to April 21, 1864. Their subject-matter grows in interest as they deal more fully with the relations of Bazaine and his Mexican puppets and adversaries. The inherent difficulties of the intervention, the elements of weakness which foredoomed the enterprise to failure, are unconsciously revealed in negotiations with liberal leaders, in accounts of military expeditions, in controversies with the clerical party. But it will be a disappointment to the careful student that these documents contain so little frank confidential correspondence of the leading actors. For that class of material one must still wait for further revelations to supplement earlier publications by Lefèvre, Gaulot, Randon, Loizillon and others. Also one wonders why the present collection does not contain important letters which would naturally find a place in it—for example, that from Napoleon to Bazaine, February 15, 1864 (Gaulot, pp. 246-247), and those from Randon to Bazaine in March and May, 1864 (Gaulot, pp. 258-264).

Señor García shows great interest in impeaching the accuracy and good faith of the work of Gaulot in this field. The preface of volume XVII. is mostly given up to a discussion of this topic, and a certain letter from Señor Lerdo to Señor Saborio is reproduced in facsimile to make the argument clearer. Editorial deficiencies of Señor García himself, which were pointed out in the July number of the REVIEW,

and which are but slightly reformed in these later volumes, detract somewhat from the weight of his indictment against M. Gaulot, yet the evidence merits candid consideration. It is no part of the function of the reviewer to essay a defense of M. Gaulot, but a judgment may be expressed that the charge of falsification of documents is not clearly proven. May not the comparison made by Señor García between the Bazaine letter as printed by Gaulot (p. 204) and the Boyer letter as printed by himself (pp. 68-72) simply indicate that the former is Bazaine's letter to his chief of staff to be used as a basis for Boyer's communication to Saborio? Apart from the question of M. Gaulot's use of documents, a certain interest attaches to the substantial issue involved: Did Bazaine make overtures to Lerdo through Saborio? Or, did Lerdo, an important member of the Juarez government, use Saborio to open negotiations with Bazaine? These documents hardly afford a conclusive answer. Venality and vacillation of Mexican anti-interventionists were matched by such compromising and devious expedients of the French that the truth could emerge only by far more detailed presentation of evidence than Señor García gives.

With all its shortcomings the series in which these volumes appear is one of great historical interest, and future issues will be welcomed by all students of the period which they cover.

C. A. DUNIWAY.

South America on the Eve of Emancipation. The Southern Spanish Colonies in the Last Half-Century of their Dependence. By BERNARD MOSES, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of California. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1908. Pp. v, 356.)

THIS volume is a natural sequel to the author's *Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*. Like its predecessor it is a collection of essays on related topics rather than a comprehensive treatise. In the former book Professor Moses dealt with the institutions by which Spain governed all her American colonies, while in the present volume he has treated certain phases of the administration of Peru, Chile and Argentina during the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth. Without making any attempt to exhaust the subject, Professor Moses has succeeded in giving excellent pictures of life and institutions in the pre-revolutionary era. His method is to portray selected characters in the final drama of Spanish rule and to give these characters an appropriate background. Viceroys and captains-general, bishops, priests and inquisitors, *encomenderos* and *corregidores*, Indians and negroes, have been given their proper garb; typical provinces, cities and societies have been selected and described; and the most important events of the period narrated in some detail. In a word we have life-like actors, suitable scenery and interesting acts.

"The Capital of South America", Lima, is the subject of the first essay. The appearance of the city does not interest the author so much as its government, its social life and the activities of its ecclesiastics and inquisitors. In "The Vice Royalty of Rio de la Plata" the organization of a vice-regal administration is the principal theme. Tucuman has been selected as a typical "Interior Province" and Buenos Aires as a characteristic "Colonial City" in which to show the peculiarities of local government and the role played by the municipal corporations.

For a "Colonial University" the author has chosen Córdoba and has drawn an entertaining picture of life in that ancient seat of learning. Although the date of the disturbance is 1680, it sounds strangely modern to read of students rebelling at an attempt to improve the curriculum. Like others of whom we have heard, they regarded it as an infringement on their rights that "in an institution of learning they should be required to listen to lectures and pass examinations" (p. 159). Yet they had never heard of football.

In "The Social Classes" and also in "An Official Report on the Indians" Professor Moses has sketched the actual conditions of colonial society preceding the Wars of Emancipation. The picture is not a pleasant one yet it is drawn without prejudice. Thanks to his residence in the Philippines and his travels in Spanish-American countries, he has had unusual opportunities to secure intimate personal knowledge of the conditions of life in Spain's former colonies. One cannot help feeling that his point of view is remarkably broad, fair and sympathetic. Professor Moses does not hold a brief for the Spaniards of the eighteenth century but the facilities which he has had for obtaining a thorough understanding of Spanish colonial problems have enabled him to state the case in a manner that appeals strongly to one's sense of justice. Bearing in mind the contemporary conditions in the English and French colonies he points out that "the Spanish system of colonial administration was not an entirely isolated instance of commercial restrictions" (p. 300), but that it was "the popular awakening in the English colonies of America and in France during the last half of the eighteenth century [that] made the restrictions imposed by Spain on her colonies appear more burdensome than ever before." Not till then did "the colonies become distinctly conscious that Spain's short-sighted policy hindered their prosperity" (p. 317).

There are excellent accounts of the rebellion of Tupac Amaru and of the capture and loss of Buenos Aires by the English.

The essays are based on printed sources and the works of such scholars as Bartholome Mitre and Sir Clements Markham. Apparently no attempt has been made to use unprinted sources. It is to be hoped that we shall not be obliged to wait long for the volume on "The State of Society in the Northern Part of South America" which is promised in the preface.

MINOR NOTICES

Primitive Secret Societies: a Study in Early Politics and Religion. By Hutton Webster, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Anthropology in the University of Nebraska. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908, pp. xiii, 227.) Mr. Webster's book is a very welcome and important contribution to the study of early society, and yet it is perhaps as notable for what it has not attempted as for what it has performed.

The descriptive part of the work is excellent, the literature has been thoroughly and almost exhaustively digested, the notes and references are admirable, and the work is one which the student of these matters at once pronounces indispensable. Its value is not impaired, either, by the fact that the volume of Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, treats the same general field admirably. The two works do not follow identical lines, and Webster's is, on the whole, a more satisfactory attempt.

Of course a writer has the privilege of attacking his subject from any angle he pleases, but it seems remarkable that the author made nothing of his opportunity to expand his plan so as to include a treatment of the bearing of the manipulation of the boy by early society on the problems of modern education. The subtitle of the book is *A Study in Early Politics and Religion*. But in this connection Mr. Webster not only does no very close work in co-ordination of the early political and religious situation with later historical conditions, but, I venture to think, in neglecting to treat his materials from the standpoint of the problems of modern pedagogy, he fails to take advantage of his most interesting opportunity.

Within the limits of his attempt, also, it seems to me that the author follows a defective method in assuming that the motives lying behind the organization of secret societies are everywhere the same. If this may not fairly be said to be his standpoint we are at least disappointed that he makes no more formal attempt to determine the preponderance of motives in different regions, but mixes them up. From the standpoint of origins the treatment is not satisfactory.

In another respect also—though it perhaps comes back to the same thing—I think an intensive treatment of a fewer tribes and a more intimate view of the activities of the secret societies as related to the total activities of the group would have produced a better result than the method of collecting all the data of the secret societies of all the tribes of the world without reference to the total social situation.

WILLIAM I. THOMAS.

Glimpses of the Ages, or the "Superior" and "Inferior" Races, so-called, discussed in the Light of Science and History. By Theophilus E. Samuel Scholes, M.D. Volume II. (London, John Long, 1908, pp. x, 493.) The second volume of this work reveals the same moral earnest-

ness and the same absence of proportion in reasoning which characterized the former installment. The author, who is apparently an English colored man of considerable literary ability, is moved by the lack of agreement between the professed tenets of Christianity and the practices of Western nations in their dealings with "inferior" races, and particularly by the tendency in British social and political life towards greater race discrimination against the negro. He now wishes to establish on moral grounds—as he feels that his first volume has already done upon the side of mental and physical development—the thesis that the colored races, especially the negro race, are the equal of the white. He has accumulated much material of interest, out of which he elaborates an impassioned denunciation of England's policy in India and South Africa. One can hardly believe, however, that much change of opinion will be brought about by his arguments, and his methods are anything but scientific. The next volume is to take up the relation of the races in the United States.

Germany in the Early Middle Ages, 476-1250. By William Stubbs, D.D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Edited by Arthur Hassall, M.A. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1908, pp. xi, 254.) Mr. Hassall has not considered it necessary to explain to us what his work as editor has been. It seems, however, that he has done little more than divide the text into chapters and add a few foot-notes and an exceedingly short list of books touching the same subject. In the preface he says that the book originated in a series of lectures which Bishop Stubbs delivered at Oxford, and from a foot-note we learn that this was forty years ago. Of writers the author refers only to Gibbon, Hallam and Milman. Although he names very few of the contemporary chronicles, there are many indications that he was familiar with the chief ones, and, in fact, one has a distinct impression that the narrative is dominated by chronicles. Although a few errors of the chroniclers have by this means found their way into the text, this domination probably enhances the liveliness of the narrative, at least down to the eleventh century. For, to that time, the chronicles which deal exclusively or chiefly with German affairs are not numerous and are all in much the same tone. On the other hand, the chronicles from the eleventh to the thirteenth century are more numerous and are, almost without exception, intensely partizan—a quality which makes a narrative of the period extremely difficult. This difficulty the author has not overcome, for with the twelfth century his account becomes more meagre and far less satisfactory.

Beginning with the migrations of the Germans, which the author has treated in a stepmotherly fashion, he has recounted the history of Germany from the fourth to the middle of the thirteenth century, dealing chiefly with the purely political side of it. The kings and their doings occupy the centre of the stage, and the period is covered by recounting briefly (there are only 231 pages of text) the history of one

reign after another. Particular attention is paid to the territorial divisions of Germany and to the noble families which held them. The political disintegration of Germany—the destruction of its political unity—is briefly traced.

There are some luminous paragraphs about German constitutional development, especially concerning the working out of feudal principles, and at the close of each reign there is generally a characterization of the king, which is usually a model of fairness, sympathetic appreciation of his personal qualities, and generous judgment of his efforts and achievements.

The charm and interest of these characterizations are, however, not maintained throughout the book, for there are many paragraphs, and even pages, which are deadly dull, being little more than a barren list of events, the importance and bearing of which are not even hinted at. The book offers little or nothing to the specialist, is not adapted to use in the class room, and will hardly hold the attention of the general reader, but it may be recommended as collateral reading to collegé classes in medieval history. In spite of Mr. Hassall's opinion to the contrary, I venture to think that this publication will not add to Bishop Stubbs's reputation as a scholar.

O. J. THATCHER.

Innocent III. Les Royautés Vassales du Saint-Siège. Par Achille Luchaire, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1908, pp. 279.) This fifth and last volume of the author's series upon Innocent III. treats of the establishment of "pontifical imperialism" over nearly all of western Europe. Like its predecessors it is a scholarly work written in inimitable narrative style. Foot-notes are few, but the scholarliness of the work is vouched for by numerous translations of exceedingly well-chosen selections from the sources. The present volume contains five chapters, the first two of which deal with the relations of the pope to the smaller nations of Europe.

The first chapter shows that the sovereignty of the church was very freely exercised over the kings of the Iberian peninsula, and furthermore "la papauté était appelée à sanctionner, non seulement les actes des rois, mais encore ceux des assemblées nationales! Pour tous les laïques comme pour tous les clercs, la volonté de l'Église faisait loi." The succeeding chapter is especially interesting in that it details the remarkable spread of papal domination in the unfamiliar region about the lower Danube. Hungary continued to be a fief; Bosnia accepted Innocent as its feudal lord (pp. 86-87); likewise did Galicia (p. 123), the kingdom of Stephen Nemanja roughly including the present Servia, Montenegro and a large part of Herzegovina (pp. 88, 93), and the kingdom of Johannisza comprising Bulgaria, Roumania and a part of Roumelia (pp. 94-116). Even Constantinople as the Latin kingdom fell under papal sway. This enormous growth of the sovereignty of Rome was helped by

nationalism, which was appearing everywhere at the close of the eleventh century. Frequently, as in the case of Portugal, Servia and Bosnia, newly established principalities became vassalages of the papacy in order to maintain themselves against their enemies. Well-established powers, however, found the papal prerogative detrimental to national independence. The struggle of English and French nationalism against Rome is the subject-matter of the last three chapters of the volume under consideration.

John Lackland, though he vigorously opposed papal interference, was obliged by political necessity to become a vassal of Innocent; but Magna Carta may be considered a national expression of disapproval. "Comment nier que la présence, dans la coalition, des trois éléments du corps social anglais ne soit l'indice d'une manifestation nationale dirigée non seulement contre les abus de l'absolutisme, mais aussi contre le régime de gouvernement théocratique que Jean sans Terre avait accepté?" (pp. 238-239). France alone escaped papal suzerainty. To be sure Philip Augustus experienced the power of the church in the affair of Ingeborg, but "dans cette Europe soumise presque tout entière au pouvoir politique de son chef religieux, assujettie temporellement et féodalement à l'Église, une seule nation, la France, avait pu se tenir en dehors du vasselage romain" (p. 274). When the English nation in its struggle against theocracy, in spite of long-standing enmity, appealed to the one power which had escaped papal domination, Philip with little secrecy embraced the opportunity for the aggrandizement of France. This collision of the papacy with the one remaining independent king is the focusing-point of M. Luchaire's narrative (p. 273). Innocent excommunicated Philip, and set out for France to compel him to make peace with John. Simultaneously Philip exacted a written promise from his vassals to disobey the pope if he tried to force a peace (p. 275). At this critical moment Innocent died at Perugia.

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL.

The Pearl-Strings; a History of the Resūliyy Dynasty of Yemen. By 'Aliyyu'bnu'l-Hasan 'El Khazrejiyy. Translation and Text with Annotations and Index. By the late Sir J. W. Redhouse, Litt.D. Edited by E. G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson and A. Rogers, and printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial". Volume II., containing the Second Half of the Translation. (Leyden, E. J. Brill; London, Luzac and Company, 1907, pp. xxiv, 341.) When the first volume of this work appeared (for a preliminary review of this, see AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, xiii. 128, 129) it was planned to publish the whole work in five volumes, one of which was to be devoted to the index, tables of dynasties, and maps. It has now been decided (see editor's preface, pp. xxi, xxii) to omit the tables and maps and to incorporate the index with the present volume, thus reducing the whole number of volumes to four. The present volume, comprising

the second half of the translation, covers the period from the accession of the Sultan Melik Mujáhid to the death of Melik 'Eshref II. (November, 1400), or about eighty years. The index, contained in pages 297 to 341, "remodelled to a certain extent" from Redhouse's manuscript, seems to have been carefully prepared. Final comment must of course be reserved till the volumes containing the annotations and the Arabic text appear, but meantime it is a matter of congratulation that the whole translation has been published, and is now available for historical students.

Erasmus: the Scholar. By John Alfred Faulkner. [Men of the Kingdom Series.] (New York, Eaton and Mains, 1908, pp. 249.) Professor Faulkner's little book suffers—as every book must suffer which is made to fit into the general purpose of a fancifully named series. After all the attempts to classify Erasmus under one or another category, it is a little hard to have to make him out a "man of the kingdom" without a very clear idea of the precise kingdom to which we are expected to assign him. The book makes no claim to originality. It rests obviously upon some independent reading in Erasmus's works and a great deal of clipping from the more quotable of the modern treatises on his life and literary services. There is no careful examination of any of these sources, though three solid pages are devoted to an English Presbyterian clergyman who once intended to write a life of Erasmus.

The frequency of acknowledged quotation gives an air of frankness to the work which is hardly borne out by an examination of the many unacknowledged quotations, especially in the translations, which are not only freely borrowed, but are mangled at discretion in a way to make their defenseless authors wince. The judgment of Erasmus as a man and a scholar is in the main sound, as in fact there is little noteworthy difference to-day among reasonable men on these subjects.

The best parts of Professor Faulkner's work are his little summaries of Erasmus's supposed views on doctrinal points. As a theologian he finds these a congenial topic and is able to express them in forms suited to the training of his prospective readers. Yet it is doubtful whether Erasmus would quite have recognized himself in the picture of his "creed" given in the nineteenth chapter. The brief notes at the end of the volume are mainly references to discussions of controverted points without expression of the author's opinion.

Naval Songs and Ballads. Selected and edited by C. H. Firth, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume XXXIII.] (Printed for the Society, 1908, pp. cxxiii, 387, 4.) This volume contains a collection of about two hundred ballads illustrating the history of the British Navy from the sixteenth to the middle of the nineteenth centuries, although two

on engagements in the Hundred Years' War and one on a pilgrimage to St. John of Compostella are inserted. Professor Firth contributes an introduction of over one hundred pages marked by his characteristic and exact scholarship. He is altogether frank in his estimate of the value of this material for the historian. While limited and not to be implicitly trusted it should not be entirely neglected. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially, the popular ballad filled to a large degree the place of the modern cheap newspaper in retailing events, and in both moulding and reflecting current public opinion. In addition, those written by the sailors themselves throw true and vivid lights on the sea-life of the periods with which they deal. As a rule, literary merit is wanting: though frequently animated by a certain rough vigor most of them are crude and halting in structure.

The editor's account of the rise and fall of this form of literature, if such it can be called, is interesting. The ballads begin to be numerous and important in the reign of Elizabeth. Strangely enough, some of the most famous originated in the time of Charles I., a period so barren in naval achievements; while on the other hand, owing to a rigid censorship, the glorious period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate is scarcely represented. Toward the middle of the eighteenth century sea-songs of a more polished and sentimental character appear written for shore-folk, for the theatre and drawing-room. In the nineteenth century with the increasing use of the newspaper and the advent of the music-hall melody the street ballad gradually became extinct. Many special points might be noted, if space permitted, about well-known popular songs; for instance the original version of *Hearts of Oak* is printed (p. 220), and there is an interesting comment in *The Red, White and Blue* (pp. cxii-cxiii). The volume is well equipped with explanatory notes and indexes.

A. L. C.

Seventeenth Century Men of Latitude: Forerunners of the New Theology. By Edward Augustus George. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, pp. xix, 199.) The writer of this little book informs us that at intervals during more than ten years it has been his privilege "to refresh his spirit by communion with these worthies of an earlier time", that his "aim is to present not what some one says about these men, but what they say themselves", and that "the description of the men, their appearance, characteristics, and features have been gathered for the most part from contemporaries who saw them and knew them."

A brief general introduction entitled *Men of Latitude in a Century of Narrowness* brings out excellently the leading characteristics of Anglicanism and Puritanism; but in his references to the general history of the period Mr. George is not always quite so successful. The bulk of the work consists of sketches of eight leading latitudinarians: John Hales, William Chillingworth, Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith,

Henry More, Jeremy Taylor, Sir Thomas Browne and Richard Baxter. One wonders why in a list of this length Lord Falkland and Ralph Cudworth were not included. Each sketch is divided into two parts. One deals with the events in the life and the character of the man selected, the other with his writings. The biographical outlines present little more than has already been said about the men in question. The parts on their writings consist largely of rather well-chosen excerpts accompanied by glowingly appreciative comments by Mr. George. It is good to have such wise, beautiful thoughts brought together in accessible form, yet the reader will not find much in the way of searching critical estimate or any broad, comprehensive treatment of the subject. The style is pleasant, at times charming, though the effect is marred by occasional repetition within an interval of a few pages. For instance, one finds that the Solemn League and Covenant is "the palladium of militant puritanism" and "the palladium of triumphant presbyterianism". The seven portraits are a valuable addition. While not a contribution to scholarship, the general reader may find this little labor of love a helpful supplement to the closely-packed article on latitudinarianism and Cambridge Platonism in volume V. of the *Cambridge Modern History*.

A. L. C.

La Correspondance de Marat. Recueillie et annotée par Charles Vellay. [L'Élite de la Révolution.] (Paris, Eugène Fasquelle, 1908, pp. xxiii, 291, 16.) It is surprising that so few of Marat's letters have been preserved. M. Vellay offers no satisfactory explanation of this. He refers to the seizure of Marat's papers in January, 1790, and again in February, 1795, but these acts would have tended to preserve rather than destroy his letters, as happened in other cases during the Revolution. The collection would have been still smaller had M. Vellay not included letters of the Revolutionary period which bear every appearance of having been newspaper articles in the form of letters. He believes he has succeeded in excluding such letters, but his criteria for deciding whether a letter printed in *L'Ami du Peuple* or *Le Journal de la République Française* is a private or an open letter will not satisfy all his readers. The letters to Lafayette and to Camille Desmoulins, for example, written in April and May, 1791, seem addressed primarily to Marat's subscribers. The fact that he may have sent written copies to Lafayette and to Desmoulins does not change the character of the letters as in reality newspaper articles. The letters of the pre-Revolutionary period are as evidently of a private nature. M. Vellay has gathered them from various sources, which he has indicated in each case. A few of them are *inédites*, but most have been published, although in reviews or journals which are inaccessible except in the largest libraries. These earlier letters show incidentally that Marat's revolutionary and levelling zeal was a late acquirement. There is a

letter in which he attempts to prove his noble extraction, and another in which he poses as the staunch defender of religion and the established régime, accusing the philosophers of scheming "détruire tous les ordres religieux", "d'agiter les gouvernements, de bouleverser les États". They show also that Marat's malady of insane and impudent egotism, rendered sinister by suspicion, was of early beginnings. It appears in the long letter, of November 20, 1783, recounting his troubles with the Academy of Sciences. M. Vellay, a believer in Marat's greatness and ardent love of liberty, takes these outbursts to be the protests of a wronged and wounded spirit. In his notes to individual letters he is inclined to accept Marat's statements as not requiring critical investigation. For example, in the libel uttered against M. Joly, member of the Paris municipality, he remarks that the statements were exact, and that Marat was mistaken simply as to the man. This affirmation is taken from Marat's own explanatory letter. As a matter of fact Marat's accusation has all the appearance of a mendacious libel, and is unsupported by such evidence as still exists in regard to the acts of the Paris municipality during the troubled summer of 1789.

H. E. BOURNE.

Bonaparte and the Consulate. By A. C. Thibaudeau. Translated and edited by G. K. Fortescue, LL.D. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908, pp. xlviii, 317.) Though Thibaudeau began his career as an *avocat* under the Ancien Régime and ended it as a senator under the Second Empire, he reached his zenith during the Consulate, when Bonaparte appointed him, successively, prefect of the Gironde, March 3, 1800; councillor of state, section of legislation, September 22, 1800; and prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône, April 23, 1803. His work as an historian began during the Terror and culminated under Louis Philippe in the ten volumes of *Le Consulat et l'Empire*.

While in exile at Brussels, Thibaudeau published three volumes of his memoirs, covering the Convention, the Directory and the Consulate. The police of Charles X. permitted the publication of only a portion of the manuscript of the first two volumes, but the disciplined Thibaudeau alone was responsible for the denatured and anonymous third volume which Dr. Fortescue has translated. Considering the number and popularity of the military memoirs of the Napoleonic era, it is well that this rare old volume has been reproduced, for it deals exclusively with the civil side of Bonaparte's career during the period of his greatest administrative activity, the period of the Concordat and the Civil Code.

It is surprising to find that such a scholar as Dr. Fortescue has taken remarkable liberties with Thibaudeau's text, which has been so freely rearranged that it is difficult to locate passages. Twenty chapters in the original have been telescoped into fifteen. Thibaudeau's paragraphing has been unnecessarily and totally ignored, even to the dividing asunder of sentences. Phrases and even longer passages of the original

have disappeared, and elsewhere new ones have been introduced. In spite of these extensive changes of form, the content of the original has not suffered materially. In the supply of editorial apparatus, Dr. Fortescue has fully performed his task, though more careful proof-reading would have removed many blemishes, and though the introduction suffers from the expression of debatable personal opinions.

This volume will give the general reader a good insight into the administrative genius of Bonaparte, but the student will consult the original edition. A competent French edition of all three volumes would be welcome, especially if Thibaudeau's manuscripts were employed in its production.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

Lettres d' "Aristocrates": la Révolution Racontée par des Correspondances Privées, 1789-1794. Par Pierre de Vaissière. (Paris, Perrin et Cie., 1907, pp. xxxviii, 626.) Private letters which reveal direct impressions of important events are always interesting, and sometimes offer more trustworthy and suggestive evidence than other historical documents. This is true of the five hundred letters selected by M. de Vaissière from the correspondence of thirty-five "aristocrates", men and women, in most cases, of the minor nobility. They do not embody the criticisms made familiar by anti-Revolutionary pamphleteers and their literary successors. They simply show how the incidents or the changes of the Revolution affected the experience or the opinions of persons of a certain type. Intended only for the eye of a member of the writer's family or of some other intimate friend, they possess the note of sincerity that belongs to such correspondence. M. de Vaissière has chosen them from about five thousand letters which he has examined in the various *fonds* of the National Archives, the *fonds du séquestre*, of the Revolutionary Tribunal, of the general police and of the different committees like the Comité des Recherches of the Constituent. Most of them belong to the period prior to August 10. With few exceptions they were written from Paris or from some other French town in the midst of the events to which they refer. There are a few letters of *émigrés*, but these describe what may be called the process of emigration, the questionings of mind which preceded the resolution to *partir*, the hazards of the enterprise, the disillusionments of the first months beyond the frontier. M. de Vaissière examined these letters in the course of his studies on the old nobility of France, and they have a value in any appreciation of its attitude towards the Revolution or of its misfortunes. But they have another use, of a more special character. They call attention to features of events or situations which might escape notice unless one possessed such illustrations of the consequences of the application of the Revolutionary legislation. This is particularly true of the monetary legislation; the letters furnishing some curious examples of the practical difficulties which resulted from the issue of

assignats in large denominations, their depreciation and the attendant dearth of coin. Very instructive also are the letters which display the situation of pious Catholics in the spring of 1791, when the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was enforced rigorously. It should be added that M. de Vaissière has done a thorough piece of work as editor.

H. E. BOURNE.

National and Social Problems. By Frederic Harrison. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908, pp. xxxi, 450.) This most recent volume of Mr. Frederic Harrison's consists of various papers and addresses which he has rescued from the oblivion of records of societies and of old periodicals. The earliest of the essays, the Making of Italy, is dated 1860, and the most recent, that on Martial Law in South Africa during the Boer War, 1901. Some of the essays, notably that on Egypt, it must have required some courage to reprint, the pessimism of the forecasts has been so far from being justified by later developments. Nor is Mr. Harrison afraid of the charge of inconsistency which might be brought against him when he reprints his fierce philippics against all the wars undertaken by England in defense or extension of her foreign empire, and his acquiescence in, if not approval of, the part taken by Italy in the Crimean War, where the attack on Russia by Italy could find no justification whatever, except as a political expedient to gain the favor of France and England. Whether or not the resuscitation of Mr. Harrison's polemics against England's foreign policy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was worth while, a permanent value certainly attached to the second part of the volume. This deals with social problems such as labor, trade-unionism, co-operation, and socialism, and though the first two articles—on the Limits of Political Economy and on Trade Unionism—are dated 1865, these subjects are treated with such clear-sighted, incisive criticism, and with such an abiding zeal for truth and righteousness, that in spite of all the changes that the last forty years have brought about, the essays are of almost as much value now as when they were written. Frederic Harrison has been a life-long advocate of the claims of labor, and of a system of socialism which he conceives to be a logical deduction from the philosophy of Auguste Comte of whom he is the most eminent disciple. The many wild and visionary schemes of socialism which in the last sixty years have been reached in England and America by revolutionaries and visionaires have had, however, no keener nor more destructive critic than Mr. Harrison. In one of these essays, Social Remedies, 1885, he tears to pieces the panacea of land nationalization and the single tax which was then being preached by Henry George. In another he shows the limitations and shortcomings of co-operation as a scheme of social reform, useful and excellent as he believed the movement to be. And yet Mr. Harrison avows himself a socialist. He has always stood in opposition to the school of *laissez-faire*, and has advocated the legalization of trade-unions and the extension of legal

protection to workers—adult men, as well as women and children—under the factory acts. Probably to Mr. Harrison, as a thinker and critic, more than to any other single man, England owes the fact that, rejecting all wild and revolutionary socialistic theories—however logical—she has proceeded sanely and tentatively on a path of social legislation which is gradually emancipating the working classes from the serfdom which was their inheritance from feudalism.

A. G. P.

The fourth volume of *Critical Miscellanies* by John Morley (Macmillan, 1908, pp. 341) contains the Romanes lecture on Machiavelli delivered in 1897, with an appendix of notes; an essay on Guicciardini, as observer of the art of governing men and as historian; a glowing tribute to John Stuart Mill, first published in 1906 on the centenary of Mill's birth; an important review of Lecky's *Democracy and Liberty* (1896), correcting alleged errors in some of Lecky's statements concerning contemporary political events; reviews of two books by Frederic Harrison—*The New Calendar of Great Men* and *Theophano: the Crusade of the Tenth Century*; and a brilliant paper on Democracy and Reaction, reviewing a work of the same title by L. T. Hobhouse. The volume has a higher degree of unity than might at first be supposed. Not only are all the papers more or less concerned with both history and politics, but, with a single exception, each includes some discussion of the fundamental problem of the applicability of the standards of personal morality to the acts of the state. This problem is dealt with most fully in the essays on Machiavelli and on Democracy and Reaction. In the former, the political theories of Machiavelli are examined and their historical basis set forth. "In one sense we are shocked by [Machiavelli's] maxims in proportion to our forgetfulness of history." On the other hand Morley argues that the modern tendency is to regard the state as subject to a moral code. The essay on Democracy and Reaction includes discussions of the meaning of imperialism regarded as a modern form of Machiavellianism, the meaning of democracy and its moral bearing, the relation of democracy to liberalism and to progress, the history of liberalism and its relation to socialism. The volume is commended to those who enjoy a literary style of the highest excellence, allusive yet never obscure, deep reflection enriched by wide literary knowledge and rendered precise by personal experience in governmental affairs, fair-minded treatment of opposing views, and a vindication of political idealism.

A Catalogue of Books relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America, forming a Part of the Library of E. Dwight Church. In five volumes. Compiled and annotated by George Watson Cole. (New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1907, pp. 2635.) It is nothing short of marvellous that after all the collecting of Americana that has been done Mr. Church should have been able to accumulate

such a collection as that described in these sumptuous volumes. No doubt the collection is the finest of its kind now in private hands, and in many particulars it comes into serious rivalry with the John Carter Brown Library, the Lenox Library and the Library of Congress. The catalogue, for its part, is the best-made catalogue of Americana, of any such magnitude, that has ever been executed. It lists nearly fourteen hundred books, of which all but ninety are of earlier date than 1801. The number of these books that are customarily described as "excessively rare" is astonishing. The catalogue not only describes each work fully and exactly, with frequent facsimiles, but appends notes so valuable and interesting as to make it a work of reference of extraordinarily high value for historical workers. A feature of especial utility is the location of other copies of these books to be found in about fifty of the principal libraries of this country. The edition of the *Catalogue* is limited to 150 copies, sold at the price of \$175 a set.

Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1904-1905). By W. H. Holmes, chief. Accompanying Papers: *The Pima Indians*. By Frank Russell. *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians*. By John R. Swanton. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908, pp. xxxi, 512.) The *Report* outlines the work which occupied the Bureau during the year 1904-1905, principally the investigations of Dr. J. W. Fewkes in Mexico, those of Mrs. M. C. Stevenson among the Zuni tribe and the Santa Clara Indians, those of Dr. Aleš Hrdlička among the Apache and Pima tribes, and those of Dr. J. R. Swanton among the Tlingit Indians. The Bureau is also completing, under the supervision of Mr. F. W. Hodge, the *Handbook of American Indians*. Mr. Russell's paper is the outcome of a study, during several months in 1901 and 1902, of the Pima tribe on the Gila River reservation in Southern Arizona. Fifty out of the 389 pages of the paper are devoted to an historical account of the tribe, an interesting feature of which is the chronological records (1833 to 1902) as "told" from notched calendared sticks. The larger portion of the study is concerned with the industrial, social and religious life of the Pimas. A large and interesting collection of myths, nursery tales and songs of various kinds has been gathered, as also a number of speeches.

Dr. Swanton, in his study of the Tlingit Indians, who occupy the "pan-handle" of Alaska, gives little attention to the arts, industries and quest for food, because these have been treated very fully in the work of Krause (*Die Tlinkit Indianer*, Jena, 1885). The present paper is devoted mainly to social customs, religious beliefs and a comparative study of the Tlingit and Haida languages. The conclusion is reached that, while the two peoples have long lived apart and have been subjected to very different influences, their ancestors spoke one tongue. Each of the foregoing papers is richly illustrated.

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume X. *Transactions, 1904-1906.* (Boston, 1907, pp. xx, 476.) This volume embraces the proceedings of the society from December, 1904, to November, 1906. Some of the papers and many of the documents contained in the volume are of a purely local character, but there are also several papers of more general interest. Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis has valuable papers on the Limitation of Prices in Massachusetts, 1776-1779, and on the Beginnings of Stock Speculation. Mr. William C. Lane contributes a paper on the Rebellion of 1766 in Harvard College. Of especial value are the remarks of Mr. Albert Matthews on the proper editing of old documents and books. Some interesting documents relating to the witchcraft episode in Massachusetts are printed, and there is a facsimile reproduction of the recently discovered election sermon preached by John Davenport in 1669. The meeting of the society for January, 1906, was devoted to a commemoration of the bicentennial of the birth of Benjamin Franklin, and some interesting material regarding Franklin was presented, especially that with reference to his relations with Harvard College.

Early New England Towns: a Comparative Study of their Development, by Anne Bush MacLear, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Volume XXIX., No. 1.] (New York, Columbia University, 1908, pp. 181.) More exactly, this is a comparative study of the early development of five Massachusetts towns—Salem, Dorchester, Watertown, Roxbury and Cambridge. It is not made entirely plain why these five were selected. They were distinctly not typical in respect to origin, and not wholly so in other respects. Under six headings—courts, finances, lands, government, church, and schools—the institutions of these towns, institutions of a form now pretty familiar to historical readers, are once more described with patient care, and with abundant illustrative citations, but without much insight and with hardly a glance outside the boundaries of the five towns selected. Within the chosen limits of the monograph, however, a useful array of facts is brought together in an orderly manner. No attempt is made to touch the problem of transatlantic origins.

Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society. Volume XI. (Hartford, Published by the Society, 1907, pp. xxxv, 391.) When in 1892 and 1896, the Connecticut Historical Society issued in volumes IV. and V. of its *Collections* the papers of Governor Talcott, it was understood that the papers of Talcott's successor, Law, would be taken up in good time. After a lapse of twelve years, during which the society has been issuing volumes of a military and genealogical character, designed to satisfy local interests, the promise has been fulfilled, and the first of two volumes covering Law's administration from 1741

to 1750 has been issued. Volume XI. is, therefore, the logical successor of volumes IV. and V. The subject-matter of this volume is much the same as that contained in the *Talcott Papers*, the intestacy case, the Mohegan controversy, boundary disputes, the New Lights, bills of credit, and, on the military side, instead of the Carthagera expedition, the expedition to Louisburg. Taken as a whole the collection is probably less valuable and complete than is that which concerned the previous administration, but it is none the less of importance and interest.

The intestacy trouble was revived in 1742, in the appeal of Clark *vs.* Tousey, and Law showed considerable shrewdness in deciding to shift the ground of defense and to compel the appellant to prove that the common law extended to the colonies instead of attempting to defend the intestacy law which had been judged contrary to the law of England. He was fortunate in obtaining the services of John Sharpe, brother of Governor Sharpe of Maryland and Solicitor of the Treasury from 1742 to 1756. Sharpe was a very able solicitor, and Bourryau, partner of Francis Wilks, Connecticut's agent, was probably right in deeming him "the ablest man in his profession". The issue might have been different had he had charge of the case in 1727. As it was he had no chance to show his skill, for Clark's petition was dismissed and the case never came to trial. The Mohegan controversy here drags on its weary way. The editor, Mr. Bates, prints the decree of the commissioners of review of 1743, reversing the decree of 1705. The later history of the case is obscure. No new commission of enquiry or review was ever issued, so far as I know, and the later interest chiefly centres in the attempts of the Masons to obtain compensation from the British Treasury. Samuel Mason sent in at least two memorials between 1750 and 1756 and the matter was referred to the Treasury Solicitor, who reported on it, June 4, 1756, and among whose papers are many documents connected with the case. John Mason petitioned twice in 1768, and in 1769 Moses Park, as agent for the Indians, petitioned for additional allowances. Apparently the Masons deemed the case against the colony hopeless, for on March 15, 1773, John Mason, in behalf of Uncas and his fellow Mohegans, appealed to the Privy Council for a grant of land on the Ohio, offering to remove the tribe thither. I do not know what action the Privy Council took on the petition, but nothing further appears to have been done in the matter.

C. M. A.

The Witchcraft Delusion in Colonial Connecticut, 1647-1697. By John M. Taylor. [The Grafton Historical Series, edited by Henry R. Stiles, A.M., M.D.] (New York, The Grafton Press, 1908, pp. xv, 172.) To careful students of the early history of Connecticut it has long been known that her once boasted innocence of the persecution of witches was an illusion; and in these later years the documents and entries, long

secreted or obscured by family and local pride, which have been coming singly or in groups to light, have put the matter out of controversy. But it is a satisfaction to have now, in a series under the editorial care of a veteran mouser in Connecticut records, and from the pen of a Connecticut scholar, a volume on the subject. It is but a modest volume: a few pages on witchcraft in general, with a glance at the Salem panic, then a hundred of extracts from Connecticut witch-trials, selected at random for their interest, their order not even chronological, and at end "a record of the men and women who came under suspicion or accusation of witchcraft in Connecticut, and what befell them". Thirty-six of them he reckons, all told, from Alse Young, in 1647, to Sarah Spencer, in 1724—for his Bristol episode of 1768 involved no indictment or thought of one—of whom eleven seem to have been put to death. It is still short of the tale of the sister colony, and the sane advice of the Connecticut ministers in 1692 offers yet sounder reason for pride, were not Mr. Taylor wisely above it. A fuller publication of the records he is content to leave to some future "accurate and complete history of the beginnings of the commonwealth", but he tells us where these records may be found, and thus earns the hearty thanks of later workers. His book shows marks of haste, especially in the somewhat chaotic and inaccurate opening chapters, and one may be permitted to suspect some errors in his transcripts and even a possible incompleteness in his roll of witches, but, such as it is, the little volume is most welcome.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, being the Letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1630-1643, and other Documents relating to the Colony of Rensselaerswyck. Translated and edited by A. J. F. van Laer, Archivist. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1908, pp. 909.) John Romeyn Brodhead, that most excellent searcher, than whom no American government ever had a better record agent, explored the public archives of the Netherlands so thoroughly for New Netherland materials, sixty years ago, that all the intervening years have brought to light little of consequence. He left the state not much to do in this field but to translate his rich spoils, which it did, badly enough, and to publish them. It was always possible that there remained valuable stores of material among the papers of private families in the Netherlands. The new era in the management of archival and historical matters at Albany is well signalized by the publication of what must surely be, in view of the Rensselaer patroonship, the most important of such hoards. Preserved for generations by the Amsterdam branch of the family, happy accidents brought it to the attention of the New York authorities when it was in danger of loss. It embraces the first patroon's letter-book to 1643, many letters to him, copies of legal and commercial papers of his time, and subsequent documents extending throughout the Dutch period of the colony. They throw a flood of light on all the events and conditions

of the chief patroonship and of a most interesting settlement and form of local government. They likewise add considerably to our knowledge of the history of the province. The volume also contains translations of articles on Kiliaen van Rensselaer and his colony, by the late Mr. de Roever, archivist of Amsterdam, a careful list of settlers, and an interesting map made about 1632. Mr. van Laer's editing is of the very highest type, exhibiting excellent general scholarship, detailed and exact knowledge of the particular subject, and sound judgment. At the beginning of the book he prints a translation of the charter of the Dutch West India Company and its amplifications and of the Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629. Strange to say, these are the first correct translations of these documents ever printed; and they are of such unusual excellence as to inspire our confidence in the translations of the Van Rensselaer Bowier manuscripts which follow and in which we cannot make the comparison with the original. The state of New York is greatly to be congratulated that such tasks are now in such hands.

Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey. Edited by William Nelson. [Archives of the State of New Jersey, First Series, Volume XXVII.] *Extracts from American Newspapers, relating to New Jersey.* Volume VIII., 1770-1771. (Paterson, N. J., 1905, pp. xii, 713.) This volume possesses the same general characteristics, the same quality of good workmanship that has characterized its predecessors, and, like its predecessors, makes manifest through these newspaper extracts many phases of the social and industrial life of the time. A rapid survey of the pages is likely to give the impression that newspapers existed mainly for the purpose of advertising property for sale, and for runaway slaves or servants. The proportion of such notices is large; and sometimes slaves are advertised for sale, though such instances are not, perhaps, unduly numerous. Now and then, indeed, we get a glimpse of the intellectual, as for instance, when Thomas Moody, "philomathematicus, from Hibernia", "would be willing to accept a professorship in some seminary of learning, if he could meet with proper encouragement". But there is also food for the student of political history. There are proclamations of the governor announcing allowances and disallowances by the crown of legislative enactments; several addresses to the governor from Council or House and the governor's replies. Of still greater moment are several series of resolutions in favor of the Non-Importation Agreement, together with numerous and severe denunciations of the people of New York for their defection from the Agreement. There are occasional biographical notes by the editor, and there is also a good index to the volume.

Documents relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey. Edited by William Nelson. [Archives of the State of New Jersey, Second Series, Volume III.] *Extracts from American News-*

papers relating to New Jersey. Volume III., 1779. (Trenton, N. J., 1906, pp. xi, 786.) This volume is particularly noteworthy for the material which it contains bearing upon the progress of the Revolution. As New Jersey was the principal field of military operations there are, naturally, many news-items concerning engagements and the movement of troops, as also many military orders and official announcements. Numerous extracts from the Royalist press give us a view of the other side of the struggle. We discover too that the loyalists in New Jersey were not an inconsiderable body. The frequent notices of robberies and advertisements of rewards for stolen property are to be expected; but from another class of advertisements, also numerous, it would seem that even if horses were frequently stolen horse-raising was profitable. Political and economic questions are also agitating the Jersey mind. There are long and frequent discussions of the state of the country in general and of the depreciation of the currency in particular, by "A True Patriot" and others, including Governor Livingston. In the opinion of "A True Patriot", however, not all the ills are due to depreciated currency. Much and often he bewails the general decay of public spirit, patriotism and the social virtues. Along with "Timoleon" he makes an attack upon the conduct of Azariah Dunham of the commissary department, and even hurls his criticisms at the Continental Congress. There are numerous annotations in the volume, mainly biographical, and an index occupying sixty pages.

The Old Dominion: Her Making and Her Manners. By Thomas Nelson Page. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, pp. x, 394.) This is a collection of the by-products of a literateur. It is made up of nine chapters with the following titles: The Beginning of America; Jamestown, Birthplace of the American People; Colonial Life; the Revolutionary Movement; Jefferson and the University of Virginia; the Southern People during Reconstruction; the Old Dominion since the War; an Old Neighborhood in Virginia; and the Old Virginia Sunday. Most of these chapters were delivered as addresses and there is therefore no unity or systematic connection between the parts of the book.

Mr. Page is confessedly an artist who looks with contempt upon the scientific historian, as latter day students of history have been called (p. 46). It is therefore with some trepidation that the present writer undertakes to estimate the value of his book! One thing is evident: that historically nothing new or fresh has been attempted. Even the point of view is nowise novel. In fact it is traditional Virginia which is described—colonial lords and ladies, or close imitators: the gentleman, who would have answered to a description of a Walpole Tory fox-hunter; the unfortunate class who have not the right to the title gentleman; and the negro, appear each in his accustomed place. The Revolution with all its bitterness, class hatred and shrewd political

manœuvres is pictured to us, but nowhere a note of disagreement or of strife. To Mr. Page all was friendly, though formal, beruffled, sweet-scented, genial, happy. The idea that Patrick Henry, of Mr. Page's own county, packed a jury to win a questionable fight would completely upset our author's equilibrium.

Reconstruction in the South was bad enough, as all the world knows; its picture on the pages of our history is but a black daub. Mr. Page simply throws another bottle of ink upon the spot. The story of Virginia's rise from the ruin of 1865 is conventional; but the chapters *An Old Virginia Neighborhood* and *An Old Virginia Sunday* are worthy of Mr. Page's better days. They portray social conditions and country life in Virginia in a thoroughly interesting way, but for the too frequent rose-water baths to which the author treats our writers and our institutions. The historically-minded reader will nevertheless know how to discriminate.

A note which runs through all Mr. Page has ever written is evident here also: the judgment and the language are too frequently those of one who supposes character to be absolutely determined by status. All heroic characters are gentlemen; the villains are outside the charmed circle. This is not life; it is not even ante-bellum Virginia life.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777. Draper Series, Volume II. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D., and Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph.D. (Madison, Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908, pp. xx, 275.) This is a volume compiled largely from the Draper Manuscripts in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society and published at the expense of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution of that state. It is, as we are informed, the first of two volumes, both bearing upon the conduct of the Revolutionary War on the Upper Ohio River, 1775-1776. The events herein chronicled follow so closely upon those of Lord Dunmore's War in 1774 that they are inseparably connected with them. Hostilities between the Virginia—now West Virginia—frontiersmen and the united Indian nations of the Ohio wilderness began in the early part of this year. Tidings of bloodshed on the border of civilization were borne to Williamsburg, and Lord Dunmore ordered General Andrew Lewis to collect fifteen hundred men in Augusta County and adjacent territory, and proceed to the mouth of the Great Kanawha River, the object being the invasion of the Indian country northwest of the Ohio. Crossing the Blue Ridge to the Shenandoah Valley and establishing his headquarters at "Greenway Court", Dunmore mustered there a force of about twelve hundred men and proceeded to the Indian towns on the Scioto. Here he was joined by the division under General Lewis who had defeated the Indians at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, October 10, 1774, in the most fiercely contested battle ever waged with them in the valley of

the Ohio. The treaty of Camp Charlotte followed; the terms discussed and partially agreed upon were largely provisional, their confirmation being deferred for the final action of a council or conference to be held at Pittsburgh the following year, and which he promised to attend. But in the spring of 1775 the American Revolutionary movement had gained such force in Virginia that Dunmore could not do this. The members of the Virginia Convention saw the necessity of completing the treaty with the Indians; and appointed commissioners for the purpose. In the ensuing September there assembled at Pittsburgh the largest delegation of Indians ever seen at that frontier post. The Virginia commissioners were there; so were James Wilson, Lewis Morris and Dr. Thomas Walker, representing the Continental Congress, Dr. Walker appearing for both the Congress and the colony. The council assembled on September 15 and continued until October 21. Considered in connection with the preliminary treaty at Camp Charlotte, it was, with perhaps the exception of that at Fort Stanwix seven years before, the most important conference ever held by white men with Indians in America. Long have students of the history of the border wars desired information as to the action of the conference. Happily the full text of the proceedings is printed now for the first time in this volume; one hundred and two pages are covered thereby, and the whole will be read with much interest. This document of itself throws much light upon the events attending the Indian Wars during the Revolution; but this volume contains much other valuable material relating to events on the Upper Ohio in these years, including important letters of Colonel William Preston, Captain William Russell, Colonel William Fleming, Colonel James Wood, Colonel John Stuart, Captain Mathew Arbuckle, Colonel William Crawford and Captain William Harrod. There is a facsimile of a map containing sketches of the valleys of the Muskingum and Scioto rivers, and of that of Big Beaver Creek; and nine portraits of white men and Indians. Much credit is due the editors for the excellent compilation of these documents, and to the Wisconsin Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, whose liberality made the publication of the volume possible.

VIRGIL A. LEWIS.

The Cherokee Indians. By Thomas Valentine Parker, Ph.D. [The Grafton Historical Series, edited by Henry R. Stiles, A.M., M.D.] (New York, The Grafton Press, 1907, pp. viii, 116.) Although in the history of a nation no subject is of more abiding interest than the treatment of a subject race, very little is authoritatively known of the political relations that have existed between the United States government and the various tribes of Indians. Recognizing this fact, Dr. Parker has made a special and very commendable study of the Cherokees; but he has, unfortunately, carried his plan of excluding other tribes from consideration a little too far, for he has ignored even those

whose history has always been closely interwoven with that of the Cherokees.

His story is based, almost entirely, upon *printed official* sources which happen, with reference to this particular tribe, to be very abundant, since its affairs were constantly the occasion of Congressional investigation. Had it been otherwise, Dr. Parker would hardly have dared to pass unnoticed the manuscript records of the Indian Office. His text is often only a summary of the contents of treaties, and it rarely goes behind a treaty to the details of its negotiation. An exception may be found in the case of the Treaty of New Echota and there, by the way, we find the author's best synoptical work.

Beginning with the fifth chapter, Dr. Parker gives us a most interesting and unprejudiced narrative of Cherokee history in the West, covering the dissensions that arose between the earlier and later immigrants, the divided attitude towards the Civil War, the reconstruction principles of the Treaty of 1866, and, finally, the events that led to the opening of Oklahoma. The rhetorical form of the latter part of the book is seriously affected by the insertion of extraneous material, the subject-matter proper being very much condensed. On the whole, however, the work is worthy of very favorable comment. It is practically free from historical errors, and those that do occur are of slight importance, such, for instance, as the one on page 13 where J. Q. Adams has been confounded with Monroe. The book is a fair illustration of what ought to be done for every Indian tribe within the limits of the United States.

ANNIE HELOISE ABEL.

Amana: the Community of True Inspiration. By Bertha M. H. Shambaugh. (Iowa City, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1908, pp. 414.) The origin of the Community of True Inspiration, Mrs. Shambaugh tells us, is to be traced to the German mystics and pietists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though as a distinct sect it dates from 1714, with the writings and teachings of Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and Johann Friedrich Rock. After the deaths of Gruber and Rock the Community went into decline for nearly a century, when there was a reawakening, mainly through the work of Barbara Heine-mann and Christian Metz. In 1842 the greater portion of the Inspirationists came to America, settled for a few years near Buffalo, then removed to Iowa, where the Community now owns some twenty-six thousand acres of land and occupies seven villages. Amana ("believe faithfully") is the name given to the present seat of the Community, not to the Community itself. While Amana is conducted on a communistic basis communism is not an essential tenet of the Community of True Inspiration; its concern is spiritual. "Born of religious enthusiasm and disciplined by persecution, it has ever remained primarily a church." Throughout its history it has been "dominated by an ideal

and a determined purpose to realize that ideal". "The fundamental doctrine", says Mrs. Shambaugh, "upon which the Community is founded is that divine inspiration and revelation are just as real and potent to-day as in the time of Moses." Mrs. Shambaugh sketches briefly the European history of the Community, gives somewhat minutely its American history, and describes its social and religious institutions. During eighteen years Mrs. Shambaugh has been a frequent guest among the Inspirationists, has had access to the abundant records of their life and history, and has given an extraordinarily interesting account of the life of this unique group. The work is enriched with many extracts in translation from the writings of their *Werkzeuge* and from the Community's records. An appendix contains the constitution and by-laws of the Amana Society, and there are abundant scholarly annotations.

Estudio sobre las Ideas Políticas de José Antonio Saco. Por Luis M. Pérez. (Havana, Imp. Avisador Comercial, 1908, pp. 71.) José Antonio Saco lived through most of the momentous political developments in Spanish America in the nineteenth century, for he was born in Bayamo, in the province of Santiago de Cuba, in 1797, and died in Barcelona in 1879. Saco was in virtual exile during much of his life, but whether in Cuba, in the United States or in Spain, his pen was busy upon the vital problems of the life and future of his native island. Mr. Pérez discovers five distinct periods in the life of Saco and consequently in the product of his pen. But without following the writer's analysis rigidly and using some compression it may be said that up to 1848 Saco was advocating a more liberal scheme of government for Cuba, the suppression of the slave traffic, and the development of the white population. From 1848 to 1853 he was combatting the idea of annexation to the United States; and from 1854 to 1868 he was insisting that Spain grant Cuba certain indispensable reforms: "Ó España concede á Cuba derechos políticos, ó Cuba se pierde para España." Independence he did not, however, advocate, for that way led to annexation; but only such an autonomous form of government as would satisfy the Cuban national feeling. The author of this monograph disclaims that his study is critical or profound, nevertheless in presenting in this compact form the ideas of a fellow-countryman which are notably interwoven with near three-quarters of a century of Cuban history he has done a good service.

TEXT-BOOKS

A Source Book of Mediaeval History. Documents illustrative of European Life and Institutions from the German Invasion to the Renaissance. Edited by FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG, M.A., Assistant in History in Harvard University and Instructor in Simmons College. (New York: American Book Company. 1908. Pp. 504.)

THE editor of this collection of documents has sought to produce a source-book for medieval history "clearly adapted to practical conditions of work" in elementary college classes, academies and preparatory schools, and the more advanced years of the average high school. Further, he has tried to attain his object by giving the book several distinctive features.

Some of these features relate to the choice of extracts. "In all cases the materials presented should be of real value"; accordingly few pieces appear that are not already accessible in other collections, but those deemed most significant are brought together between two covers. "For the sake of younger students, a relatively large proportion of narrative . . . should be introduced"; so strictly documentary matter is subordinated. "Despite this principle, documents of vital importance . . . should be presented with some fulness"; hence parts of such pieces as the Benedictine Rule, the Great Charter and the Golden Bull are included. "In general, the rule should be to give longer passages from fewer sources, rather than more fragmentary ones from a wider range"; so the writings and documents drawn upon number less than a hundred.

Other distinctive features aimed at relate to the manner of presenting the selections. Since literal translations of medieval writings "are as a rule positively repellent to the young mind", the translations given here are put in language as simple and modern "as close adherence to the sense will permit". Also, much labor has evidently been given "to provide each selection, or group of selections, with an introductory explanation, containing the historical setting of the extract, with perhaps some comment on its general significance, and also a brief sketch of the writer". It is unfortunate—to the reviewer's mind—that these introductions are like an encyclopedia; too uniformly they have the air rather of giving information than of setting forth conditions and circumstances that presented a problem. Finally, there are numerous foot-notes, giving "somewhat detailed aid to the understanding of obscure allusions, omitted passages, and especially place names and technical terms".

Thus this new source-book has characteristics which distinguish it from other available collections. Besides, in scholarship it compares favorably with the best among the others—not always accurate, but as a rule reasonably trustworthy. All told, it should prove a useful addition to our apparatus for the teaching of history.

E. W. Dow.

The Development of Modern Europe: an Introduction to the Study of Current History. In two volumes. By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, Professor of History in Columbia University, and CHARLES A. BEARD, Adjunct Professor of Politics in Columbia University. (Boston and London: Ginn and Company. 1907. Pp. xi, 362; vii, 448.)

THE keynote of these two volumes is struck in the preface. "It has been a common defect of our historical manuals that, however satisfactorily they have dealt with more or less remote periods, they have ordinarily failed to connect the past with the present. And teachers still pay a mysterious respect to the memory of Datis and Artaphernes which they deny to gentlemen in frock coats, like Gladstone and Gambetta. . . . In preparing the volume in hand, the writers have consistently subordinated the past to the present. It has been their ever-conscious aim to enable the reader to catch up with his own times; to read intelligently the foreign news in the morning paper; to know what was the attitude of Leo XIII. toward the social democrats even if he has forgotten that of Innocent III. toward the Albigenses."

Out of the mass of European history the authors have aimed to select without distortion those occurrences which project their influence forward into the future, and deserve attention because they help us to understand the world of to-day. To do this they have gone no further back in the narrative than the age of Louis XIV. He serves as a type of that absolute despotism which has been disappearing in Europe during the last hundred years and is not yet completely gone. The Peace of Utrecht, not that of Westphalia, is made the starting point of international relations, because its clauses, especially those in regard to the colonial world, are of so much general and permanent importance. The rise of Russia and of Prussia is briefly sketched, but the attention is centred chiefly upon the colonial struggle between France and England, the philosophers and the enlightened despots. A chapter on the Old Régime, with excursions back into the Middle Ages, attempts to give the background for the Revolution. But 1789 is not a sharp point of division, and the French Revolution is rather briefly treated. There is a "happy reunion of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which should never have been put asunder by the date 1789. . . . It was the eighteenth century which set the problems of progress and suggested their solutions, leaving to its successor the comparatively simple task of working them out in detail" (preface). In the nineteenth century a nearly equal number of pages is given to England, France, Germany and Russia (about fifty pages each). Most manuals place nearly all the emphasis on events prior to 1870, but this one devotes as much space to an analysis of conditions subsequent to 1870 in each of these four countries as to the events from the fall of Napoleon I. to the Franco-Prussian War. In addition to this emphasis of the most recent period

there is a long chapter on the Expansion of Europe in the Nineteenth Century, and another on Some of the Great Problems of To-day which discusses sympathetically and sanely woman's suffrage, popular education, municipal ownership, socialism and many other things including the progress and effects of the great discoveries in the different branches of natural science. This enumeration will serve to show how the whole book converges upon the living world of the present moment. One might expect to find the treatment superficial where so many live topics are briefly touched upon, but such is not the impression left by this chapter; evidently the authors have had it in mind from the beginning and have been leading up to it in such a way that it seems a proper and natural closing chapter.

Far less space than is customary is given to purely military and political events and to the doings of kings and upper classes; though in an appendix the authors "atone for some seeming slights to royalty . . . by giving a convenient list of all the rulers down to December, 1907, whose names are likely to be met with" (II. 423). On the other hand, they tell clearly the fascinating story of the mechanical inventions of the Industrial Revolution, "discoveries destined to alter the habits, ideas, and prospects of the great mass of the people far more profoundly than all the edicts of the National Assembly and all the conquests of Napoleon taken together" (II. 30). They tell also with unusual fullness and sympathy of the rise to political power of the working classes; to socialism, for instance, in its various phases in the different countries, they devote about twice as many pages as to the Unification of Italy. They believe further that "it should be the aim of every student of modern history to follow the development of science and to observe the ways in which it is constantly changing our habits and our views of man, his origin and destiny" (II. 407). Accordingly at the close of the eighteenth century they show excellently how modern science was developing out of medieval superstitions about alchemy and astrology, and how the scientific discoveries helped develop the revolutionary spirit; at the opening of the twentieth century they touch upon the atomic theory, radium, anaesthetics, bacteriology, and the influence of the theory of evolution. To illustrate this generous treatment of economic matters, of the democracy, and of the advance of science, there are good portraits of Newton, Arkwright and Watt, of Karl Marx, and of Charles Darwin.

Errors in the text are very few. Mollwitz was not "a brilliant victory" (I. 64), nor was it won "by the Prussian king", who in fact left the field believing himself defeated, nor did the infantry show "the results of all his father's care and discipline". The foot-note, page 134, seems to imply that Genoa, Venice and the German free cities were monarchies rather than republics. The impression ought not to be given that Francis Bacon had outgrown the old "confidence in vague words like 'moist' and 'dry'" (I. 164); for in his *Natural History*

(§ 758) one may read his own solemn statement that "generation ariseth from the nature of the creature, if it be hot, and moist, and sanguine. . . . Doves are the fullest of heat and moisture among birds, and therefore breed often. But deer are a dry melancholy creature." The Count of Provence was not Louis XVI.'s elder brother (I. 249, 257). The stories that "Bonaparte suggested occupying a certain promontory" at Toulon (I. 273, 286), and that at the time of the projected invasion of England "Robert Fulton offered to put his newly invented steamboat at Napoleon's disposal" (I. 316) have been relegated to the domain of legend. Prussia's humiliation at Olmütz did not occur in 1851 (II. 87), nor the proclamation of the German Empire on January 1, 1871 (II. 123). Read Austrian for *Spanish* Netherlands (I. 187), plebiscitum for *plebescitum* (II. 68), and Gandolfo for *Gundolfo* (II. 101). The black and white inset maps are good, but the color maps in preparation and execution are not at all up to the high standard of excellences of the text. Geographical names are frequently spelled two or three different ways, and the boundaries are not always accurately drawn; in the map of Europe after 1815 (I. 352), for instance, Nice is marked as part of France, and Luxemburg, the Bavarian Palatinate and some of Hesse-Darmstadt as part of Prussia.

The book raises large questions. Is it wise for the teacher of history to venture into fields beyond his own? Is it wise, in school or college, to neglect the "cultural value" of medieval history for the practical value of some correct notions about contemporary Europe? And granting these, are the authors wise in their omissions and in their selection of new points for emphasis? Lack of space forbids a discussion. But certainly this "adventurer in the educational world", as the authors humorously call it, is itself a strong argument in the affirmative. It is as solid and informing as it is interesting and clever. It may shock some conservative temperaments who have been living in blind faith in the recommendations of the Committee of Seven, but by many others we suspect it will be hailed as a new evangel.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

Friedrich Paulsen, professor of philosophy and pedagogy in the University of Berlin and author of several excellent works on the history of German education, died on August 14 in his sixty-third year. His book on *German Education, Past and Present*, first published in German in 1906, has recently been translated into English by Dr. I. Lorenz.

Charles Bigg, Regius professor of ecclesiastical history at Oxford, and author of *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (1886), *Neoplatonism* (1895) and *Wayside Sketches in Ecclesiastical History*, died on July 15, at the age of sixty-eight.

William Leete Stone, author of several historical works of value, died at Mount Vernon, New York, on June 11 at the age of seventy-three. He began life as a lawyer but soon devoted himself mainly to writing. Among his works are: *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, *The Campaign of General Burgoyne and St. Leger's Expedition*, *Life and Military Journals of Major-General Riedesel* and a *History of New York City*.

Professor Macvane of Harvard will be absent from his teaching during the academic year now beginning, Professor Coolidge during the first half of the year, Professor Haskins during the second half. Dr. Oswald Redlich of Vienna is to lecture at the university for half a year, in political science.

Dr. Julian P. Bretz of the University of Chicago has been appointed assistant professor of American history in Cornell University.

Professor William H. Allison of Franklin College goes to Bryn Mawr to have charge of the department of European history.

At the Johns Hopkins University Dr. Christopher Johnston has been promoted to the position of professor of Oriental history and archaeology.

Professor William E. Dodd will teach at the University of Chicago from October until next summer. During his year's leave of absence his place at Randolph-Macon College will be supplied by Dr. Charles H. Ambler, lately of the University of Wisconsin.

Professor S. C. Mitchell of Richmond College will teach at Brown University during the academic year now beginning. He has accepted the presidency of the University of South Carolina, where he begins duty in September, 1909.

At the University of Kansas Dr. Carl L. Becker has been made professor of European history. Mr. D. L. Patterson, late of the University of Wisconsin, has become associate professor of ancient and medieval history.

Dr. Robert Carlton Clark has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Oregon.

For the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and American Political Science Association, to be held in Washington and Richmond, December 28-31, the passenger associations have consented to a round-trip rate to and from Washington of one and three-fifths the regular fare. A special rate from Washington to Richmond has also been offered, a special train, and special rates at the Hotel Jefferson, which will be headquarters and in which most meetings will be held. The conference on the mutual relations of geography and history will be devoted to a concrete instance, the relations between the geography of the Southern Atlantic states and their history; that on the teaching of history in the secondary schools will be chiefly occupied with a reconsideration of the Report of the Committee of Seven. The conference of state and local historical societies will consider, first, the report of its committee on co-operation; secondly, the relations of photography to archive-work; thirdly, it is hoped, the general subject of historical exhibitions. Among the papers to be read at Washington will be a group, by Mr. William Nelson, Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Talcott Williams and Mr. Melville E. Stone, on the relations of newspapers to historical investigation and writing.

When the July number of this periodical went to press it was confidently expected that the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1906 would be distributed by the first of July. Three separate and successive causes of delay have deferred the matter until the month of September, but it is presumed that before the appearance of this journal members who have paid dues for the fiscal year ending September 1, 1908, will have received their copies. Though much delay was experienced in assembling the material to be embraced in the Annual Report for 1907, and this process could not be completed until August, the text was then submitted to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. In the first volume the largest item is Mr. W. S. Robertson's essay on Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America. The second consists of the diplomatic correspondence of the republic of Texas with its representatives in the United States.

The International Historical Congress at Berlin, described in our first article, is also the subject of an article in the *Athenaeum* of August 22.

Volume XXIX. of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, covering the year 1906, has just appeared in two volumes (Berlin, Weidmann, pp. 373, 594; 379, 481). The issue contains surveys, of the usual type, for Egyptian, Hebrew, Persian, early Grecian and Roman history,

for most portions of German history, of Italy, Spain, Belgium, Sweden; Poland, the Orient, the United States (by Mr. W. G. Leland) and church history.

The School of American Archaeology announces that an expedition for the study of the Maya culture in Central America will take the field about December 1. Properly qualified students will be admitted. Application should be made to the director, Edgar L. Hewett, 1333 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

The sixteenth congress of Americanists was held at Vienna from September 9 to 14. The proceedings, as usual, related to the races indigenous to America, to its indigenous monuments and archaeology, and to the history of the discovery and of the European occupation of the New World.

The second International Archaeological Congress will meet in Egypt from April 10 to 21, 1909, and will hold its sessions successively at Alexandria, Cairo and Thebes. The first three sections are devoted to pre-classical and classical archaeology, and mainly to Greece and Rome, considered particularly in their relations with Egypt. The last three sections deal with religious archaeology, Byzantine archaeology, and numismatics and geography. The president of the congress is M. Maspero and the secretary is Ahmed Zaki Bey.

A project is on foot for the erection, in Ghent, of a monument to the memory of the eminent Belgian jurist, publicist and historian, François Laurent (1810-1887). There is no hope of help from the present clerical government, and appeal is made to the interest of scholars throughout the world. Though a Luxemburger by birth, Ghent, in whose university he was for more than half a century a professor, was the scene of Laurent's lifelong activity; and a public square of that city is the fitting place selected for the proposed memorial. Of the ten thousand dollars which is to be its cost, some three-fourths has already been raised. Those willing to subscribe are asked to address their remittances to the treasurer of the enterprise, M. Henri Boddaert, 46 Coupure, Ghent, Belgium.

It is announced that Ginn and Company will publish during the autumn a work on colonization by Professor A. G. Keller of Yale University. It is described as "a study in founding new societies, and including the less accessible passages of history, omitting from consideration the English and French colonies and the enterprises of those people who have only lately attempted the work of colonization".

P. Thomsen has undertaken the publication of a quinquennial bibliography of new works relating to Palestine. The first volume, which it is proposed to issue next spring through Haupt of Leipzig, will embrace writings published from 1895 to 1904 on the ancient and modern history of the Holy Land, the Crusades, geography and historical topog-

raphy, archaeology and modern Palestine. Works on the history of Israel, except for the most ancient period, and on New Testament history, are excluded. The second volume will cover the years 1905-1909.

L. L. Price, fellow of Oriel College and lecturer in Economic History in the University of Oxford, has published through the Clarendon Press a lecture on *The Position and Prospects of the Study of Economic History* (pp. 26).

A lecture on *The Scope of Social Anthropology*, delivered last spring by Dr. J. G. Frazer before the University of Liverpool, has been published by Macmillan.

J. Dieserud's volume entitled *The Scope and Content of the Science of Anthropology* (Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, pp. 200) contains a sketch of the development of the science, a discussion of its scope and content as conceived by different writers, the titles of a library classification (pp. 33) and a descriptive bibliography (96 pp.).

Messrs. T. and T. Clark of Edinburgh are publishing *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by Dr. James Hastings and presenting in ten volumes contributions from the most competent specialists concerning the religion and morals of all nations both in the past and present. Not only theology and philosophy, but portions of the fields of anthropology (especially of mythology and folk-lore), biology, psychology and sociology are included in this work.

The Royal Historical Society will issue the following works in the Camden Series during the ensuing session: *John of Gaunt's Register*, volume I., edited by Mr. S. Armitage-Smith, and *The French Despatches, 1786-89*, volume I., edited by Mr. Oscar Browning. The society will also publish in the same series a further volume of *Essex Papers*, and, as a separate work, an English translation of the medieval Russian chronicle of Novgorod, prepared by Mr. Michell of the consular service, and edited under the supervision of Mr. R. Morfill and Mr. C. R. Beazley.

The *Hansische Geschichtsverein*, which has almost completed the publication of the medieval sources of the history of the Hanse and has made considerable progress with the publication of the modern sources, has greatly widened the scope of its activities by undertaking the issue of a series of *Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs- u. Seegeschichte*, edited by Dietrich Schäfer. These studies will, as a rule, be based on unprinted material, although monographs drawn from printed sources will not be excluded. The numbers announced are *Brügger's Entwicklung zum Mittelalterlichen Weltmarkt* by Rudolf Häpke and *Emdens und Ostfrieslands Handelsblüte im 16. Jahrhundert*, by Bernhard Hagedorn. The publisher is Karl Curtius, Berlin.

M. Henri Cordier's excellent bibliographical dictionary of works relating to the Chinese Empire, *Bibliotheca Sinica* (Paris, Guilmoto), has been completed by the issue of the eighth fascicle.

Colonel E. M. Lloyd's valuable *Review of the History of Infantry* (Longmans, 1908, pp. xii, 304) begins with Marathon and Plataea and comes down to Paardeberg and Liao Yang.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals; L. Réau, *L'Origine et la Signification des Noms Géographiques* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, April); H. Berr, *Progrès de l'Histoire au XIX^e Siècle: Pages Oubliées* (1833), de A. Chéruel (Revue de Synthèse Historique, June); W. Erben, *Theodor Sickel: Umrisse seines Lebens und Schaffens* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, August).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The German government has founded at Cairo an Imperial Institute for Egyptian Archaeology of which Dr. L. Borchardt is the director.

A translation by Miss Elizabeth Lee of Professor Maspero's *Causeries d'Égypte*, previously noticed in these pages (XIII. 401), is being published by Mr. Fisher Unwin under the title *New Light on Ancient Egypt*.

Dr. S. Funk's work on *Die Juden in Babylonien, 200-500*, is concluded by the issue of a second part (Berlin, Poppelauer, 1908, pp. xii, 160). The first part appeared in 1902.

Mr. Murray is publishing translations by Bettina Kahnweiler of *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries* by Professor Michaelis, and *Douris and the Painters of Greek Vases* by M. Pottier of the Louvre. Both books will be illustrated. The former will contain a preface by Professor Percy Gardner and the latter a preface by Miss Jane E. Harrison.

Twenty-two Gifford lectures on natural religion delivered at Aberdeen by the late James Adam have been edited with a memoir by his wife, Mrs. Adela M. Adam, in a volume entitled *The Religious Teachers of Greece* (Edinburgh, Clark).

Two brilliant lectures on *Greek Historical Writing* and *Apollo*, delivered before the University of Oxford last summer by Professor Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, have been translated by Gilbert Murray and published by the Oxford University Press.

The Macmillan Company announces for publication this autumn *The Ancient Greek Historians* by Professor J. B. Bury and *Social Life in Rome* by W. W. Fowler.

Under the title [*Ἡρόδου*] *περὶ πολιτείας* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1908, pp. 124) Professor E. Drerup publishes in the series of *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, of which he is an editor, an Athenian political pamphlet of the year 404 B. C.

A paper read before the British Academy by Mr. Percy Gardner on *The Gold Coinage of Asia before Alexander the Great* (London,

Frowde, 1908, pp. 32, 2 plates) dwells on the broader aspects of the subject and attempts "a chronological survey of the relations between the Persian state and the subject countries and cities, as they are reflected in the issues of gold and electrum coin".

In the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for July-August, M. Ch. Lécivain concludes his review of foreign publications, issued from 1902 to 1907, dealing with Latin antiquities.

In the ninety-eighth volume of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, M. Charles Dubois treats of the history and topography of *Pouzzoles Antique* (Fontemoing). The volume includes fifty illustrations and a map.

Ralph Van Deman Magoffin has contributed to the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science *A Study of the Topography and Municipal History of Praeneste* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1908, pp. 101), the first of a series of monographs in which the author proposes to examine the history of the towns of the early Latin League from the topographical and epigraphical points of view.

Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus, by Orma Fitch Butler, issued as part one of University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, volume IV. (Macmillan, 1908, pp. 169), contains an analysis of the modern critical literature dealing with the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, a history of the time of Heliogabalus drawn from all sources except the Life in the Augustan history, and a critical study of the Life itself with a view to determining the historical worth of its component elements.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. Ashby, *The Rediscovery of Rome* (Quarterly Review, July); J. B. Carter, *Roma Quadrata and the Septimontium* (American Journal of Archaeology, April-June); H. H. Howorth, *The Germans of Caesar*, I. (English Historical Review, July).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Eduard Schwartz, the second volume of whose large and authoritative edition of the Greek text of the *Church History* of Eusebius appeared early this year, has just issued through the house of Hinrichs, Leipzig, the complete text in a small edition without literary apparatus.

The authenticity of a document commonly regarded as spurious is defended by Dom J. M. Pfäffisch in his work on *Die Rede Konstantins des Grossen an die Versammlung der Heiligen*, the fourth number in the Strassburg Theological Studies (Freiburg-im-B., Herder, 1908, pp. xi, 117).

Monsignor Vattasso's index of *incipits* of Latin Christian writings before 1216 has been completed by a second volume, *Initia Patrum Aliorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Rome, Typis Vaticanis, 1908).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Professor Walter Goetz of Tübingen is editing a series of *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, Teubner) which promises to be of much value. While the general purpose of the series is to investigate the development of the spiritual life of these periods, each volume will be a detailed and critical examination of a limited field. The two numbers already published are studies of *Das Heiligen-Leben im 10. Jahrhundert*, by Dr. L. Zoepf (pp. vi, 250) and *Papst Leo IX. und die Simonie: Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Vorgeschichte des Investiturstreites*, by Dr. J. Drehrmann (pp. ix, 96).

A translation of *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi* (Burns and Oates) has been made by the Countess de la Warr from the Père d'Alençon's text, and contains his introduction. The volume comprises many interesting documents, such as the Rule of the Poor Clares and some fragments of Jacques de Vitry.

A new Latin quarterly, *Diarium Terrae Sanctae*, from the press of the convent of S. Salvatore at Jerusalem, is devoted to the history and present interests of the Franciscans in the Holy Land. The first fascicle, published last March under the general direction of Father Roberto Razzòli, contains the first installment of the "Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae", beginning with the year 1228, the first part of the "Navis Peregrinorum", or book containing the names and nationalities of all pilgrims to the Holy City from 1561 to 1663, and an introduction to the publication of 24 folia of the eighteenth century that fill in gaps in the *Ichnographiae Locorum et Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae* of Father Horn, printed from a Vatican codex in 1902 by Father Golubovich.

Professor G. U. Oxilia has edited a tract *De Ecclesiastica Potestate* (Florence, successori Seeber), written by the medieval philosopher Egidio Colonna, and treating of the struggle between church and state under Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII.

Canon L. Salembier, professor in the Catholic University of Lille, in an address delivered last spring to the historical seminary at Louvain on the subject of the Great Schism of the Occident, spoke of the published sources, of the principal results arrived at by workers in this field, and of the various topics that awaited investigation. The latter part of his address is published in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for July.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Degert, *Un Ouvrier de la Réforme au XI^e Siècle: Amat d'Oloron* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, July); K. Hampe, *Über die Flugschriften zum Lyoner Konzil von 1245* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, August).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

In a recent volume, *Staat und Gesellschaft der Neueren Zeit*, in the admirable series *Die Kultur der Gegenwart: ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele* (Leipzig, Teubner), Fr. von Bezold writes of the period of the Reformation, E. Gothein of the period of the Counter Reformation, and R. Koser of the period when absolutism was at its height. The volume comes down only to the French Revolution.

Dr. A. H. Mathew is preparing a translation from the Latin of the *Diary* of John Burchard, major-domo and master of the ceremonies to Popes Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Pius III. and Julius II. (1483-1506). The book will contain an introduction, notes, appendices and illustrations, and will be published by Mr. Francis Griffiths, 34 Maidenlane, London.

Messrs. Chatto and Windus will soon publish a Latin text of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* with a translation by Mr. F. G. Stokes, the first English translation ever published.

The *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* has issued a third *Ergänzungsband: Der Briefwechsel der Schweizer mit den Polen*, in which Dr. Th. Wotschke prints wholly or in part 527 letters that passed between Protestants in Poland and their compatriots resident in Switzerland and the leading reformers in Zurich, Geneva or Basel. The documents throw much light on events in Poland during the latter half of the sixteenth century.

Father E. Palandri contributes to the July number of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* an article on "Le Rôle Diplomatique de la Toscane à la Veille de la Saint Barthélemy (1571-1572)", which is part of an able doctoral dissertation presented by him to the faculty of the University of Louvain on "Les Négociations Politiques et Religieuses entre la Toscane et la France à l'Époque de Cosme I^{er} et de Catherine de Médicis (1544-1580), d'après les Archives de l'État à Florence et à Paris".

The Vicomte de Noailles, whose work on *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis (1778-1783)* was crowned by the French Academy, has published a book on *Épisodes de la Guerre de Trente Ans: Bernard de Saxe-Weimar (1604 à 1639), et la Réunion de l'Alsace à la France* (Paris, Perin), in which many documents are used for the first time. This is the second volume of *Épisodes de la Guerre de Trente Ans* by this author.

In the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen* of the historical society of Utrecht, volume XXIV., pp. 3-406, Professor G. W. Kernkamp publishes with introductions documents from the state archives at Stockholm relating to the commerce that flourished in the seventeenth century between Holland and Sweden. The collection consists of thirty-eight letters, written from Amsterdam from 1635 to 1641 to the Chancellor Oxenstierna by the merchant and Swedish commissioner

Samuel Blommaert; letters written from Amsterdam from 1618 to 1652 to prominent Scandinavians by the merchant Louis de Geer; and various documents concerning Geer's commercial and industrial activities.

A volume of *Historical and Political Essays* (Longmans, 1908), by the late W. E. H. Lecky, includes papers on "Carlyle's Messages to his Age", "Madame de Staël", "Ireland in the Light of History", "Queen Victoria as a Moral Force", and "Old-Age Pensions".

In a volume based on documents in the Paris Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris, G. Gautherot studies *Lés Relations Franco-Helvétiques de 1789 à 1792* (Paris, Champion, 1908, pp. 133) from the double point of view of international politics and of the diffusion in Europe of revolutionary ideas.

M. Pierre Rain's *L'Europe et la Révolution des Bourbons, 1814-1818* (Paris, Perrin, pp. 500) is based on unpublished sources. The author aims at showing the influence of Europe in the double restoration of the Bourbons and the direct consequences of this intervention.

International Documents: a Collection of International Conventions and Declarations of a Law-Making Kind, edited with introduction and notes by E. A. Whittuck, one of the governors of the London School of Economics and Political Science (Longmans, 1908), contains texts of the Declaration of Paris, 1856, the Geneva Convention, 1864, the Declaration of St. Petersburg, 1868, the various acts of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, with instructions to plenipotentiaries and other supplementary matter in an appendix. The texts are given in French and in English, on opposite pages.

A History of Contemporary Civilization, by M. Charles Seignobos, has been translated by Professor A. H. Wilde and is published by Scribner.

Texts of the Peace Conferences, 1899 and 1907, edited by Professor James Brown Scott, has been added by Ginn and Company to their International Library. Professor William I. Hull of Swarthmore College has in the press a volume on *The Two Hague Conferences*.

Dr. K. Asakawa contributes to the August number of the *Yale Review* a very instructive article on "Japan in Manchuria". The large phases of the subject are treated in a manner forceful and clarifying, the "new diplomacy" in China receiving particular attention. A supplementary article dealing more particularly with the resulting commercial situation is to appear in the November issue of the same periodical.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Ritter, *Das Römische Kirchenrecht und der Westfälische Friede* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CI. 2); H. Barge, *Die Älteste Evangelische Armenordnung* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, June).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Roman Centuriation in the Middlesex District, by Dr. R. Sharpe (Brentford, Brentford Publishing Company, 1908, pp. 20), is a short study of the settlement and delimitation of estates by the Romans in their colonization of Britain.

The Chronicle of John of Worcester, 1118-1140; which is being issued in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, medieval and modern series, part XIII. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. 72), is a continuation of the "Chronicon ex Chronicis" of Florence of Worcester. The text has been drawn from a manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and is edited by Mr. J. R. H. Weaver.

A contribution to the constitutional history of English boroughs to the reign of King Edward I. has been made by E. F. Doering in his *Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Leicester* (Hanau, Clauss and Feddersen, 1908, pp. iii, 79).

Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, one of the editors of the *Southampton Court Leet Records*, has written an extensive work of legal and historical research on *Leet Jurisdiction in England, especially as illustrated by the Records of the Court Leet of Southampton*, published by the Southampton Record Society (Southampton, Cox and Sharland, 1908, pp. 406). The book is in three parts: The Leet in Legal Theory; the Leet in Practice; and the History of Leet Jurisdiction. One of the author's conclusions is that the sheriff's tourn did not originate in the Assize of Clarendon, 1166, and that this assize marks a diminution of the sheriff's power.

The Manorial Society has issued as its second monograph the second part of *Lists of Manor Court Rolls in Private Hands* (London, 1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, 1908, pp. 25). The rolls, which include some account rolls, customals, rentals, etc., pertain to twenty-three counties. One Staffordshire roll dates back as far as 1259.

Rev. Alfred D. Beaven has published at the instance of the Corporation of London the first volume of a work entitled *Aldermen of the City of London* (Eden Fisher and Company), which presents an exhaustive list of aldermen, arranged in chronological order under their respective wards, from about 1275 to the present time, together with carefully compiled articles on the Parliamentary representation of the city of London, the relations of the aldermen with the various livery companies, and similar matters. No index will appear until the publication of the second volume.

Madame Inna Lubimenko has published as a doctoral thesis in the University of Paris an excellent monograph prepared under the direction of M. Charles Bémont on Jean de Bretagne (1266-1334) and the "honor of Richmond".

The Constitutional History of England (Cambridge University Press, 1908) is a course of lectures delivered by Professor F. W. Maitland

in 1887-1888 and containing a sketch of English public law at five periods—1307, 1509, 1625, 1702 and 1887. The editor, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, states that he knows of no book which "provides so good an introduction to the study of English Constitutional History, or which is likely to be more highly valued by practical teachers of our Universities".

The Oxford University Press has published a volume of *Selections from Erasmus*, principally from his epistles, by P. S. Allen, who is editing the larger edition for the same press. The selections have been made with a view to illustrating English life of the period, and the editor has added a memoir of Erasmus, notes and a vocabulary of special words.

Professor William Osler's Linacre lecture for 1908, in which he gives a life of Thomas Linacre with an estimate of his work both as medical humanist and as grammarian, has been published by the Cambridge University Press (1908, pp. 64, 11 plates).

Under the title *Chantry Certificates for Bedfordshire* (Bedfordshire Times Publishing Company, 1908, pp. 86) the Rev. J. E. Brown publishes a transcript of the return made by the commissioners in the reign of Edward VI., and F. A. Page-Turner contributes "Institutions of Chantry Priests in Bedfordshire".

The Early History of the Levant Company, by Dr. M. Epstein (Routledge, 1908, pp. 270), is based on Record Office material and comes down to the year 1640. Appendices (118 pp.) include the charter granted in 1605, lists of governors, ships, ports, etc.

The Elizabethan Parish in its Ecclesiastical and Financial Aspects (pp. 93), by Sedley L. Ware, forms numbers 7 and 8 of series XXVI. of the Johns Hopkins University Studies. The subjects of ecclesiastical government and parish finance are treated separately, a chapter to each, the two chapters being but part of a larger work which the author has projected, designed to cover the aspects of parish government in the Elizabethan period. The work is well written, contains abundant footnotes, and altogether is a valuable addition to the literature of English local government.

The British government has consented to extend from three volumes to five the proposed series of Colonial Entries in the Registers of the Privy Council.

Under the title *Skotlands Rimur* Dr. W. A. Craigie has edited for the Oxford University Press a set of Icelandic ballads of the early seventeenth century relating to the Gowrie conspiracy. The original manuscript is in the University Library of Copenhagen and is based on the Danish translation of the official account of the conspiracy published at Copenhagen in 1601, and printed by Mr. Craigie in an appendix.

Mr. Andrew Lang is publishing through Longmans a life of *Sir George Mackenzie, the King's Advocate, 1636-1691*, based in part on unpublished political letters of Mackenzie.

The Bibliographical Society has published *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667*, by Mr. Henry R. Plomer, so carefully composed as to be of much use to historical scholars.

The seventh part of the *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, issued by the British Museum, includes reproductions of some one hundred and twenty medals illustrating nearly all of the more important historical events from 1682 to 1689.

British Imperialism in the Eighteenth Century (London, Constable, pp. 247), by G. B. Hertz, lecturer at Manchester University, is mainly a study of "four outbursts of popular emotion"—the war fever of 1731, the anti-Jewish frenzy of 1753, the war panic over the matter of the Falkland Islands in 1770, and Pitt's "Russian menace", in 1791. A final chapter is devoted to the history of Berkeley's project of founding a religious college in the Bermudas.

In his two-volume work, *Modern England: a Record of Opinion and Action from the Time of the French Revolution to the Present Day* (London, Watts, 1908), Mr. A. W. Benn, author of *The History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century*, aims at showing the influence on thought and politics of rationalistic opinion.

A Century of Education: Being the Centenary History of the British and Foreign School Society (Dent, 1908, pp. 342) is a sketch of education in England during the last hundred years by Mr. H. B. Binns, with supplementary chapters on educational matters by Dr. Macnamara, Professor Foster Watson, Mr. Sidney Webb and Mr. Graham Wallas.

The second and completing volume of J. B. Atlay's lives of *The Victorian Chancellors* (London, Smith Elder; Boston, Little and Brown, 1908) begins with Lord St. Leonards and goes down to the end of the reign.

A Military History of Perthshire, 1660-1902 (Perth, R. and J. Hay), edited by the Marchioness of Tullibardine, presents in two handsome volumes much matter of historical value, from the first raising of companies of Highlanders in the seventeenth century to the service of Perth men in South Africa.

In Mrs. Alice Stopford Green's remarkable book on *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing, 1200-1600* (Macmillan, 1908, pp. xvi, 511) the author has compiled from the sources an account of Irish civilization and especially of Irish trade which is of great value in spite of its strong anti-English bias.

Dr. G. M. Theal's *History of South Africa since September, 1795*, has now been completed by the issue of the fifth volume, dealing with the Cape Colony and Natal to 1872 and with Griqualand West to 1880.

British government publications: *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry III., 1247-1258; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, III., 1300-1326; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, V., Edward II.; *Index of Chancery Proceedings*, series II., vol. II., 1579-1621; *Calendar of State Papers, Venice and Northern Italy*, XIV., 1615-1617, edited by Allen B. Hinds; *Calendar of State Papers (Ireland)*, 1666-1669; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1669-1672; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1699, edited by Cecil Headlam; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, preserved at Kilkenny Castle, new series, vol. V.

Other documentary publications: *Great Roll of the Pipe* for the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry II., 1178-1179 (London, Spottiswood); Charles Gross, *Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant*, 1270-1638, I. *Local Courts* [Selden Society's Publications, vol. XXIII.] (London, Quaritch, 1908, pp. lv, 159); Geoffrey Keating, *The History of Ireland*, II., III., edited by Rev. R. P. Dinneen [Publications of the Irish Text Society, VIII., IX.] (London, Nutt).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Cartellieri, *Richard Löwenherz im Heiligen Lande* (Historische Zeitschrift, CI. 1); Rose Graham, *The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.* (English Historical Review, July); C. G. Bayne, *The First House of Commons of Queen Elizabeth, I.* (English Historical Review, July); E. C. K. Gonner, *The Progress of Inclosure during the Seventeenth Century* (English Historical Review, July); Comte M. de Germiny, *Les Brigandages Maritimes de l'Angleterre sous le Règne de Louis XV.*, II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); *Colonial Policy under the Earl of Elgin* (Edinburgh Review, July).

FRANCE

The first Prix Gobert of the French Academy has been awarded to M. Camille Jullian for his *Histoire de la Gaule*, and the second to M. Paul Courteault for *Blaise de Montluc, Historien*. The first Prix Gobert of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres was awarded to M. Chalandon for his *Histoire de la Domination Normande dans l'Italie Méridionale*, and the second to M. Ch. Samaran for his work: *La Maison d'Armagnac au XV^e Siècle*. Two thousand francs of the Prix Thérouanne were divided between M. P. Pierling for his work *La Russie et la Saint-Siège* and M. F. Rousseau for *Le Règne de Carlos III. d'Espagne*.

The department of manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale has acquired from the celebrated library of Sir Thomas Phillipps 272 manuscripts and collections of original charters dating from the eleventh to the eighteenth century, and relating to the history of France. A list of French cartularies in this collection is printed in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* for January-April.

In his work on *Jeanne d'Arc Guerrière* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie

Nationale). Gen. Frédéric Canonge defends Joan of Arc's ability as a military leader.

In the April number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* M. P. Cultru reviews in masterly fashion the literature relating to the history of the French colonies under the Ancient Régime.

The fourth and concluding volume of the Comte d'Haussonville's extensive work on *La Duchesse de Bourgogne et l'Alliance Savoyarde sous Louis XIV.* treats of *L'Avant-Règne de la Mort* and *Épilogue de l'Alliance Savoyarde* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1908). Some of the chapters have appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

The first fascicle of the first part of the eighth volume of M. E. Lavisse's *Histoire de France* treats of *Louis XIV.: La Fin du Règne (1685-1715)* (Paris, Hachette, 1908). The history of foreign policy is by M. de Saint-Léger; the economic history by M. Sagnac; that of religious affairs and of the movement of ideas by M. Rébelliau; and that of the king and court by M. Lavisse.

From unpublished documents and the archives of the family of Dupleix, the Marquis de Nazelle has written an account of *Dupleix et la Défense de Pondichery, 1748* (Champion) which includes a detailed narrative of the principal occurrences in French India from October, 1746, to January, 1749.

Professor Fred Morrow Fling's history of *The Youth of Mirabeau* is the first part of a work to be completed in three volumes under the general title of *Mirabeau and the French Revolution* (Putnams).

The character and causes of poverty in France in the eighteenth century, the ancient methods of poor relief, the reforms of 1764-1789, and the formation of new theories of poor relief at the time of the Revolution, are among the topics discussed by Camille Bloch, inspector general of libraries and archives, in his work on *L'Assistance et l'État en France à la Veille de la Révolution (Généralités de Paris, Rouen, Alençon, Orléans, Châlons, Soissons, Amiens), 1764-1790* (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. lxiv, 504).

The *Bulletin Trimestriel*, 1907, nos. 1 and 2 (Paris, Leroux, 1908, pp. 240) of the commission on the economic life of the Revolution, is mainly concerned with the topic of the food-supply. MM. P. Caron and L. Ratlet contribute an article on *Le Comité des Subsistances de Meulan et l'Approvisionnement de Paris (1789-1791)* and M. Caron publishes the reports of Grivel and Siret, commissioners at Paris of the provisory executive council, on subsistence and the maximum from September, 1793, to March, 1794. M. A. Brette gives an account of "L'État Général des Bailliages en 1789".

The encyclopedic *Table Analytique Alphabétique* (Paris, Rouff, 1908) of M. Jaurès's *Histoire Socialiste (1789-1900)*, compiled by Albert Thomas, is published as a separate volume of more than two hundred pages.

Under the title *Les Volontaires Nationaux, 1791-1793* (Paris, Chapelot, 1908), Eugène Déprez has published a study of the formation and organization of the battalions, made from communal and departmental archives.

Students of the Napoleonic period will find a useful book of reference in Albert Schuermans's *Itinéraire Général de Napoléon I^{er}* (Paris, Picard, 1908) to which M. Henry Houssaye of the French Academy contributes a laudatory preface.

The thirteenth volume of M. Ollivier's history of *L'Empire Libéral* (Paris, Garnier, 1908) gives the history of his ministry from January to July, 1870. The chapters on the Vatican Council are of especial interest and importance.

An interesting monograph on *Adolphe Quetelet as Statistician*, contributed by Dr. F. H. Hankins to the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law (Longmans, 1908, pp. 134), contains an account of Quetelet's life and place in the history of statistical literature, and a critical exposition of his chief contributions to sociology—his concept of the average man as a type, his studies in moral statistics, and his statistical method.

The third and concluding volume of the *Life and Letters of H. Taine, 1870-1892*, abridged and translated from the French by E. Sparvel-Bayly, has been published by Constable (1908, pp. 335).

Documentary publications: E.-R. Vaucelle, *Catalogue des Lettres de Nicolas V. concernant la Province Ecclésiastique de Tours d'après les Registres des Archives Vaticanes, 1447-1455* (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. lvii, 405); Prince Murat, *Lettres et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de Joachim Murat, 1767-1815*, I., with introduction and notes by Paul le Brethon (Paris, Plon, 1908); C. Bloch, *Inventaire Sommaire des Volumes de la Collection Joly de Fleury concernant l'Assistance et la Mendicité* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January-April); Comte de la Forest, *Correspondance au Comte de La Forest, Ambassadeur de France en Espagne (1808-1813)*, II. [Edited by G. de Grandmaison for the Society of Contemporary History] (Picard, 1908, pp. 470).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Villat, *Les Régions de la France*, V.: *Le Velay* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, June); F. Lot, *La Grande Invasion Normande de 856-862* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January-April); A. Lang, *M. Anatole France on Jeanne d'Arc* (Scottish Historical Review, July); *Port Royal* (Edinburgh Review, July); *The Duc de Choiseul* (Edinburgh Review, July); H. Sée, *Les Idées Politiques de Voltaire* (Revue Historique, July-August); A. Wahl, *Über die Ursachen der Französischen Revolution* (Historische Zeitschrift, CI. 2); *The French Expedition to Egypt in 1798* (Edinburgh Review, July); Othon Guerlac, *The Separation of Church and State in France* (Political Science Quarterly, June); P. Lacombe, *Les*

Historiens de la Révolution—Jean Jaurès: I. *La Constituante*; II. *La Législative et la Convention* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, April, June).

ITALY AND SPAIN

Recent works on the history of Italy from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century inclusive are reviewed in the bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for July–August by M. L.-G. Pélissier, while in the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* he concludes a general survey of recent Italian historical publications.

The new review, *Bollettino dell'Archivio Paleografico Italiano* (Rome, Loescher), whose director is M. Federici, is designed to supplement the *Archivio Paleografico Italiano* by publishing descriptions and translations of the texts reproduced in the *Archivio*, and communications relative to palaeography, diplomatic, and medieval epigraphy.

The fifth number of the *Archivio Muratoriano* comprises a monograph by Armando Carlini on the retraction of Fra Michele di Cesena and the false "Miserere" published under his name in the *Raccolta Muratoriana*, and a briefer article by Ettore Rota "Di Pietro d'Eboli e d'Alcuni Suoi Critici Recenti".

The Archivio Storico Civico of Milan has recently acquired from the late Chevalier Domenico Muoni's remarkable collection of historical manuscripts, which was especially rich in documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a considerable number relating to the history of Milan and the Milanese region. The other more important manuscripts of the collection were acquired by the national library of the Brera. The Archivio Storico Civico is undertaking to form a great biographical collection of printed and manuscript materials concerning persons who have lived in the province.

The first part of the second volume (*Guelfen und Ghibellinen*) of Dr. R. Davidsohn's excellent *Geschichte von Florenz* was noticed in the April number of this review. Since then the second and concluding part of the same volume has appeared under the title *Die Guelfenherrschaft und der Sieg des Volkes* (Berlin, Mittler, 1908, pp. viii, 634).

Dr. W. Andreas has published a work on *Die Venezianischen Relationen und ihr Verhältnis zur Kultur der Renaissance* (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1908, pp. x, 124).

Max Barkhausen has contributed to the series of *Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* (Heidelberg, Winter) a volume on *Francesco Guicciardinis Politische Theorien in seinen Opere Inedite* (1908, pp. viii, 117).

New material relating to Garibaldi and Mazzini and to the events of the *Risorgimento* will be found in a volume which Mr. Fisher Unwin will publish under the title *The Birth of Modern Italy: the Posthumous Papers of Jessie White Mario*, edited by the Duke Litta-Visconti-Arese.

A narrative account in two volumes of *Roma e lo Stato del Papa dal Ritorno di Pio IX. al XX. Settembre*, by R. de Cesare (Rome, Forzani, pp. xii, 395, 489), is based upon important unpublished sources and written from a Catholic's point of view.

An Institute of Catalan Studies has been founded at Barcelona for the scientific study of all the elements of Catalan civilization. It comprises four sections: history, archaeology, literature, and law, and will publish texts, memoirs and monographs.

Documentary publications: C. Cipolla, *Annales Veronenses Antiqui* [a newly-discovered thirteenth-century chronicle coming down to the year 1251] (*Bollettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, 1908, no. 29, pp. 1-80); P. Piccolomini, *Corrispondenza tra la Corte di Roma e l'Inquisitore di Malta durante la Guerra di Candia (1645-1651)* (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, series V., vol. XLI., fasc. 1); Jerónimo Becker, *Colección de Tratados, Convenios y demás Documentos de Carácter Internacional firmados por España, 1868-1874*. (Madrid, 1907).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Schaub, *Die Anfänge der Venezianischen Galeerenfahrten nach der Nordsee* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CI. 1); F. Meyer, *Die Missionspläne des Ignatius von Loyola und die Gründung des Jesuitenkollegs in Messina im Jahre 1548* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CI. 2).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

In the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* E.-A. Goldsilber gives a summary account of recent works on medieval Germany.

Rudolf Kötzschke's *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1908, pp. 141) forms the first part of the second volume of Aloys Meister's *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft*. Like the other divisions of this valuable work, it aims to inform the student of the latest opinion on the subject of which it treats, and by acquainting him with the opposing conclusions of different authors and with the special literature of the subject to place him in a position to undertake further investigation on his own account.

Der Reichs-Gedanke des Staufischen Kaiserhauses (Breslau, Marcus, 1908, pp. 84), the ninety-fifth volume in the series of *Untersuchungen zur Deutschen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*, edited by Dr. Otto Gierke, is a contribution to the history of the medieval state and of medieval thought, by Dr. M. Krammer.

The fifth volume of *Quellen und Darstellungen aus der Geschichte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* is entitled *Spalatiniana* (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1908, pp. vii, 123) and contains a "Vita Georgii Spalatini ex ipsius ἀπογράφῃ descripta", 1534; an "Index Brevissimus Rerum Illustrissimi Principis, Domini Johannis Ducis Saxoniae Electoris"; "Georgii

Spalatini *Ephemerides Inchoatae Anno MCCCCLXXX*", and an appendix of *Lutherana* and documents from the Nürnberg Veit Dietrich codex and elsewhere, edited by Dr. G. Berbig.

The development of the views of Luther and Melancthon on freedom of faith and conscience are studied by Dr. Paul Wappler in his volume entitled *Inquisition und Ketzerprozesse in Zwickau zur Reformationszeit* (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1908, pp. iv, 219).

The third number in the series of *Geschichtliche Untersuchungen*, edited by Professor Karl Lamprecht, is a monograph on *Maria Theresias Staats- und Lebensanschauung* by G. Dorschel (Gotha, Perthes, 1908, pp. xi, 175).

Dr. Victor Loëwe has compiled an extensive *Bibliographie der Hannoverschen und Braunschweigischen Geschichte* (Posen, Jolowicz, 1908, pp. viii, 450).

Under the title *Die Elsässischen Annalen der Stauferzeit* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1908, pp. xiii, 209) H. Block has written a critical introduction to the edition of the registers of the bishops of Strassburg, which is being brought out by the commission for publishing the historical sources of Alsace.

B. Bretholz, conservator of the state archives of the province of Moravia at Brunn, has published a history of the archives and an account of the part that they have played in the historical movement of the last hundred and fifty years. Some of the most remarkable of the documents preserved here are printed in the volume, which is entitled *Das Mährische Landesarchiv, seine Geschichte, seine Bestände* (Brunn, 1908).

With the support of the Bohemian diet G. Friedrich has published the first volume of a *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolarius Regni Bohemiae* (Prague, Wiesner, 1907, pp. 567). The work will comprise six volumes and will come down to 1310.

Dom P. Lindner has published the first volume of a *Monasticon Metropolis Salzburgensis Antiquae*, which when completed in three volumes will contain historical notices drawn from archive material of each of the religious houses in the ancient ecclesiastical province of Salzburg.

Documentary publications: K. Rieder, *Römische Quellen zur Konstanzer Bistumsgeschichte zur Zeit der Päpste in Avignon* [more than 2,000 bulls and other pontifical documents are analyzed or printed in extenso] (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1908, pp. xc, 738); J. Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch für U. L. Frau in Ingolstadt: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Pfarrkirchlichen Verhältnisse im 16. Jahrhundert* [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Hefts 4 and 5] (Münster, Aschendorff, 1908, pp. xiv, 253); Dr. H. Wopfner, *Quellen zur Vorgeschichte des Bauernkriegs: Beschwerdeartikel aus den Jahren 1519-*

1525 (*Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Deutschtirol*, 1525, I., *Acta Tirolensia*, III.) (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1908, pp. xxviii, 235); W. Goetz, *Die Politik Maximilians I. von Bayern und seiner Verbündeten, 1618-1651*, second part, vol. I., 1623-1624 [Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges, new series, published by the Historical Commission of Munich] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1908, pp. xvii, 680); R. Koser and H. Droysen, *Briefwechsel des Kronprinzen Friedrich, 1736-1740: Friedrich's des Grossen Briefwechsel mit Voltaire*, I. (Publikationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven, LXXXI.) (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1908, pp. xv, 368).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Werminghoff, *Neuere Arbeiten über das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Deutschland während des Späteren Mittelalters* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, June); P. Clément-Simon, *La Politique de la Prusse en Orient, 1763-1871* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXII. 3).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Dr. Gisbert Brom, director of the Historical Institute of the Netherlands at Rome, is publishing in the collection of *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien* the first volume of the *Regesta Vaticana*, a detailed inventory of Italian archive material relating to the history of the Netherlands.

L. Kooperberg's long doctoral dissertation on *Margaretha van Oostenrijk, Landvoogdes der Nederlanden, tot den Vrede van Kamerijk* (Amsterdam, van Holkema en Warendorf, pp. 472) is the fruit of laborious researches in the archives of Brussels, Lille and Paris, and contains several documents hitherto unpublished.

The fourth volume of Dr. H. T. Colenbrander's *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot 1840* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1908, pp. lxxviii, 787) contains the text in whole or in part of 827 documents from French, Prussian, English and Batavian sources relative to the political history of the Batavian Republic from 1801 to 1806.

In the historical bulletin of the July-August number of the *Revue Historique* Professor Eugène Hubert reviews publications of the years 1906-1907 relative to the history of Belgium.

Fathers E. de Moreau and J.-B. Goetstouwers have edited with great care *Le Polyptique de l'Abbaye de Villers* (printed separately from the *Analectes pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de Belgique*, 1908, pp. 238). This document, which dates from the thirteenth century, is of much value for economic history, and also for the topography and history of the noble houses of Brabant.

In M. Charles Pergameni's excellent doctoral thesis, *L'Avouerie Ecclésiastique Belge: Des Origines à la Période Bourguignonne* (Ghent, Soc. Coöperative "Volksdrukkerij", 1907, pp. 223) the author has

attempted to construct from references in the chronicles and from official documents a history of the development of the *avouerie* during the period indicated, analogous to M. Senn's account of the same institution in France.

Father J.-B. Goetstouwers has made a valuable contribution to social history, in his dissertation on *Les Métiers de Namur sous l'Ancien Régime*, the twentieth fascicle in the series published by the historical and philological conferences of the University of Louvain.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

On the basis of new documentary evidence Halvdan Koht has constructed an account of *Die Stellung Norwegens und Schwedens im Deutsch-Dänischen Konflikt, zumal während der Jahre 1863 und 1864*, the seventh number in the *Videnskabs-Selskabets Skrifter*, II. Hist.-filosof. klasse (Kristiania, Dybwad, 1908, pp. x, 348).

In 1658 the Czar Alexis Mikhaïlovitch organized a sort of secret imperial chancery, composed of a first secretary and ten assistants, charged with exercising a rigorous surveillance over the Russian boyars and the cultivated classes. The institution was suppressed by the successor of Alexis who came to the throne in 1676. The *Dnevalnyia Zapiski*, or notes taken from day to day for the benefit of these officials, are of much interest, and have been printed by the archivist Serge Bielokourov in the first part of the *Lectures de la Société d'Histoire et d'Antiquités Russes attachée à l'Université de Moscou* (1908, pp. x, 224).

L'Europe et la Résurrection de la Serbie (1804-1834), by Grégoire Yakschitch (Paris, Hachette, 1907, pp. 530), is an important work largely based on materials in Parisian archives.

AMERICAN HISTORY

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington will issue this autumn the *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge*, which has been prepared by Professor Charles M. Andrews, with the assistance of Miss Frances G. Davenport. All page-proofs have been read (430 pages of text), and the index, which must necessarily be elaborate, is being completed. Dr. Andrews's volume for the Public Record Office, which was to have preceded but which was delayed by the large rearrangements carried out in that repository, can probably be finished in manuscript next summer. Professor Bolton has completed the notes for his inventory of the archives of the city of Mexico, and of those of Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Guadalajara, Zacatecas and Chihuahua. Mr. Leland's work in Paris will continue through the autumn, but will be suspended by his return to

Washington, and finished in Paris next summer. Professor Fish of Wisconsin has arrived in Rome, where he will spend the year in making for the Institution a similar work, a Guide to the Materials for the History of North America in Roman Archives and Libraries. Professor Allison, now of Bryn Mawr College, has nearly finished his inventory of manuscript materials for American religious history. The collection of letters of delegates to the Continental Congress has been advanced by researches covering Massachusetts, Rhode Island and South Carolina; much progress has been made with the American debates in Parliament; and a good beginning has been made of the calendar of papers in Washington relating to the territories.

The New Netherland volume in the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History* is expected to be published in February or March.

Writings on American History, 1906 (Macmillan, 1908, pp. xvi, 186), compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin, is a volume closely following the plan of Professor McLaughlin's *Writings on American History, 1903*. It embraces titles to the number of 3467, derived from books published in 1906 and more than three hundred periodicals, European and American. The scope of the work includes the history of the United States and Canada. For the countries south of the United States it makes no attempt to include any books and articles but those published in the United States, Canada and Europe. The annotation is confined to what is strictly necessary. The arrangement is topical, but there is an alphabetical index of 34 pages. Most of the material for the volume for 1907 is already collected.

Mr. Waldo G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution, who already prepares for the *Jahresberichte der Geschichts-Wissenschaft* its annual survey of works published in American history, has been engaged to write hereafter a biennial account of historical progress in this country for the *Revue Historique*.

The Macmillan Company announce for publication during the autumn a *Documentary Source-Book of American History*, by Professor William MacDonald. The work includes all the most important documents contained in Professor MacDonald's larger work, but in some cases shortened.

Rev. E. I. Devitt contributes to the March issue of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society an article on the Jesuit mission of Axacan, undertaken presumably in Northern Virginia, about 1570. The article consists for the most part of a translation (from Astrain's *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la Asistencia de España*) of the account of the enterprise given by Father Rogel, one of the missionaries. Dr. J. J. Walsh writes in the same issue a brief article entitled "Foregleams of the Declaration of Independence in the Thirteenth Colony", and Rev. T. C. Middleton gives an account of Catholic period-

icals published in the United States from 1809 to 1892, supplementing a list published in the *Records* in 1893. Additional letters (1823-1829) from Dr. John England, bishop of Charleston, are printed in this issue.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1908, contain an elaborate inquiry into the origin of the expression "Uncle Sam", by Mr. Albert Matthews, and a calendar of the papers of Colonel John Bradstreet possessed by the society, relating chiefly to his service as quartermaster-general at Albany and to the expeditions against Frontenac in 1758 and against Detroit in 1764. The calendar is followed by the text of the chief argument of Bradstreet's counsel in the case of his New York land claims, contested by the Hardenbergh proprietors.

To the March number of the *Magazine of History* Mr. F. B. Sanborn contributes a paper on "New Hampshire Men at the Concord Fight"; and Professor I. F. Wood gives a semi-historical account of the "Anti-Rent War of Dutchess County, New York" (an episode of 1766). The original document of chief interest is a letter from Joseph Jones and Theodorick Bland to Thomas Jefferson, June, 1781. "The First Commission at Sea from Rhode Island" runs through the April and May numbers. The issues for May and June include continued papers by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Goodwin on William Blackstone and by Mr. D. T. V. Huntoon on Major-General Richard Gridley.

The Grafton Press have begun the publication of a new quarterly entitled: *The Grafton Magazine of History and Genealogy*. Among the contents of the first number are "The Society of the Cincinnati and its Future", by C. B. Alexander; "Ideal Newport of the Eighteenth Century", by William B. Weeden; "The Strange Story of Roger Williams", by Edmund J. Carpenter; "Andrew Ellicott, an Astronomer, Surveyor and Soldier of a Hundred Years ago", by Catharine Van Cortlandt Mathews.

Consanguineous Marriages in the American Population (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, volume XXXI., number 3, pp. 99), by G. B. L. Arner, Ph.D., in addition to its primary character, possesses also a measure of historical interest, though the discussion is not based as exclusively on American materials as the title would indicate.

Private Freight Cars and American Railways (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, volume XXXI., number 1, pp. 185), by L. D. H. Weld, Ph.D., is a sober, critical treatment of a subject over which there has been much agitation. The treatment is in large measure historical throughout, but chapters I. and II. are primarily historical in character, tracing the history of special equipment cars and of the part that such cars have played in the development of the country.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Canadian Archives has now in the press a volume containing copies of the manuscript material relating to the history of the Atlantic seaboard of Canada from 1497 to 1533. In almost every instance a fresh transcript has been made from the original manuscript. The Latin, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese documents have been translated into English but in the case of the documents in French this was not thought necessary. The volume will be preceded by a short introduction summing up the best-established results of recent inquiry in the same field.

Professor Clarence W. Alvord's excellent monograph on the *Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763*, originally published in the *Canadian Archives Report for 1906*, has been issued as a separate. The writer's purpose is "to trace to their sources the elements of the proclamation and, as far as possible, discover the motives and purposes of the men who are responsible for its form". He believes that most of his conclusions are new and "that the sum total of the points that have been made creates a new interpretation of the Proclamation of 1763".

It is understood that volume III. (The American Revolution, 1760-1789) of Professor Edward Channing's *History of the United States* is in active preparation.

The fourth and concluding volume of Professor H. A. Cushing's edition of *The Writings of Samuel Adams* has come from the press of the Putnams.

In the issue of the *Nation* of July 23 Mr. Worthington C. Ford gives an account of a little-known incident of the Revolutionary War, namely, the steps taken by the Continental Congress in the summer of 1779 toward making retaliations for destruction committed by the British troops, and prints two hitherto unpublished documents that define the attitude of Congress in the matter.

General Hull's Invasion of Canada in 1812 (reprinted from the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1907-1908, pp. 80), by Lieutenant-Colonel E. Cruikshank, not only gives a detailed account of the military operations of the opposing forces, but sets forth with considerable care the disaffections and other difficulties encountered both by the British and by the Americans before and during the campaign. There has been some lack of care in the proof-reading.

Mr. Clarence M. Burton has acquired for his Detroit collection the papers of the late Colonel John Askin of Walkerville, important for the history of the War of 1812.

It is announced that Messrs. George W. Jacobs and Company are to publish in their series of *American Crisis Biographies* a biography of John Quincy Adams by his grandson, Mr. Brooks Adams. Mr. Adams has been at work upon the biography for two or three years and has made large use of new material in the possession of the family.

The Chicago Historical Society is contemplating the early publication of President James K. Polk's Diary, 1845-1849, under the editorship of Charles W. Mann, professor of history in Lewis Institute. The original manuscript of the Diary, in twenty-four closely written volumes, is in the society's collections.

The Justice of the Mexican War, by Major Charles H. Owen, has been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland has lately issued a volume by Professor Perley O. Ray of Pennsylvania State College, entitled *The Genesis of the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*.

A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion (pp. 1800), by F. H. Dyer, has been published at Cedar Rapids by the Torch Press.

Jefferson Davis: a Sketch of the Life and Character of the President of the Confederate States, by Major William T. Walthall, first appeared in the *New Orleans Times-Democrat* of December 6, 1889, the issue which announced Mr. Davis's death. This sketch has now been reprinted and forms a pamphlet of fifty-three pages. Major Walthall was for a long time secretary to Mr. Davis, and it is understood that this sketch was submitted to Mr. Davis and approved by him.

L. C. Page and Company have just published a volume entitled *Famous Cavalry Leaders*, by Charles H. L. Johnson. Among the American generals of whom biographical sketches and reminiscences are given are Stuart, Wheeler, Custer and Sheridan.

William McKinley, by Thomas C. Dawson, has been added to the *American Statesmen Series* published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Macmillan Company will shortly publish *The Story of the New England Whalers*, by John R. Spears.

Factory Legislation in Maine (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, volume XXXIII., number 1), by E. S. Whitin, is a well prepared monograph of 145 pages of which 119 are devoted to a history of factory legislation in the state of Maine and the remaining 26 pages to a discussion of the administration of the law at the present time. A chapter is devoted to the early child labor laws, 1847-1855, another to the movement from local to state regulation, 1861-1886, three chapters to the attempts toward regulation of wages and the development of factory legislation from 1887 to 1903, and a chapter to the child labor campaign of 1905-1907.

The second (April) number of the *Massachusetts Magazine* contains the concluding portion of Dr. Frank M. Gardner's account of Colonel John Glover's Marblehead Regiment. The first of the announced series of articles on Massachusetts pioneers to other states treats of Michigan pioneers, and is by C. A. Flagg. The article is supplemented by the

first portion of a list of Michigan pioneers and by a list of Michigan county histories. The *Magazine* will shortly publish the diary, 1757-1776, of Ashley Bowen of Marblehead, who was at Quebec in the French and Indian War. The chief historical article in the number for July is one by Dr. F. A. Gardner on Colonel William Prescott's Regiment.

The Connecticut Historical Society has now in press and will issue early in 1909 the twelfth volume of its series of *Collections*, to be entitled "Lists and Returns of Connecticut Men in the Revolution, 1775-1783". Besides some additional records of service, the volume will show from what town almost every soldier enlisted, thus aiding materially in identifying the individual.

The administrative minutes of the magistrates of New Amsterdam from February 11, 1661, to May 20, 1664, were not included when the city of New York published, in seven volumes, *The Records of New Amsterdam*. This valuable portion of the records has lately been found in Maine by Dr. Henry S. Burrage, state historian, among the personal effects of the late Lieutenant B. E. Fernow, and returned by Dr. Burrage to the librarian of the city of New York.

Fifty Years in Wall Street, by Henry Clews, is a revised and enlarged version of the author's *Twenty-Eight Years in Wall Street*, which was published twenty years ago. The work contains portraits and sketches of many of the great speculators, and concludes with a description of the panic of 1907.

The New York of Yesterday: a Descriptive Narrative of Old Bloomingdale, by H. S. Mott, is published by Messrs. Putnam. The work contains numerous portraits, maps and other illustrations.

Centennial History of Ballston Spa, including the Towns of Ballston and Milton, by E. F. Grose, is published at Ballston Spa, New York, by the author.

One of the important features of the celebration of the 225th anniversary of the founding of the city of Philadelphia, to be held during the week October 4-10 inclusive, will be an "historic industries loan exhibit". "The purpose of this exhibit is to illustrate the economic history and to display specimens of the industries and trades of Philadelphia and its tributary region during colonial and early national periods." The directors of the exhibit are Professor Marion Dexter Learned and Mr. Albert Cook Myers.

By gift of Mrs. Charles Evart Cadwalader the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired the military and family papers of General John Cadwalader, embracing his famous correspondence with Joseph Reed and many other manuscripts relative to the American Revolution.

The October (1907) and the January (1908) issues of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contain a number of

articles of interest and value. Among those in the October number may be mentioned: "The Bishop of London and Penn's Policy", by Charles P. Keith; "The High Water Mark of the British Invasion", by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker; and "Arctic Expeditions sent from the American Colonies", by E. C. Balch. Among the letters from the "Penn Papers" which appear in this issue that of chief interest is from James Tilghman to Henry Wilmot, October 2, 1774, discussing Congress and the colonial situation. Under the title "Before and After the Battle of Brandywine" are printed some extracts from the journal of Sergeant Thomas Sullivan of H. M. Forty-ninth Regiment of foot. Some further extracts, giving an account of the battle of Princeton, are printed in the January number. The leading article in the January number is "Benjamin West's Family: the American President of the Royal Academy of Arts Not a Quaker", by Charles H. Hart. Of some interest also is the diary of Clement Humphreys, bearer of the despatches to Gerry in France after the X. Y. Z. affair.

German American Annals for May and June continues Professor Learned's biography of Pastorius with an account of his writings, and contains also an interesting article on Early Music in Philadelphia, with special reference to German music, by Mr. R. R. Drummond. The life of Pastorius is concluded in the July-August number.

The *Virginia Magazine of History* for July is made up in the main of the several series of documentary publications hitherto noticed in these pages. Among the extracts from the Randolph manuscripts may be mentioned a letter from the Virginia Company to the governor and council of Virginia, August 6, 1623, and a list of titles and land-owners in Virginia, 1625. The publication of the Virginia Council Journals has now been brought to May, 1743. The "Virginia Legislative Papers" in this issue are of May and June, 1776; most of them relate to the Revolutionary struggle. In the group of "Miscellaneous Colonial Documents" (1705-1711) there is a request (1707) from Maryland to Virginia for the rendition of a criminal, one of the few recorded examples of colonial requisitions of this sort.

The July *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library*, a finding list of books on American history, may be useful to historical scholars for its titles on the Civil War and on the general and local history of Virginia.

King and Queen County, Virginia, by Rev. Alfred Bagby, D. D., treats of many phases of the county's history and of the life of its people (Washington, Neale, pp. 402).

The *South Atlantic Quarterly* for July contains three articles of interest to historical students: "An Englishman's Impressions of Alabama in 1846", by Emma Langdon Roche, recounts the experiences and observations of Sir Charles Lyell, mainly in Alabama, during his second visit to the United States; Professor J. H. Reynolds discusses the Okla-

homa Constitution; and Professor W. K. Boyd writes of "Some Intellectual Aspects of the Thirteenth Century".

The Beginning of Texas, 1684-1718 (pp. 94), by Dr. Robert C. Clark, appears as *Bulletin No. 98 of the University of Texas*, and covers with minute care the history of Fort St. Louis, the early explorations and missions and the founding of San Antonio.

The *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association prints in its April issue a careful study, by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, of the "Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions". The paper is an outcome of the investigations of the history of the Texas tribes which Professor Bolton has been making for the Bureau of American Ethnology. In the same issue of the *Quarterly* is a scholarly paper by Mr. Charles W. Ramsdell on "Presidential Reconstruction in Texas". A considerable portion of the paper is devoted to the Constitutional Convention of 1866.

The Story of the Great Lakes, by Edward Channing and Marion F. Lansing, is announced by the Macmillan Company.

Ohio before 1850: a Study of the Early Influence of Pennsylvania and Southern Populations in Ohio (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, volume XXXI., number 2, pp. 155), by R. E. Chaddock, Ph.D., is a thoughtful examination of the social forces at work in the formative period of one of the first Western states. The author traces the sources of Ohio's population before 1850 (largely from Pennsylvania and the South, and probably the largest single element Scotch-Irish), narrates the triumph of democracy and individualism over Federalist ideas, and shows how anti-slavery ideas finally prevailed over a sentiment largely pro-slavery, or at the least indifferent toward the institution of slavery. There is a chapter on the early religious influences in southern Ohio and one on the early social life and education in the state.

An article entitled "Major Caleb Stark in Ohio", by George H. Twiss, which appears in the April issue of the *Ohio Archaeological Quarterly*, includes a petition of Major Stark to the general assembly of Ohio relative to lands granted to General John Stark, and is followed by a biographical sketch of Robert Lucas, governor of Ohio from 1832 to 1836, reprinted from an Ohio newspaper of 1834. The *Quarterly* also reprints in this issue the speech of William Henry Harrison, June 11, 1840, at Fort Meigs, Ohio. The most interesting matter in the issue for July is an article on John Sherman, by Mr. George U. Harn, an intimate local friend. There is also a detailed historical article by the editor, Mr. E. O. Randall, on Tallmadge township, apropos of its centennial celebration. In the October number the society will publish the journal kept by George Washington during his journey down the Ohio in 1770. In the same publication will also appear the begin-

ning of a translation of the history of David Zeisberger relating to the Ohio Indians.

The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio has issued a page-for-page reprint of Daniel Drake's *Notices concerning Cincinnati*, which was originally issued in two parts in 1810 and has become exceedingly rare. Part I. of the *Notices* constitutes the January-March issue of the society's *Quarterly Publication*, and part II. and appendix the issue for April-June.

Dr. Harlow Lindley, director of the Department of Archives and History of Indiana, contributes to the June number of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* some account of the state archives, together with a statement of what his department has done and what it plans to do. There is also a suggestive editorial, mainly upon the same theme.

Indiana Baptist History, 1798-1908 (pp. 381), by W. T. Stott, is published by the author at Knightstown, Indiana.

The Chicago Historical Society will publish this autumn as volume V. of its *Collections*, a volume on "The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830", by Professor Arthur C. Boggess, Ph.D., of Pacific University.

Old Kentucky, "a history of the Blue Grass state from its earliest settlement to the present day", by J. F. Cook, is published by Messrs. Neale.

It is announced that a volume on *Wisconsin*, by Dr. R. G. Thwaites, and one on *Minnesota*, by Professor W. W. Folwell, are to be added to the *American Commonwealth Series* published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, has published *The Sioux Indians—a History* (pp. 523), by Doane Robinson. The author, who is superintendent of the South Dakota Historical Society, has consulted the Canadian archives as well as those of the War Department and the Indian Office of the United States. The work is illustrated with portraits and maps.

In the *Annals of Iowa* for July, Professor F. I. Herriott continues his papers on "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln". Considerable space is devoted to an examination of the impressions, as revealed in the newspapers of the time, made in Iowa by the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Several letters bearing upon the early history of Iowa appear in this issue of the *Annals*.

Two extensive articles make up the body of the July issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. Mr. Dan E. Clark resumes his "History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa", the present article covering the period 1861-1878, and Mr. F. H. Garver traces with some detail the "History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa". Mr. Garver's paper is accompanied by sixteen well-executed maps.

The articles of chief note in the July issue of the *Missouri Historical Review*, published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, is an account of the archives at Jefferson City, by Jonas Viles. Mr. Joel Spencer contributes a biographical sketch of Rev. Jesse Walker, "the Apostle of the Wilderness", who did important mission work in Missouri in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Volume II. of the *Publications* of the Arkansas Historical Association is now in the press and will appear in December. It will contain the official orders issued, July, 1863–November, 1864, by Governor Flannagin in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the militia of Arkansas. It also will contain a chapter on Confederate manufactures in southern Arkansas, one on the Carpet-Bag Constitutional Convention of 1868 by a member of the convention, and others on reconstruction in Arkansas County, the history of taxation in Arkansas, etc.

The leading article in the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for June is a sketch by T. C. Elliott of Robert Newell, a pioneer of Oregon of some prominence. To the same issue W. C. Winslow contributes a brief account of the contests over the capital of Oregon.

A Mission Record of the California Indians (pp. 27), edited by A. L. Kroeber, is issued as one of the University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

McLoughlin Brothers have published *Memoirs of Cornelius Cole*, senator of the United States from California from 1869 to 1873. His reminiscences are said to "throw much new light on matter connected with the government from 1850 to 1872, and supplement the local histories of the West covering this period".

Professor H. E. Egerton has published the second or historical part of volume V. (Canada) in the *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*:

Henry Holt and Company have published a volume of lectures on *Canadian Types of the Old Régime*, by Professor Charles W. Colby of McGill University. Such characters as Champlain, Brébeuf, Hébert, D'Iberville, Talon, Laval and Frontenac are the central figures of the work.

Search for the Western Sea, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, of Ottawa, is the story of the exploration of northwestern Canada, in the preparation of which much use has been made of manuscripts in the Canadian archives.

York Factory to the Blackfeet Country; the Journal of Anthony Hendry, 1754–1755 (pp. 58) has been reprinted from the transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1907–1908 (Ottawa, 1908). Hendry's journey, from Hudson Bay to the region of the present Alberta, was undertaken in the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company and occupied almost exactly a year. The journal, consisting mainly of brief memo-

randa descriptive of the country traversed and of incidents, is ably edited by Lawrence J. Burpee. There are several illustrations and two maps.

The North-West Passage: Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship "Gjoa" in the years 1903-1907, by Roald Amundsen, with a supplement by Lieutenant Godfrey Hansen, vice-commander of the expedition, recently published in the United States by Messrs. Dutton, is appearing also in Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, Russian, German and Italian.

In an article in the fourth volume of the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* entitled "Découverte de Trois Précieux Ouvrages du Métis Péruvien Blas Valera", Señor Manuel Gonzáles de la Rosa maintains that the history of Peru known to have been written before 1590 by the half-Indian Jesuit Blas Valera upon the basis of Quichua and Aymara authorities is embedded in Garcilasso, giving to the latter's book a much higher authority than it has been supposed to have; that another historical book of Valera may similarly be discovered in the *Memorias* of Fernando Montesinos; and that a portion of another of his works may be seen in print in the form of an anonymous relation printed in 1879 by Jiménez de la Espada. The evidences for these conclusions, important to the early history of Peru if demonstrated, are understood to have been recently printed by Señor González in the *Revista Histórica* of Lima.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. L. Beer, *The Early English Colonial Movement* (Political Science Quarterly, March, June); Anna Youngman, *The Fortune of John Jacob Astor* (Journal of Political Economy, April, July); Edith Abbott, *A Study of the Early History of Child Labor in America* (American Journal of Sociology, July); St. G. L. Sioussat, *Tennessee and the Removal of the Cherokees* (Sewanee Review, July); W. M. Sloane, *George Bancroft* (Atlantic Monthly, August); W. H. Crook, *Andrew Johnson in the White House* (Century Magazine, September).

The

American Historical Review

HISTORY AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY¹

“GOD has conceded two sights to a man—
One of man's whole work, time's completed plan,
The other of the minute's work, man's first
Step to the plan's completeness.”

These words are from the great philosophical poet of the nineteenth century, from Browning's *Sordello*. They are the words of a poet, who sees before him in a vision the whole of human history, as if it were the sure unfolding of a foreordained plan, bringing steadily on “one far-off, divine event, to which the whole creation moves”. In other ages besides our time, in other lands besides the fatherland of the two whose words I have used, many poets have seen this vision. But not the poet alone has seen it. Philosopher and theologian have shared it with him. Ever since the broadening union of the ancient world brought to men an understanding of the common interests and common destinies of men of diverse races, this has been so. From the time when Vergil put into the mouth of the father of gods and men his prediction of an unending empire for his hero's progeny, from the time when men spoke commonly of the eternal city, and when Christian thought made the conception its own in the idea of the eternal city of God and of righteousness, absorbing into itself in process of time all manner of men that dwell

¹Annual address of the president of the American Historical Association, delivered at Richmond, December 29, 1908.

The best introduction to the discussion and to the literature of this subject for the historian is to be found in Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode*, third and fourth editions, 1903; fifth and sixth, 1908. Bernheim's bibliographical references and comment are very helpful. Professor Seligman's *Economic Interpretation of History* will also be found useful in introductory study, both on the bibliographical side, and as giving a very clear idea of the ideas and aims of one portion of the new movement in the field of history. It will be understood that in this paper I have in mind American conditions in the field of historical study.

on the face of the earth, from those days until now poets, philosophers and theologians have never ceased to behold and to proclaim a destined and knowable outcome for the efforts of mankind—a philosophy of history.

And why should they not? It is in truth a most alluring vision for any man. The mystery of the life of the race, of the final outcome of men's works and dominions, presses constantly upon us. Do all our ends and efforts tend only to temporary results, to certain reaction, and at last to the dead silence of the moon, or to a millennial age of universal good to whose more speedy coming all the generations contribute? Any answer to this question is sure of a hearing. The temptation to try to solve the problem, we all of us know at times.

But this is to be remembered, professed historians have given very little attention to this side of their subject. The men who have made it their special business to compile and preserve the record of the past action of the race, who would claim for themselves a peculiar right to the name of historians, have not concerned themselves with final results. If we add to the idea of the philosophy of history, as we ought, the related idea of the science of history, to make it include the process as well as the result, to include the question of the operation of law in history, the fact is the same. Turn over the pages of Flint's *History of the Philosophy of History*, and you will find that the names of historians are conspicuous by their absence. Without attempting any minute analysis, or close classification, we may say that historians who wrote before the nineteenth century fall into one or the other of two groups: first, those whose object was primarily to make the record of past events, to tell the story, to let posterity know what happened, without ulterior design; and second, those who were first of all anxious to produce literature, who desired indeed to tell the truth about the actions they described and to make them known to the future, but whose controlling motive was art rather than knowledge, the hope of earning name and fame for themselves among the great writers of the day. In neither of these classes do we find men who have greatly concerned themselves either with the science or the philosophy of history. They have merely endeavored to tell artlessly, or with all possible art, what happened.

About eighty years ago a new and profound influence began to make itself felt upon those who were engaged in studying and recording what had happened in the past. It was an influence towards more scientific methods of studying the facts of history. I am sure I do not need to describe to this audience the ideals of

the young Ranke, in the twenties of the last century, nor their results for historical studies. They have indeed been described better than I could do it, in an earlier meeting of this Association, by one whose voice we shall not hear again, and whose own fine examples of scientific work remain as models and incentives to us all.² I do not mean to say that this great movement of the nineteenth century in the field of our interest was due to Ranke alone. It was not. But it was due to him more than to any other one man and we may most easily associate it with his name. I have called this movement scientific, but it should be clearly perceived that I am using this word now with a very different range of meaning from that in which I used it a moment ago when I said "the science of history". It is one thing to raise the question, Is human action dominated by law, and can we by discovering those laws construct a science of history, in the sense in which there exists a science of chemistry? It is quite a different thing to ask, Can methods of investigation which are strictly scientific be applied to the study of the past action of the race, in such a way as to give our knowledge of what happened greater certainty? The school of Ranke has never endeavored to go beyond this last question, but their answer to it has been a clear and, I believe, an indisputable affirmative. The actual result has been a science of investigation, and a method of training the future historian, which, it is not too much to say, have taken complete possession of the world of historical scholarship. At any rate it is true that all technically trained historians for more than fifty years have been trained according to these ideas and they have all found it exceedingly difficult to free themselves from the fundamental principle of their school that the first duty of the historian is to ascertain as nearly as possible and to record exactly what happened. It is not likely that historians of such training will be found to have concerned themselves with the problems of the science or of the philosophy of history to any greater extent than did their predecessors of earlier time. It remains true then that down to the present time professed historians have not dealt with these questions. They have left them to poets, philosophers and theologians.

But perfection of the methods of investigation is not the only result of the nineteenth century which affects our field of work. During the last four decades of that century, and especially during its last quarter, there arose a variety of new interests, new groups of scholars formed themselves, new points of view were occupied,

² Edward G. Bourne, *Leopold von Ranke, Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1896), I. 67-81.

new methods were loudly proclaimed, new sciences were born and named, all concerned with the same facts of the past which it is our business to study. So closely are these new interests related to us, and to one another, in the common body of material which we must all use, that we are tempted to call them offshoots of history, to say that our broad field has begun to be divided, surveyed out into independent domains, as the still broader field once called philosophy has been dividing itself through many centuries; but the statement, though tempting, would be, at least of some of these branches, neither historically nor logically correct. Certainly their attitude towards traditional history has not been that of dutiful children towards a parent. So uniformly and severely critical have they been of the methods and purposes of the political historian, if we may use that term as a means of differentiation for the historian by name and profession, that we may almost regard their rise as an attack upon our position, systematic and concerted, and from various points at once.⁸ This is hardly the literal truth and yet it behooves us to understand clearly that after three-quarters of a century of practically undisputed possession of our great field of study, during which the achievements of the political historian have won the admiration and applause of the world, our right to the field is now called in question, our methods, our results and our ideals are assailed, and we are being thrown upon the defensive at many points.

The whole of this hostile movement, to continue for convenience to call it so, I do not here propose to review, but there are five lines of attack so interesting in themselves, and possessing in common so many of the features to which I wish to call especial attention, that I will ask your indulgence while I consider them in brief detail. I shall take them up in the inverse order of their own hostility to us and of the vigor of their attack.

The first to be considered then is political science. The political scientists may, with some show of justice, dispute my right to place their subject in this list. If we consider the unconnected work of individual students, it is by far the oldest of the five; and towards the work of the historian its attitude is less that of hostility than of patronizing condescension. But as a consciously organized body of knowledge and of workers this division is hardly older than the dates I have specified, and in many of its members the tendency is strong to assume that the chief end to be served by the historian is to furnish material for their science, or to put it in different phrase, that all political history is merely the effort of mankind to give objective form to the principles which political science seeks to state;

⁸ Bernheim, *Lehrbuch* (1903), pp. 76-126; (1908), pp. 85-145.

that history finds its explanation in these principles, that its laws will be formulated by their statement, and that the philosophy of history is the philosophy of the state.

The second movement upon our position, somewhat more aggressive in spirit, is that of the geographers. With something of the ardor of new discovery, seeming to forget that many of the suggestions which they make are also old, though their organization into a systematic whole may be comparatively new, they appear to me to be sometimes tempted by their enthusiasm to make more sweeping statements than they intend, and to advance claims of whose exact bearing they are hardly conscious. What they offer us, in the form of words they use, is a complete explanation of history. Civilization or the lack of civilization is determined by the physical surroundings and the climatic influences in which the different tribes of men have found themselves. I cannot forbear quoting a passage from a recent book, because it illustrates so well both the character of the claims advanced and the unconscious carelessness of statement in which they are made. I must add that the book is not to be judged by this quotation. The main portion of it is an unusually valuable piece of work, almost extraordinary in some respects, which has received, I do not doubt, the praise which it deserves. The scientific part of the book is as easily separated from the theoretical as the business part of the Declaration of Independence from the speculative philosophy with which it opens. Says the author: "If Percival Lowell is right, it is the dry climate of Mars which has caused the inhabitants of that planet to adopt an advanced form of social organization, where war is unknown, and each man must be keenly conscious of the interdependence of himself and the universal state." You will notice that the only point upon which any doubt is expressed is the dry climate of Mars. The civilization of that planet is known to possess certain characteristics and these may be fully accounted for by a given climate, if it exists. Now it needs no proof that the author did not intend to say exactly what he has said, but the statement is fairly typical both in the nature of the claim advanced and in the expression which is given to it. For our purpose at present, I repeat, the geographers offer us an explanation of history purporting to be adequate to account for the achievements of the race.

The third attack upon us is more formidable than either of these two. It comes from an intellectual movement which is wide in its scope, which has a truly comprehensive idea of history, and which deals with influences among the most profound which have shaped human affairs. I refer to the attempted economic explana-

tion of history, but I beg you at the outset to make a distinction. The historian of the old school, the traditional historian, has no more valuable ally than the economic historian. He whose work it is to show us how in specific cases economic forces have determined events, who helps us to understand how the facts with which we deal came to be what they are, is doing with new tools and fresh vision the same work with ourselves. The strictest disciple of the school of Ranke has never supposed that the knowledge of what happened could be made complete without the knowledge of how it happened. We do not count the economic historian proper among those who would drive us from the field. Let me ask you to notice clearly, however, that there is a great difference between economic history and that which calls itself the economic interpretation of history. So far-reaching have been the discoveries of the economic historian, so profound the influences whose operation he has uncovered, so satisfactory the explanations which he offers, that it is not strange if many have found here the final explanation of history, nor that all types of thought have been attracted to this philosophy, from the cold pessimism of Ferrero to the exuberant optimism of Professor Simon Patten. The economic interpretation of history has come to be a standard formula, and the explanation offered is in form complete. By de Graf, by Labriola, we are told that even the ideal world is the economic world; that all our notions, beliefs, sciences, manners, morals, law and philosophy find there their first explanation. Labriola calls the Reformation an economic rebellion of the German nation; E. V. Robinson in an engaging essay illustrates in the history of war the statement that the fundamental fact in history is the law of diminishing returns; Durkheim asserts that history is the progress of the principle of division of labor; while Marx declares that the history of every society up to our day has been only the history of the conflict of classes. Notice, if you please, that what we have in all these cases is once more an attempt to explain history, to get at the fundamental forces which are at work in it, to formulate the philosophy, or the science of history.

The fourth line of advance upon the historian's position is that of sociology. Let me hasten to relieve your minds of the apprehension that I am going to try to tell you what is the field of the sociologist. He is indeed lord of an uncharted domain, and I have no intention of attempting to supply him with a chart. But for our purpose an adequate statement of the ultimate objects sought has been made by a sociologist of high repute, well known to the members of this Association. According to Professor Giddings "sociology is an attempt to account for the origin, growth, structure and

activities of society by the operation of physical, vital, and psychical causes, working together in the process of evolution."⁴ Professor Giddings's own formulation of the fundamental law of kind; Kidd's *Social Evolution* with its brilliant interpretation of the function of religion in history; and Forrest's *Development of Western Civilization* with its attempt to apply still more abstract metaphysics to history, to use only examples with which we are all no doubt familiar, show that Professor Giddings's statement of the purpose of sociology is amply confirmed. It is clear once more that what this aggressive and vigorous school of thought is seeking is an ultimate explanation of human history.

Fifth, and last, youngest of all in its advance into the field of history, is the group of the folk-psychologists, or, to call them by the better name which has more recently come into use, the social psychologists. Starting with the psychology of the individual man, modified in manifestation, law and power, as we know it to be when individuals are combined into the mass, so that there are created by a geometrically increasing force resulting from the process of union, new traits, new purposes and new energy, the social psychologists would explain great race characteristics, Roman conquest, Italian art, English literature, great historic movements, advance and reaction, Reformation and Counter-Reformation, by psychic forces whose laws of action they would formulate. They even find in the principles of their science the chief differentia of historic periods and call one age that of "conventionalism" and another that of "subjectivism". I hardly need to remind you that here again the main endeavor of this new movement is to construct a science, or a philosophy of history.

May I pause here to ask you to notice two things? In the first place, in naming these five lines of new approach to history, I have made no attempt to characterize any of them fully. I have had in view only a special object which must be already apparent, and I have had also the general purpose of calling attention to this almost concerted movement in our field of study of which I think American students of history have taken too little notice, less notice at least than has been given to it by our colleagues in France and Germany. In the second place, in distinguishing these five from one another, I have not intended to imply that each stands wholly by itself. They do in fact overlap and cover much common territory, and even trespass upon the private preserves one of another. And yet each has some original and supplementary contribution to make to the common effort, which none of the others can furnish.

⁴ *The Principles of Sociology* (1896), p. 8.

May I delay still further to point out to you where you may find this fact, of the independence and at the same time the interdependence of these groups, strikingly illustrated, as well as the other fact that sociology, perhaps from its all-containing and somewhat indefinite nature, is in a way already the mediating, unifying group, and may go far in a final synthesis to bring the others into unity within itself. I find this illustration in the two great histories which at least this newly allied advance into the historical domain has already produced. Great they certainly are, however much we may disagree with their methods or their results, and they are especially interesting as the first promise of the harvest which the new culture may bring forth. The one is Lamprecht's *Deutsche Geschichte*; the other is Ferrero's *Grandezza e Decadenza di Roma*. So unlike are these two works in their surface characteristics that it may occasion some surprise to find them placed together, and yet the sure sense of general criticism has already made that classification. Lamprecht is a trained historian, inclining strongly in his early studies to economic history, tending to find in the stages of economic advance his first organization of the facts of history, but seeming now to have found the principles of social psychology more profoundly controlling. He still calls himself a historian, but he has been, nevertheless, often called by his critics a sociologist. Ferrero began as a sociologist and his first writings were contributions to the literature of that subject. Some of his critics say that he selected history as a field of study in order to illustrate in it the laws of sociology, but in his history of Rome the controlling forces which he finds in operation are economic, and he deals little in the psychology of the mass, though much in that of the individual. Ferrero's work is much more like that of the traditional historian than Lamprecht's. In it, specific statements of fact are more numerous, and wide generalities form a less proportion of the whole, but one does not need to read far in either book to perceive the controlling influence of the imagination in the new history in comparison with the stricter scientific faculties, and the constant occurrence of sweeping generalizations, charming to the reader and attractive to the mind, until they are submitted to cold analysis. My purpose here, however, is not to criticize, it is rather to call your attention to these two works, most stimulating to thought, which it will be found useful to read together and to compare with one another if one desires to understand the methods and character of much history that will be written in the near future.

You will have seen by this time, I am sure, that in my opinion this allied attack upon the field of history by the five divisions whose

advance I have briefly sketched is not an affair of the moment, but formidable in character and likely to last at least one swing of the pendulum of time. Are we not indeed forced to ask if this phrase does not imply something of its real character? Is it a swinging back of the pendulum? Is this disturbance in our province, this recrudescence of philosophy, symptomatic of what is occurring in the whole realm of thought? Are we passing from an age of investigation to an age of speculation? There are I think on all sides, in many ways, signs that this may very possibly be the case. My immediate predecessor in this office paid his respects to the vagaries of Christian Science. I do not think he would disagree with me in seeing in the wide vogue of that cult a significant sign of far-reaching popular reaction away from science towards speculation. Christian Science as properly calls itself Christian as any of its pietistic forerunners in the history of religion, but it ludicrously miscalls itself science. It is rather, as a little intelligent study of its literature makes clear, a denial of validity to the fundamental principles upon which all science rests. Even in the field of physical science itself, in some of its most rapidly advancing branches, in the writings of some who are considered among its foremost representatives, there may be seen some faint signs of a similar revival of philosophy in speculations on the immortality of the soul, on the earth as the only abode of life, on the habitability of Mars, and in some of those on the ultimate bearings of the discovery of radium.

Whether this be true or not, and the prediction of a general reaction is too venturesome to be made here, it seems certain to me at least that in our own field a reaction is well under way and not to be avoided. For more than fifty years the historian has had possession of the field and has deemed it his sufficient mission to determine what the fact was, including the immediate conditions which gave it shape. Now he finds himself confronted with numerous groups of aggressive and confident workers in the same field who ask not what was the fact—many of them seem to be comparatively little interested in that—but their constant question is what is the ultimate explanation of history, or, more modestly, what are the forces which determine human events and according to what laws do they act. This is nothing else than a new flaming up of interest in the philosophy, or the science of history. No matter what disguise may be worn in a given case, no matter what the name may be by which a given group elects to call itself, no matter how small, in the immensity of influences which make the whole, may be the force in which it would find the final explanation of history, the emphatic assertion which they all make is that history is the orderly progression of

mankind to a definite end, and that we may know and state the laws which control the actions of men in organized society. This is the one common characteristic of all the groups I have described; and it is of each of them the one most prominent characteristic. We must also recognize the special significance of the fact that this demand for a philosophy of history is not now made by poets, philosophers, or theologians. The men who make it invoke the name of science. Some of them indeed acknowledge a close alliance with the philosophers and conjure much with metaphysics, but others of the same name will warmly repudiate such an alliance and speak of metaphysics in disrespectful language. All alike, however, lay claim in special degree to the methods, purposes and results of science as their own. All of them seem to look with more or less well-concealed contempt on the historian, and to regard their own work as of a higher type, more truly scientific, and more nearly final in character than ours.

What is the historian to do about it? It is useless to pooh-pooh this movement, or to underestimate it, to call it a passing wave of thought which will soon sink to its real level and lose the relative importance which it now assumes. It must be confessed that this is the attitude which trained historians, at least those of us who have lived most of our active lives in the sharper air of science, are still inclined to take. But it is an impossible attitude. The new interpretation of history brings us too much that is convincing, despite all the mere speculation that goes with it; its contribution to a better understanding of our problems is already too valuable; we are ourselves too clearly conscious in these later days of the tangled network of influences we are striving to unravel; of the hidden forces upon the borders of whose action we arrive in our own explorations, to justify us in ignoring or in denying the worth of those results which are reached by other ways than ours. We may perhaps find warrant for an exercise of discrimination, which does not always seem possible to them, but further than that it is not likely that we can go.

Nor is it of any use to deny the possibility of a science, or a philosophy of history. The existence of such a possibility is one of the most profound questions which has ever occupied human thought. Since man first began to ask about the destiny of the race, as I have already said, he has been trying to find the answer, and some of the most comprehensive philosophic systems that have been constructed in the history of thought, like that of Hegel for instance, are really nothing more than attempts to formulate, and show the operation of, the one controlling principle that has shaped all human achievement, or indeed all action, material as well as human, since the spirit of

God first moved upon the face of the waters. The revived interest in this problem during the past twenty-five years has already produced a great literature. If we do not misread the signs of the present they point plainly to a still more active discussion of this question during the next twenty-five years, and to a still larger literature about it. Whatever may be true of those of us who may now look forward to the not distant enjoyment of a well-earned pension, it certainly behooves the young historian to obtain a clear understanding of exactly what this question means, and what its relation is to the work which he proposes to do.

The question what the science, or philosophy of history is, or whether such things are possible to our knowledge, I do not propose to discuss here. It would be absurd within the limits of time, it would be equally absurd within the limits of the occasion of this address to undertake such a discussion. And did time and the stage both permit, such a discussion could only be undertaken by one who had devoted long study to the question, as I certainly have not. There are, however, certain distinctions which it seems necessary to make at the outset of all thinking on the subject, which may perhaps well be stated by an outsider and which may be found useful by the historian who is often puzzled, I think, by the things which are said by the newcomers about his field of work.

In the first place, the phrase "the science of history" is used in contemporary discussion in certain quite distinct meanings which it should be the first duty of the disputant who speaks in the name of science to discriminate and keep clearly apart in his argument. They are, however, as a matter of fact oftentimes so inextricably mixed that not merely is the reader confused, but it is evident that the writer's own thought has arrived at no clear understanding of the terms he is using. One of these meanings we have in the question, Is history a science or an art? I should feel that I ought to apologize for raising this question here, had not so much been written upon it. To any clear thinking, in my opinion, the question is absurd, and one with which no working historian need concern himself. It attempts to make a distinction which does not exist. It goes on the supposition that two things are mutually exclusive between which there exists no incompatibility, no antithesis, no contradiction. It carries on its face the indication that he who asks it is thinking chiefly of history as a branch of literature and that he has no clear conception of what he means by history as a science, for certainly whether he means this phrase to refer to the method of collecting historical material, or to the character of the problems which history raises, history as an art is not thereby affected. Any

historian, of any school of thought, may make his history art if he is able to do so. History must remain one of the highest branches of literature. In some future time the drama of human action on the stage of the world's history will be unfolded in a great work of art, immortal in itself like all great works of art, but this will only be when the facts of history which are necessary to its truth, and therefore to its permanence as art, are finally established. Till that time comes the work of the man who writes history as literature will be more ephemeral than that of the man who records his scientific work upon the facts of the past, even though the latter's monograph be forgotten and his name perish. May I add that the approach of that day is not hastened by the criticisms of estimable gentlemen who desire to find, in pleasant reading, relaxation and entertainment at the close of an arduous day and to cherish at the same time the fond imagination that they are cultivating their minds in the acquirement of historical knowledge? It would seem at times as if this were the source from which comes at present the chief demand for history as an art, and as if this were the audience chiefly sought by the artistic historian. I would not, however, unduly disparage the writing of history as literature. I do desire to emphasize strongly the difference between the literary historian and the one whose ambition it is not to produce fine art but to add something to the sum of human knowledge.

A second use of the phrase "the science of history" is with reference to the method of historical investigation and to the validity of its results. In ascertaining and classifying the objective facts with which history deals can methods which are really scientific be employed—and this includes the somewhat different and subordinate question, can the same methods be employed as in the ascertaining and classifying of facts in the natural and physical sciences? Upon our answer to this question depends our answer to another; *viz.*, have the conclusions established by these methods a degree of validity really scientific? These questions are of course most fundamental for every man who concerns himself with the facts of history, no matter from what point of view he regards them. The answer which is to be given to them is of vital importance alike to the political historian and to the sociologist, but it should be clearly perceived that they concern methods of work only and the trustworthiness of data. They are wholly different questions from that which is raised by the five groups of students whom I have especially named in their demand for a science of history, and the unqualified affirmative with which, as I have already said, I believe we must answer the former questions, has no bearing on our mental

attitude towards the latter demand. Nor has it indeed upon the somewhat different and subordinate question whether the scientific method of historical investigation is the same as that employed in the natural and physical sciences. Upon this question I have nothing to say in this place.

A third meaning of the phrase "the science of history" is that in which the sociologist or the social psychologist uses it when he is speaking with care. In this sense it raises the question, Are the objective facts with which the historian deals, the past actions of the race, determined in their occurrence by forces acting according to fixed laws, and similar in character and method of operation to the forces which are at work in the sphere of the natural and physical sciences? This is the one question which the new movement in history, from the days of Comte and Buckle, has persistently pushed to the front. It is towards the solution of this question that, in my opinion, its most important contributions have been made, more important than the light, nevertheless great, which it has thrown on particular historical problems, and also notwithstanding the baseless speculation which has attended, and does attend, its work. This is, in my opinion again, the most proper meaning of the phrase "the science of history", and the possibility of such a science I believe to be the great question of the future in the new study and writing of history. May I venture to say that I am convinced that in this sense history is a science, that the events with which it is concerned have been determined by forces which act according to fixed law, and that most of the objections which have been urged against this view are due to misapprehensions, or incomplete reflection?

If a fourth point to which I would call attention is not strictly speaking a distinct meaning of the phrase "the science of history", it is an idea which has played a large part in the discussion of the subject. This is the assertion that even if laws control the destinies of men, those laws are unknowable, that no amount of investigation and study will ever enable us to formulate them, or to come to a knowledge of the great system, the universe of conscious action, in which they work together in one harmonious whole. While I believe it is possible to show that an argument of this kind is also founded on misapprehension, my purpose here is merely to point out that however clearly one may seem to prove that the laws of history are beyond our grasp, he has taken no step towards proving that they do not exist; this argument should be confined to showing that a science of history is beyond our comprehension and construction, and not be used to prove that there is in reality no such thing.

It is perhaps necessary to add that the objective existence of a science of history, if it were clearly established, would in its turn not prove that we are capable of its discovery and formulation.

These are, I am certain, clearly distinct shades of meaning which are suggested by the phrase "the science of history", and I believe it is of the greatest importance to keep them distinct in our thinking and writing, as certainly has not always been done. But if there are distinctions to be made in the term "science of history", what shall be said of the term "philosophy of history"? Here, however, I am not going to assert that a distinction really exists between the terms "science" and "philosophy", which have been used as synonymous by almost everyone who has written upon these problems. The most that I can say is that if such a distinction could be made on valid grounds it would be exceedingly useful. The key to the suggestion which I am going to venture upon is found in a passage which I quote from Flint's *History of the Philosophy of History*.⁵ He says: "As a rule, the historians who have had no explicit philosophy of history have had but a very meagre implicit one, and the aversion which they have shown to historical generalization has had its source mainly in their own want of generalizing power." To this I should like to add a quotation from the presidential address delivered to this Association by its first president, Andrew D. White. He said in 1884: "Buckle has shown that without a true historical synthesis special investigations and discoveries often lead us far from any valuable fruits, and that such special investigations may be worse than no investigations at all."⁶ Such authoritative assertions of the need of a guiding philosophy of history for the best historical work may seem rather discouraging to some of us, who have not been greatly conscious of any such need, but you will notice that both passages emphasize the importance of such a philosophy, as a help to generalization, for such I take it is the meaning of the quotation from President White's address. If now we turn for help in understanding these hard sayings to our brethren of the natural and physical sciences, whose older processes have received more conscious differentiation, I think we shall learn that the scientist in those fields distinguishes clearly between the actual scientific work which he is doing, and what he believes to be the ultimate drift of that work. He says: "These observed and measured facts I have in hand; this force, which I can isolate, acts always in this way; the law of its action I can state in these definite terms. These things make up my science." But over and beyond these things, he says:

⁵ *The History of the Philosophy of History: France* (1894), p. 14.

⁶ *Papers of the American Historical Association* (1885), I. 6.

"I believe such and such is the composition of the atom; such and such is the nature of matter and of force." But he mingles these two sets of conclusions in no intellectual confusion. He knows that his theory of the composition of the atom, of the nature of force, is no direct part of his scientific process. He understands that it is given him by the sudden leaping forward of the imagination to discern the yet distant end towards which the plodding steps of science seem to be tending. This is his philosophy of matter and of force. But though he perceives that he has not reached it by the same valid process as the facts he knows and the laws he can state, and though he holds it subject to instant modification when new discoveries of science open a vision of new results, his final philosophy of nature is nevertheless the master light of all his seeing; it shows the direction of each new step; it reveals to his search the unifying generalization which brings order into the mass of newly collected facts. If we are to distinguish between the science and the philosophy of history, this should be the function of the latter. Our philosophy of history should be our conviction as to the direction in which our scientific study is tending, our belief as to the ultimate nature of history and the final destinies of the race, our answer to the riddle of human existence. It should be to us a source of inspiration and of courage, but we should not confuse it with our science.

But I have not yet really answered my question, What should the historian do in view of the threatened invasion of his domain by ideals and methods not quite his own? I have been occupied in saying what and how he should think. For the young historian I cannot answer the question. I seem to see many an attempt by the trained historian proper to meet the leaders of the new movement, whether regarded as enemies or allies, with their own weapons, and to turn some of their positions into a part of our own line of defense. Every attempt to unite the old and the new, to find a common standing-ground for all workers at what are really common tasks, ought to secure the hearty support of all historians. The men who try this from our side will be found however in most cases, I believe, to be the younger men. To those whose methods of work are fixed, whose training in investigation makes change not easy, and who will perhaps feel some discouragement for their own science, as this new movement broadens and deepens, I have one word of comfort, and it is to me at least of large comfort. It is this. All science which is true science must rest upon the proved and correlated fact. It can have no other foundation than this. All premature generalization, all generalization from hasty observation, from half-understood facts, is useless and often worse than

useless. I am well aware that premature generalization, that wrong generalization, from misunderstood fact, is one of the necessary methods of scientific advance, but it is only so when it truly rests upon the best knowledge of the fact which contemporary science can furnish. At the very beginning of all conquest of the unknown lies the fact, established and classified to the fullest extent possible at the moment. To lay such foundations, to furnish such materials for later builders, may be a modest ambition, but it is my firm belief that in our field of history, for a long time to come, the man who devotes himself to such labors, who is content with this preliminary work, will make a more useful and a more permanent contribution to the final science, or philosophy of history, than will he who yields to the allurements of speculation and endeavors to discover in the present stage of our knowledge the forces that control society, or to formulate the laws of their action. None of the new battle-cries should sound for us above the call of our first leader, proclaiming the chief duty of the historian to establish *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. We have been told that to this should be added *wie es eigentlich geworden*; but let us not be deceived. To the true historian the being of a fact has always included all that portion of its becoming which belongs to the definite understanding of it. What is more than that we can safely leave to others. The field of the historian is, and must long remain, the discovery and recording of what actually happened.

But this does not preclude his cherishing a philosophy of history in the sense of Buckle, and Flint, and White, in the quotations I have just made. He may well hold to the belief that the facts which he is establishing tend to prove this or that final explanation of history. By such a belief his labors may be lightened and rendered more effective. In this sense it may indeed be true that God has conceded two sights to a man. One, of time's completed plan. That is our philosophy of history, under the stimulus of which we work. The other of the minute's work, man's first step to the plan's completeness. That is our daily labor in building up by long and right investigation the science of history.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

THE STATE AND SEIGNIORIAL AUTHORITY IN EARLY GERMAN HISTORY¹

EVEN in our days the ownership of land brings with it political advantages of many sorts. In earlier times this was much more the case; indeed, landed property was then often the very basis for the exercise of political rights. Especially was this true when lands accumulated in a single hand, and when therefore many people outside of the circle of family and household had fallen into a relation of dependence toward the owner and thus relations of seigniorial authority (*Grundherrschaft*) had been formed.

It is well known what comprehensive rights the lords of the land possessed in the period before the extinction of feudal and patrimonial powers, in the era of absolutism as well as in that of organization by estates of the realm: rights attaching to a particular property and rights dependent on the holder's position by birth; the power of a superior over his inferiors, often joined to a right of participation in the central government of the land.

It is not the purpose of this study to follow these relations in their development, in their individual variations and in their generally uniform progress. It is rather my purpose to throw light on a few phases of the relations of seigniorial authority toward the state in the earlier periods of German history—phases which have a bearing on much-discussed and fundamentally important questions: with the question of the origin of the town and of territorial sovereignty. For with the town problem and that of the growth of sovereignty is bound up the question whether seigniorial authority had a part in this development, and if so, in what measure; whether manorial law (*Hofrecht*), a species of law developed in the seigniorial estates, was the basis of municipal law; whether the methods employed by the larger seigniorial domains passed over into those of the administration of cities and of territories; in short what, if any, were the relations of the older organization of seigniorial authority to the institutions of town and territorial government; to those institutions which became the foundation of the whole devel-

¹ A paper read before the International Congress of Historical Sciences at Berlin, August 7, 1908, by Dr. Gerhard Seeliger, professor in the University of Leipzig.

opment of the later and present life of the Germans as a political community.

While on one side it is maintained that seigniorial authority is the true cradle of German territorialism, that out of it the German states were developed, and that it was *the* social power of the earlier Middle Ages, the other side flatly denies that it exercised any profound influence.

It is my intention, starting from facts that are recognized and in their essentials undisputed, to begin by sketching the development of the economic organism of seigniorial authority. I shall then describe its further development into a politically significant community, at the same time keeping the fundamental legal elements distinct from those of historical fact. By this method of approach it will become self-evident in what measure we may assume an influence of seigniorial authority upon the genesis of the town and of the sovereign state (*Landeshoheit*).

Among the ancient Germans each member of a community was allotted a definite share of land for his particular use. Freedom and the right to the use of the land went together; a man's political rights secured him a fixed standing in the agrarian organism; freedom, political rights and economic independence went hand in hand.

It was the institution of private ownership in land which brought about a separation. The result of private ownership is always a social and economic differentiation. The state no longer guaranteed its citizens a uniform economic basis; economic position was thenceforth dependent on the activity and success of the individual. There began to be active a potent individualistic principle, indispensable for all progress, and inevitably attended by important results, both social and political. The freeman who became economically dependent lost his full political independence, while whoever accumulated large property in land won increasing influence, and began to lord it over land and people.

The organization of the landed property which the churches and the lay grandees accumulated was patterned after the Roman system; not, indeed, the Roman system as it originally existed, but that system greatly modified by the addition of German elements, and in the course of historical development to a greater degree Germanized.

Characteristic of the system from the outset was the distinction between demesne land (*Salland*) and tenants' land. Only a small portion of a lord's estate was exploited by the lord himself or by his agent, the *villicus*, who was already known in Roman times; most of the land was in the hands of dependent people. Every-

where seigniorial powers became centralized; and manors (*Fronhöfe*) were established as centres of the seigniorial administration in different parts of the domain, which was sometimes widely scattered. Only occasionally was the estate of a landlord continuous, to the inclusion of whole marks; usually it was composed of numerous separate parcels, sometimes of small extent.

Around the manor stretched the land exploited by the proprietor, the *terra salica* or *indominicata*, and beyond it lay the tenants' land, the holders of which were bound to the manor for dues and services. If the creation of seigniorial property around individual manors was impossible or disadvantageous, the landlords as early as Frankish times contented themselves with the establishment of stations for the collection of rent in the different districts in which their rented land lay. To the manors belonged, however, not alone the tenants, who held land of the lord, but also a number, frequently considerable, of people who were dependents but held none of the lord's land, serfs and freemen who personally stood in a fixed hereditary relation of dependence to the manor, and were charged with the payment of a money rent or with a few days of manorial service during the year.

This is the peculiarity of the economic organization of the seigniorial authority and of its manors, that only a very small number of the people under the lord's authority entirely lacked economic independence, and as servants had to devote all their working power to their lord. The great mass of manorial dependents, the mass of those connected with the manor, although constrained to yield dues and service, yet possessed a certain, sometimes a very extensive, economic freedom, and, spite of continuing subjection, were able to work for themselves and to sell the product of their labor, to amass earnings and to raise themselves to a higher social and economic rank.

The industrial labor needed by the manorial economy was regulated in the same manner as the agricultural. There were industrial laborers who did not act as servants but, like the agricultural tenants, were free to work also for themselves and for the market. On the one hand they stood in a relation of fixed economic dependence to the manor; they were definitely bound, and yet were capable of economic advance.

An exceedingly complex gradation of economic obligations existed among the people of a seigniorial estate; from the serf, who must give all to his lord, to the wholly independent tenant, who owed a small yearly rent or perhaps a day's labor in the year, ran an unbroken series. But almost all, even those closely bound, possessed

the possibility of a free development of their economic powers; even the servant who rendered day-labor won in the course of development a certain economic independence.

It is indeed a momentous fact, important for the whole later development, that seigniorial authority did not seek to bind its subordinates on all sides; that it did not try to mould tenancy into absolute immobility and dependence; that instead it from the beginning left to the great mass of tenants their economic personality, considerable freedom of movement, and the power to accumulate property, not only within the seigniorial but outside it; and especially that the class held only by slight personal bonds was given an opportunity to struggle entirely out of the sphere of seigniorial authority. Without regard to the old legal conditions and to the distinction between free and unfree, it built up its organization of labor, admitting freemen and even serfs from outside, and on the other hand allowing its own serfs outside service.

It is necessary for us to take all this into consideration if we are to understand subsequent institutions. The men charged with manorial obligations were thus from the outset fully qualified to take part in a free economic life, even in one that stood outside the bounds of manorial authority; to participate in market activities and urban economic life. Thus seigniorial authority permitted an ebb and flow of social forms, an issue of the predial population from its narrower circle. And thus it was made possible for seigniorial authority itself to act with its organization in the realm of political life and of civil administration, to ally itself with the factors of the state, to assume important public functions and to furnish the very foundation for the development of new and divergent state institutions.

From the beginning seigniorial authority not only bound its subordinates economically, but also sought to govern them politically. Naturally something of the strong patriarchal power of old Germanic days passed over to the later lords of the land. The free tenants, even, had come to a certain extent under the political authority of their landlords. As the state had recognized the authority of the head of the house, so it also recognized that of the later lord of the land. Separate political and judicial districts began to come into existence. Private affairs were settled at home, and not alone agrarian and property questions, but also other matters, civil and criminal. A seigniorial tribunal began to act, the manor court became a court of justice, and at the same time the

manor became the centre of an independent military organization; the foundations of a new communal life were laid.

But these new communities are not created merely by the power of private lordships. The forces which worked in them did not arise out of seigniorial authority alone. Even if a private lordship was able to create for itself an administrative and judicial district of its own, a tribunal of its own for the affairs of its own domain, an unlimited jurisdiction over the serfs of the manor, a limited jurisdiction over all to whom it owed protection; on the other hand there were early added rights conferred by royal grant. Immunities won for the seigniorial estate and seigniorial folk protection from the immediate interference of the royal officials. By the forbidding of these officials to set foot on immune territory or to have direct official dealings with persons protected by an immunity, they created an intermediate seigniorial jurisdiction and brought about the formation of seigniorial courts and military communities of their own. Finally the state recognized the seigniorial court as a court of general jurisdiction, granted it privileges and placed it on the same basis with the state courts, and thus admitted it into the organism of the institutions of the state. This came about in Carolingian times.

Thus did private lordship take into itself elements of state origin. Private and public authority became intermingled, and the whole stood in a position of unconditional subordination to the state, which at that time was vastly expanded, and which in its operation made no halt before private spheres of power. But even if the Carolingian state in its struggle for power in general forced the private authorities, especially those of the church, into its sphere, and made them a part of its organization, it did not render these powers permanently serviceable to itself, but strengthened the private authority. And when therefore in post-Carolingian times the actual dissolution of the bureaucratic state set in, when the powers of the provincial functionaries were treated as private usufruct rights, and were bequeathed, partitioned, sold and mortgaged, then the private authorities, being already equipped besides with elements of public power, were frequently able to combine with these powers those derived from the exercise of public functions in the provinces. And through this there came about not only an internal development and strengthening, but also a territorial rounding out of the lordship.

But not alone through this. Already during Frankish times, the natural endeavor of the lords was toward the territorial completion of their spheres of power. This was attempted in two ways: through the rounding out of the estates, whereby *eo ipso* the lord's

rights obtained a local completeness, and through the extension of the lord's authority over a definite district, without the acquisition of proprietorship in the land, by laying claim to an authority over all the inhabitants of the district, whether dwelling on manorial land or not, whether free or serf, similar to that which existed on an immune estate—to a mediatorship between the organs of the state and the population of the district—to a coercive power. This led to the establishment of *potestates* (a word met perhaps already in this sense since the seventh century) of *districtus*, and the like—of “ban-districts”, as the expression went in many parts of Germany from the tenth century on.

The institution of “lordship”, taking its rise from landholding on a large scale, progressed beyond the realm of landownership and extended over the whole of continuous districts, independently of the expansion of the landed property, those political rights which privileged landed property had acquired. This came to pass both with and without the authorization of the state, and in various ways; through voluntary submission of the inhabitants of a district to the lord's power, through the acquisition of privileges, through usurpation, through purchase. It came to pass also with most various results; for it happened frequently that a single lord acquired the *bannus* in the whole of a village; at other times in one portion only of the village, and sometimes even each landlord exercised the *bannus* in his property. The stable characteristic of this institution of ban-lordship is that rights over territory were established, which must be carefully distinguished from ownership; which neither consisted of property rights nor merely developed out of them.

The ban-lord, indeed, at once demands of his ban-folk submission and dues which often are a simple extension of those demanded of the tenant, and which bind the folk to the manor. And subsequently, especially in the later Middle Ages, the ban-lord frequently lays claim to a species of overlordship over all the land of the district, even demands services and rent from land which was not at all granted by him; and, through the widespread notion of the necessary existence of “lordships” over all open country, such claims were unresistingly recognized. Foundations, which held lands in the banlieue of another, even resigned themselves to this, for the sake of carrying out toward others a similar policy in their own banlieues.

The power of the lords differed in extent. Only the coercive authority was universal, while the jurisdiction bound up with it varied widely. Often only the low justice was won, often high justice, full justice, which effected the separation of the district from

connection with the county (*Grafschaft*), and secured for the districts of the new lordships a position exactly equal to that obtained by the older counties. Thenceforth such a "lordship" did not differ in kind from an acquired county, or portion of a county.

It is evident that, as regards the local exercise of the powers of the state, their distribution and organization, these ban-lordships always possessed a great importance. Such an importance the seigniorial authorities, the lords of the land as such, did not possess. They were not capable of it, from the nature of their authority, or from its territorial extent. Only the seigniorial authority that developed into ban-lordship could win this influence. If we analyze the real nature and the historical source of these "lordships", we perceive that most of their more important social functions did not originate in private lordship, and should not be considered legally as developments of the rights of private lordship; that they are rather an additional acquisition; that the real kernel of the seigniorial power was derived directly or indirectly from the state. But the whole organization of the "lordship" (*Herrschaft*) has nevertheless grown out of the organization of the seigniorial power; historically the whole structure of lordship appears as a gradual development out of the older system of seigniorial authority; the lordship shows itself always homogeneous in its power, exhibits no duality of origin, no distinction between public and private, recognizes only a single body of seigniorial functionaries, a single seigniorial organization. The manors (*Fronhöfe*) had developed courts whose jurisdiction included others than the predials of the manor (*i. e.*, *Dinghöfe*); they were the centre of the whole organization, the seat of the lord, the *burg*; and often as well the centre of a district and endowed with manifold public powers.

If we keep these facts before our eyes, we shall be able to answer the question as to the influence of seigniorial authority on the moulding of the public life; and on the rise of towns and of territories, in a way which surely does not attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable and to bring together things which do not belong together, but which accounts for and finds intelligible the sharp opposition of opinion, and thus endeavors to open the way for a common understanding.

Assuredly the *German town* did not grow out of those seigniorial institutions which concerned the practice of agriculture. Assuredly the lord who aimed at the foundation or the prosperity of a market centre, the inhabitants associated in other ways than those which united the rural population, did not demand agricultural services;

often indeed demanded no services at all, even relinquished dues, expecting to gain the material result in another way, through market tolls and the like, since the slightest possible ties and obligations on the part of individuals served most effectually the general economic prosperity of the seigniory.

Still even the older urban community bears a seigniorial character. It is not to be supposed that originally a free community existed, which only later received a lord as lord of the community, in order still later to free themselves again. All the special rights which in the older days were granted by the king were always granted to a lord, never to a community. The free burgher community is a later institution, which sprang from the autonomy granted the inhabitants by the town lord, and from that co-operation and self-direction observable everywhere in Teutonic and Germanic community life. The law of the market settlement, municipal law, is built upon the legal basis of a lordship; the town of the olden time is a seigniorial institution. It is distinct from the rural-agricultural institutions of the seigniory; it is established as a differing institution alongside of those which minister to seigniorial authority in the narrower sense. But the distinction was not made because the lord as proprietor exercised here public and there private prerogatives, for both prerogatives appear in both spheres, but because the difference in economic conditions demanded a different handling of the two spheres of lordship, the urban and the rural. And since the distinction is to be conceived as only the natural result of the differing economic requirements, we encounter no absolute and impossible separation of the two spheres of authority, and find almost universally a certain connection between the urban and the manorial administration of the lord. Thus not only were the seigniorial officials of the lord's court active in the city government, but burghers could owe service to the manor. We do not need the artificial explanation that the notices of payments made to the manor by burghers mean imperial taxes or dues to the lords of the community. Men liable to manorial service were not shut out from participation in urban life. If we consider as manorial law (*Hofrecht*) the law issuing from a manor, and regard as subject to manorial law all who in matters of tenure remained under the jurisdiction of the manorial court, then it is to be insisted upon that municipal law and manorial law were not in principle mutually exclusive.

Naturally it was customary for the city-lord to refer jurisdiction in those questions of tenure, which applied to his parcels of land within the civic bounds, to the seigniorial tribunal especially com-

petent in urban matters, the city court. But he could also take another course. When a civic settlement had its roots in an older agricultural one, the old bonds could still hold good, and the burghers, spite of municipal law and civic associations, remain legally bound to the manor. Or in a case where the lord of the town subsequently allowed the citizens to settle on his land, which at first he had left unencumbered by market settlement, he could erect a special seigniorial court, thoroughly in harmony with burgher existence and burgher law.

It must, however, be noted that even though it be unnecessary to distinguish fully and fundamentally between the domains of manorial and municipal law; even though we must admit the possibility of a mutual overlapping of these domains, this by no means should revive the notion that municipal law developed out of manorial law. That which created the special municipal law and the burgher community did not descend from manorial law. Those elements of seigniorial authority which had special sway in the life of the town could have sprung from the soil of private rights, just as little as from that of a communal power. They have, rather, their source in the royal authority, in the rights granted by the king. From this source came that out of which were born the special burgher and urban spheres of jurisdiction.

It is, then, conceivable that as a special sphere of lordship the town was founded and fostered alongside the older sphere of seigniorial authority. Influences of the older seigniorial organization are, indeed, not wholly wanting—it is impossible that they should be; but from the nature of the case this influence was unimportant.

Quite different were the relations to territorial sovereignty (*Landeshoheit*). It is indeed beyond doubt that the *power* of the sovereign lords was not of a seigniorial nature, and not to be conceived of as a development of seigniorial power; that it derives rather from governmental rights, possessed originally by the great Frankish local officials, especially the counts.

Surely it is correct, and it is generally recognized as deserving strong emphasis, that the vague and obscure notions of seigniorial authority as the cradle of state-building should be quite swept away, and that the true legal continuity should be clearly and sharply pointed out.

But the clearing up of the legal relationships does not suffice for the comprehension of historical phenomena. The notion that the power of territorial sovereignty legally had its origin in the state is undoubtedly correct, but it by no means fully explains the forces

potent in the establishment of states. It was long since recognized that the territories by no means always corresponded with the old official jurisdictions, the duchies, counties and hundreds; that much more frequently a correspondence appeared with institutions which originated in forces outside the state. Such observations led to the idea of the universally productive force of seigniorial authority in the formation of states.

To the question whether seigniorial authority exercised an influence we must answer as follows: Seigniorial authority in and of itself did not; its scattered position was enough to make that impossible. But where seigniorial authority developed into a compact ban-lordship, an influence was possible, and it was a very important influence from every point of view.

When ban-lordships had won wider public rights, jurisdiction over life and death and other powers, the sum of which led to sovereignty, when they had emancipated themselves from superior authority and shut out lower authority, they were able to become elements in state-building; adding themselves as new parts to more extensive states, or forming the beginnings of small independent states. Already in the tenth and eleventh centuries, not a few of what were later counties rose from such lordships, and not merely from the partitioning of the old *gau*-counties and the uniting of fragments of old counties.

Moreover the ban-lordships, even when the process of emancipation from a superior authority was not a success, and when they had acquired inferior jurisdiction only, played an important rôle in public life, as patrimonial lordships of various kinds in the states, or as administrative districts of the princely government. For it is especially to be noted that these lordships exercised no little influence even in the great territories which grew out of the highest local offices of the empire, the duchies and margraviates, and that they helped determine the local organization of the government of the country.

It follows, then, that the "lordship" influenced the development of state institutions in two ways. First in the distribution of the public power among the smaller districts, *i. e.*, during the building up of the states; next, in the organization of public functions within the states. In so far as these "lordships" grew out of the seigniorial organization—and this was really their source—the old seigniorial system lived on in state life and influenced the later institutions of the state. To make these connections clear, and to establish the degrees of influence in the different spheres, is a fascinating

and an important historical problem, and one as yet only partially solved.

A few closing words. In the early Middle Ages, the empire formed the German state. To be sure, it was a state quite unlike the state of later centuries and the state of to-day. To be sure, it was not so positively characterized as later by the conception of a political personality, the idea of a community complete in itself, and from its very nature, independent of kinds of government. To be sure, the notion of political lordship then attached itself chiefly to the person of the ruler, and therefore permitted and required a private administration of public powers, an alliance of the state with private lordship. It was not in the cities that first arose a conception of the community, of a commonwealth independent of the lordship of an individual. This already existed in the *Imperium* and the *Regnum*, and, though churchly influences may also have contributed to it, the basal idea of a political community self-established and independent of the individual relations of the ruler was already operative. It was for this reason that the state was never fully broken up into the dominions of private lords. In this sense Germany was never fully feudalized; the separate character of the more important rights derived from the state continued intact, in spite of all private administration; always there remained an association of political functions with the empire, not alone in affairs of high justice through grant of criminal jurisdiction, but also through the superintendence of the king, through occasional putting aside of the royal authority, through effective consciousness that the king was the real source of all political powers. King and empire remained living central powers.

But alongside of the state are at work other possessors of political functions which we are wont to look on as belonging to the state; especially (I omit all mention of the church) *private lordships* and corporations, notably *communities*. It is characteristic of the earlier periods of German history that alongside the state and its organs or deputies, private lordships, too, and corporations (communities) were independently active in the life of society. The reciprocal relation was unsettled, the functions were fluctuating, but they existed as historical forces. And the powers of the three combined in manifold ways; fragments of authority cut away from the empire, functions previously attached to some office, were joined with private powers, private lordships with functions that originated with the commune, and the like.

Combinations of this sort appear also in the building up of new

institutions, which begot a more intensive politico-social life; in the formation of territories and towns. It is surely an important historical problem in what ways *the state*, *private lordship* and the *commune* shared in laying the foundations of the new order and in its development. It is in general quite possible to determine, what has its origin in the state, what in private lordship, especially in seigniorial authority, and what in the early communes; how the old allies itself with the new and begets the new. At any rate, this much is wholly clear: all the essential elements which came to development in the states and the cities, and which lay at the root of new political institutions, originated in the ancient state, in the empire. They are the powers of the empire transferred or carried over to local spheres. That is an assured foundation of research, and should be adhered to in the face of many other opinions. Not from a private, and not from a separate corporate or communal power, do the elements derive which, fostered in towns and territories, have opened the way to a more intensive social life. They have their origin in the empire, in the early state. Elements of the old state have created the bases of the new. These are well-established sequences in the history of law and authority.

But just as the old ideas of corporation and community won a real influence in the German town, although the distinct legal organization of the town did not spring from the soil of a distinct communal power, so the private lordships, the seigniorial authority, exercised an influence on the development of the territories. Seigniorial authority, especially when developed into ban-lordship, was often able to furnish the outer framework for the new territorial institutions or for the administrative circumscriptions within the states; its own organization lived on in the later institutions of the several states. That is its not inconsiderable part in the foundation of the new public powers in Germany.

GERHARD SEELIGER.

THE ORIGIN AND CREDIBILITY OF THE ICELANDIC SAGA¹

THERE is probably no literary production of the Middle Ages which makes such an impression upon the modern reader as the Icelandic saga. It is true that the saga breathes the cooling breath of times long since gone by, that it tells of people whose thoughts and whose conceptions of honor and of duty differed from ours. The art of the saga, however, is modern, realistic. Its men and women stand before us as if in flesh and blood, as they love and hate, as they live and die. We hear the words they utter, curt, blunt, sharp as a sword, full of pithy humor. We are carried away by the dramatic action.

The saga presents no analysis of conditions of soul, contains no moralizing observations; it is sober and realistic. Conciseness of style and composition is its chief characteristic. The unimportant is never carried into detail—is often barely touched upon. Here the saga fundamentally differs in effect from the moralizing and wordy prose of medieval Latin. What a difference between Snorre and the Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus, even when both are recounting the same story!

The style of the saga is marked by art and in part even by a very refined art. It has been formed through oral recitation: art has developed nature. The speech of the ancient Norsemen was in fact similar to the language of the saga. *Gens breviloqua et veridica*, the Icelanders are called by Giraldus Cambrensis. In 1170 Dublin, until then the capital of a northern Viking kingdom, was sacked by the English. The king, Haskulf, took flight, but later returned with a fleet. After an heroic encounter he was captured and was asked whether he wished to be ransomed. He answered proudly: "We came this time with a small company and have just made a beginning. If my life is spared we shall soon come with another and much greater host." After this speech he was beheaded.

The sagas contain, however, many lifeless passages, for instance, the long and detailed genealogies. It is true that genealogies played

¹ A paper read (in German) at the International Congress of the Historical Sciences at Berlin, August, 1908, by Professor Alexander Bugge of the University of Christiania.

an important part in old Icelandic life, and that every chieftain had to know the names of his ancestors. It is therefore possible that even in the orally narrated sagas genealogies did occur. But the learned saga-writers have, no doubt, further developed this habit, perhaps through the influence of the Biblical genealogies. Even in the best sagas, as for instance, the *Njála*, the great number of personages and the various parallel lines of action become almost oppressive. This is accounted for by the fact that several originally independent short narratives are blended into a single whole.

But how, where and when did the saga have its origin? All the northern people were accustomed to tell stories (*sagen*).² We find the same Viking stories told by English and Norman, as well as by Russian historians, as for example, the story of the city which was set afire by sparrows, with nut-shells bound under their wings. The Varangians in Russia had perhaps an incipient oral saga-narrative, as we may conclude from Nestor's chronicle. The Grand Duke Oleg³ sailed in the year 907 towards Constantinople and came to the Sound,⁴ as Nestor, using a Norse loan-word, calls the Bosphorus. The emperor was forced to conclude peace. Oleg said: "Sew sails of silk for the Russians and sails of linen for the Slavs!" He fastened his shield as a token of victory upon the city-gate and sailed away. The Russians spread their silken sails, the Slavs their linen ones. The wind rent the former and the Slavs said: "Let us keep our sail-cloth; silk sails are not suitable for Slavs."

The Swedish runic inscription of Rök (of the ninth century), which may be called a library in stone, mentions not only ancient songs but also stories, which appear to have had an unmistakable similarity with the legendary hero-saga, the *fornaldarsaga*. The saga of the Viking chief, mentioned on many Swedish rune-stones, Ingvarr Viðforli, who lived in the first half of the eleventh century, is declared in the saga itself to have been heard by an Icelandic merchant at the court of the king of Sweden and by him brought to Iceland. It may be, therefore, that the Swedes knew sagas orally narrated; written sagas, however, they did not have. The *Guta Saga* (History of the Gotlanders), composed about 1300, on the island of Gotland, stands quite alone but has the same characteristics as the Icelandic saga, with little verses interspersed. Perhaps, however, the *Guta Saga* had its origin under foreign influences.

² I need not emphasize here the difference between *saga* and *sage*. [In this translation the word *story* has been used for *sage*.]

³ Oleg, i. e., Old Norse Helgi.

⁴ The word *Sound* is used only two or three times by Nestor and always in cases where he is treating expeditions of the Swedish conquerors of Russia (the "Russ") to Byzantium.

The Gotlanders indeed were, as merchants, acquainted with all northern and western Europe. In Denmark hardly as much advancement was made as in Sweden.

The saga belongs to the Norwegian and to the Icelandic people. Stories and legends have been narrated among the Norsemen since the earliest times. The Icelandic *Landnámabók* (the Book of the Settling of Iceland) contains stories which must date from the first period of Iceland's settlement.⁵ Even in very early times different stories were often loosely joined together. Seamen who sailed along the coast of Norway contributed much toward spreading these stories and connecting them together.⁶ Similar stories live on until this day in the Norwegian valleys, especially in the secluded Sætersdalen (in southern Norway).⁷ They are dramatic, are frequently told with genuine art and even contain scattered bits of verse. A real saga, however, has never been created in the Norwegian valleys.

We learn how stories of that kind originate, from the *Fóstbræðrasaga* (Saga of the Foster-brothers). The poet Þormóðr is lying at midday alone in a booth at the assembly of the Greenlanders. Someone comes and says: "You are losing great pleasure. I was at the booth of Þorgrímr Einarsson. He was relating a saga. The men are sitting around him and listening." Þormóðr asks: "Can you give me the name of any person in the narrative?" The other answers: "Þorgeirr was a great hero in the story. Þorgrímr also had something to do with it. He defended himself manfully as might be expected." Þormóðr understands that Þorgrímr is relating how he killed Þormóðr's foster-brother. He takes his axe, slays the narrator and makes his escape. This narrative is indeed called a saga, but this word in Icelandic signifies any kind of narrative. That related by Þorgrímr Einarsson was not yet a real saga. Even where several stories are joined together we have as yet no saga. There is still lacking that which makes the individual narratives into the artistically completed whole which we call a saga.

The *märchen* and not the story (*sage*) is the mother of the saga. The style, the humor of the saga is borrowed from the *märchen*. The story (*sage*) treats only a single episode in the life of the hero.

⁵ E. g., the story of Hjórléifr who was killed by his Irish slaves. The latter to preserve their own lives knead meal and butter together and call it *minnpak*, a genuine Irish word occurring with the same meaning in the *Lex Adamnani*. Iceland was found by Norwegians about the years 860-870, and was settled from Norway during the next fifty or sixty years.

⁶ Cf. Axel Olrik, *Kilderne til Saxos Historie*, II. 280 ff., and *Landnámabók* (*Islandinga Sögur*, I. 326), where a Norwegian merchant, sailing on a ship along the western coast of Norway, tells the story of King Vatnar and his grave-mound.

⁷ The stories of Sætersdalen have been collected by Johannes Skar, *Gamalt or Sætesdal*, I.-III.

The fairy-tale (*märchen*) and the saga, however, narrate the whole life of the hero in a series of episodes. The *märchen* is dramatic; its language is curt and blunt, just like the saga. All *märchen* and all sagas resemble each other, without being all equally well narrated. *Märchen* have been told by the Norwegians from the time that they settled in the Scandinavian peninsula. The saga narrators could likewise recount *märchen*. The sagas related at an Icelandic wedding in 1117 were regarded as *märchen* by the contemporaries; they were fictitious sagas, so-called *lýgi-sögur*. Odd the Monk, the oldest biographer of Olaf Tryggvason, says in the introduction to his work, "It is better to hear this than the step-mother tales the herdsmen tell." The word *saga* means in Norwegian dialects not only narrative but likewise *märchen*.

Many sagas, especially those parts of them which treat of the hero's youth, are entirely or partially built upon *märchen*. The tale of the later Faroese chief Sigmundr Brestason, who comes as a boy to a lonely Norwegian farm, and is hidden by the wife when the farmer comes home and smells the stranger, is nothing but the *märchen* of the Boy at the Giant's Court. The *märchen* of Aschenbrödel, who lies idle by the fire, but suddenly rises, bathes, combs and trims his hair, seizes weapons, becomes a great warrior, and finally gains the kingdom and the princess, was a story in great favor with the old Norwegians and Icelanders. Sagas like the *Svarfdælasaga* and the early history of Harald the Fairhaired, who unified Norway, are to a great extent built upon this tale.

The account, as told by Odd the Monk, of the childhood of the Norwegian chief Olaf Tryggvason (d. 1000), who with his mother had to flee from the evil queen Gunhild, is nothing but an ordinary *märchen*-motive. Olaf, like the heroes of the *märchen*, comes among strangers early in life. His royal descent is discovered by a miracle. Sorcerers had prophesied that a young man had come to Russia, from whose *hamingja* (guardian spirit) a light would spread over the whole of eastern Europe. The wise queen of Novgorod hears of this and the king on her prayer calls together a general assembly. On the third day the queen comes upon a young boy in ragged clothing, his hat pulled down over his eyes. She looks into his eyes and sees that he is the right one. Olaf is brought to the king and his royal origin is made known. This story is composed after the *märchen* of the Youth with the Golden Hair, who hides his hair under a big hat, feigning to be unclean. The light over Olaf's *hamingja* and the general assembly originate in another *märchen*. In Brittany the story runs thus: Rome is without a pope. For three days a procession goes through the country

with burning candles. On the third day a guileless boy, Innocent, joins the procession, holding a willow rod. The birds in a willow tree have prophesied to him his future greatness. A flame kindles itself on the point of the rod. Innocent is made pope. In another version of the story, the light kindles on the young man's head.⁸

The earliest sagas now known were written down in the second half of the twelfth century and in the course of the thirteenth, and those recording the lives of the Norwegian kings, especially of Olaf Tryggvason and of St. Olaf, were probably written down before the family sagas. The oral saga, the saga that was only narrated, and not written down, is however much older. Already at the above-mentioned wedding in 1117, sagas were narrated.⁹ The Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (twelfth century) knew a number of hero-sagas (*fornaldarsögur*) of Norwegian or Icelandic origin. In the second half of the eleventh century we meet with a succession of Icelanders who bear the honorary epithet *fróði*, that is, "learned in sagas, or in history". Many of these were the authorities for Ari Fróði and the *Landnámabók*. These "antiquaries" were similar to the Irish *senchaidi*. Besides the saga-men there were also in Iceland professional scalds just as in Ireland there were *fled* or scalds, besides *senchaidi* or "antiquaries".

Earlier, however, than in Norway or Iceland the saga developed in the Viking settlements on the British Isles. The first saga to arise concerning a Norwegian king was the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, who fell in the year 1000. Its basis is old tradition and not, as in the case of the lives of his predecessors, as they are found in Snorre's *Heimskringla*, contemporaneous scaldic poems used by learned saga-men in writing the histories. A saga of Olaf Tryggvason, however, was narrated in the eleventh century, not only in Norway but also in England. Olaf came thither in 991, as leader of the Vikings, compelled the English for the first time to pay "danegeld", was baptized and concluded peace with King Æthelred. Odd the Monk, who lived in the second half of the twelfth century, mentions a saga of King Olaf narrated in England about 1060. His authority was a native of the Orkney Islands.¹⁰ In Britain Olaf

⁸ My colleague, Professor Moltke Moe, who has had the kindness to go over this lecture with me and whose extraordinary knowledge has been of great advantage to me, has called my attention to this *märchen* of the Bird of Good Luck, originating from Byzantium. Cf. the exposition of Professor Moe in Helland, *Norges Land og Folk, Finnmarkens Amt*, II. 397-403, explaining the Finnish fairy-tale of the Bird of Luck.

⁹ I do not here mention the historian Ari Fróði (1067-1148), the father of Icelandic history, whose work (*Islendingabók* or *Libellus Islandorum*) bears a closer resemblance to annalistic writings than to the sagas.

¹⁰ This authority is not mentioned by Odd himself, but only in the *Flateyjarbók* and in the great Olaf's saga, but the tradition goes back to Odd.

Tryggvason was confounded with another Olaf, the famous Viking chieftain and king of Northumberland who is known by the Celtic surname Cuarán (Shoe). This Olaf, who fought at Brunanburh in 937, and afterwards became king of Dublin and died as a pilgrim on the sacred island of Iona in 981, is commonly regarded as the prototype of the hero of the famous medieval tale of Havelok the Dane. But the story of Olaf Cuarán does not coincide with that of Havelok. The saga of Havelok, known in French as well as in English versions, is the story of Olaf Tryggvason, only remodelled into the form of a *märchen*. The tale of Havelok sprang from the British saga of Olaf in Norman times. Olaf Tryggvason is frequently called Havelok in the Middle English rhyming chronicles.¹¹ The real Olaf Cuarán, in the same chronicle which contains the saga of Havelok (in Gaimar), is called, not Havelok, but Anlaf Cuiran. The only time that the name Cuarán appears in an Irish chronicle (the *Leabhar Oiris*), it is used for a warrior who fought in the battle of Clontarf (1014).

Arthur conquers Denmark. Havelok's father, Gunter, king of that country, loses his life by treachery. The traitor Odulf is made an under-king under Arthur. The faithful Grim flees with the young Havelok and his mother. They are assailed by pirates. The mother is slain. Grim lands in eastern England. Around his hut a town rises, which is called after him, Grimsby. When Havelok grows up, his foster-parents are no longer able to keep him. He comes to King Edelsi of Lincoln, becomes a kitchen-boy and helps to carry water and wood. Edelsi has a niece, Argentele, daughter of the late king of Norfolk. He marries her to Havelok to disinherit her. The first night after they are married, Argentele dreams that the wild beasts of the forest pay homage to her husband and she sees a flame of fire coming from his mouth. She tells a pious hermit of this. He prophesies that Havelok will become king. Havelok learns of his royal descent and sails with his wife to Denmark. One of his father's faithful servants recognizes him by the flame, the traitor Odulf is killed and Havelok is made king. Later, at his wife's entreaty, he returns to England. In the English poem his army is represented as a foreign Viking host which slays priests and burns churches. King Edelsi is forced to surrender Norfolk and soon thereafter dies. Argentele and Havelok inherit Lincoln and live in splendor and happiness.

King Tryggve, the father of Olaf Tryggvason, was likewise slain through treachery. The traitor Hakon, jarl of Lade, who in the saga, incited by Queen Gunhild, persecutes Olaf and his mother

¹¹ Cf. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*.

Astrid, became an under-king under the king of Denmark, Harald Gormsson, who conquered Norway. Astrid, the widow of Tryggve, accompanied by a faithful servant, flees with her son to Russia. On the way they are seized by pirates; mother and son are separated. How Olaf's royal descent was discovered in Novgorod, we have already heard.

The light of Olaf's *hamingja* corresponds to the flame from Havelok's mouth. Olaf marries a Wendish, and afterwards an Irish and a Danish princess. These and the Russian queen are blended in Argentele. Later Olaf goes to England. In the Scilly Isles he visits a pious hermit who prophesies that he will be a king. He comes to Norway, the traitor Jarl Hakon is slain and he himself is made king.¹²

The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill is the name of an Irish work of the end of the eleventh century, telling of the wars between the Vikings and the Irish, and especially of the king of Munster, Brian Borumha, and the great battle of Clontarf in 1014.¹³ Among the sources for the history of this battle, the "historians of the Northlanders" (*senchaidi Gall*), are mentioned. My father, the late Sophus Bugge, has shown that a saga of King Brian and the battle of Clontarf was told orally by the Norsemen of Dublin in their own language, and perhaps even written down.¹⁴

This "Viking saga" has many features characteristic of the Icelandic saga. A peculiarity which we only meet in the saga of the Battle of Clontarf and in that of the Battle of Svolder (A. D. 1000), as well as in the story of the Battle of Braavalla, which has been modelled after the two above-mentioned tales, is that the names of the combatants are arranged in alliterative lines. The Icelandic saga grew up under the influence of the Viking saga and through this it is influenced also by the Celtic prose-narrative. In Ireland as in Wales heroic tales had from primitive times the form of prose narrative, while with the Germanic people their form was that of the poem. The Irish moreover had historical sagas; indeed the saga-narrators could even produce their own experiences in artistic prose. The poet Erard MacCoisi (at the end of the tenth century) comes disguised to the court of King Domnall, whose people had burned

¹² I discuss the entire question of the origin of the Havelok saga more fully in an article to be printed in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed*.

¹³ *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (*Logadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*), ed. by Todd, *Rerum Brit. Medii Aevi Scriptores* (London, 1867), cannot possibly, as Todd, the editor, thought, have been written immediately after the battle of Clontarf. The chronicle contains too many untruths, and *märchen* play too prominent a part in it. It was probably written at the end of the eleventh century.

¹⁴ S. Bugge, *Norsk Sagafortelling og Sagaskrivning i Irland* (published by the *Norsk Historisk Tidsskrift*).

his possessions and carried away his cattle. The king asks him what tales he has in his memory. The poet names one hundred and forty-nine different titles. He finally, by the only one which is unknown to the king, awakens the latter's curiosity. MacCoisi was concealing under this title the story of the injustice which had befallen him. All the narratives named by him had the form of prose, occasionally interspersed with verses, and should be called sagas.¹⁵

The Irish saga is a child of the country and of the people among whom it grew up. The continually changing tones and varied colors of the sky, the dark forests with their luxuriant underbrush, the blooming hedges of red thorn, white thorn, privet and fuchsia, which grows in southern Ireland to large trees; the still forest lakes in whose blackish-brown waters the beech-trees and the larches are reflected; the heather which clothes in pink the hillsides—all these give to nature in Ireland a peculiar, dreamy, even fanciful imprint, as in no other country of Europe. Like nature so the Irish people, a thousand years ago, were dreamy and fanciful, but at the same time wild and excitable, having the traits of a nature-people and yet also such as suggest the highest intellectual culture. The Irish hero-saga is wild and unrestrained, often tragic and deeply impressive, sometimes melancholy or elegiac; full of the finest nature-poetry. The tragic tale of the sons of Usnech or the tale of Ronan who murders his son (Fingal Ronain), is sure to move the reader with its wild pathos, as will the story of the children of Lir with its deep melancholy.

On the great inhospitable island covered with mountains and with ice, and in the midst of the ocean, there was no place for fancy or for dreamy melancholy. There people in the struggle for life grew to be cool men of sense, maintaining their rights and never allowing themselves to be carried away by their feelings. Like the people, so the Icelandic saga too is calm, exact and under control, its language clear and concise. The language of the Irish saga, on the contrary, is often diffuse and obscure (though not in the best specimens), and artistic moderation is foreign to it. Yet there is after all an unmistakable similarity between the Irish and the Icelandic saga. Both have a foothold in history; both begin by giving the hero's ancestry and early life, and verses are introduced in both to serve as historical proofs.

The Viking saga has left a lasting impress upon the Irish saga. Middle Irish prose literature is full of Scandinavian loan-words.

¹⁵ This story is found in the *Book of Leinster* (twelfth century) and is published by H. Zimmer in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*.

The above-mentioned work, *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, at its beginning, where the early life of Brian is told, appears like an Irish chronicle of the usual type. With the story of the battle of Clontarf, the work assumes a completely altered character. The chronicle becomes a saga. The dramatic episodes however are borrowed from the Norse saga of Brian, as it was told in Dublin.

To indicate the Irish influence upon the Viking saga, and thereby upon the Icelandic saga, is not easy. The prose narrative as a species of artistic composition was primitive among the Irish, but not among the Norwegians. The Irish saga opened the eyes of the Norsemen, and, so to speak, set free the saga. Certain types and motives moreover are of Irish origin. The gallery of women in Celtic poetry is a remarkably rich one. Even Shakespeare has his Lady Macbeth and Cordelia of Celtic extraction. In the Icelandic saga, on the other hand, the men are more interesting. The most characteristic women are those who know no difference between good and evil, who attract men irresistibly by their unfading beauty, who by their vain and unbounded passion for revenge bring death and destruction upon friends as well as foes, but who themselves unharmed live on to a great age. To this type belong Hallgerd of *Njal's Saga* and Gudrun of the *Laxdæla*. They are related to the Brynhild of the Eddic songs. Their prototype, however, is the Irish queen Gormflaith,¹⁶ whose deadly hatred toward her former husband, Brian, brings on the battle of Clontarf, where, to win her, kings and chieftains lose their lives. Gormflaith or Kormlød was well known in Iceland. The *Njála*, whose heroine Hallgerd is, gives an excellent characterization of her. Other female figures of the Icelandic saga likewise appear to be influenced by the women of Irish poetry; for example, the fair Helga, the beloved of Gunnlaug Snake-tongue, bears unmistakable likeness to Derdriu, the loved one of Noisi, son of Usnech.

Of the men in the sagas, only the scalds resemble the Irish type. In their veins indeed there was often Celtic blood. The scald Kormak, for instance, the Icelandic Catullus, has an Irish name; his eyes are dark, his hair black and curled, his wit and his hot-blooded nature remind one more of the Celt than of the Scandinavian. The saga of the scald whose poems possess magic power¹⁷ is borrowed from Irish literature. The Icelander Þorleifr desires to take vengeance on Hakon, the mighty jarl of Lade.¹⁸ He comes

¹⁶ Queen Gormflaith was married three times: (1) to Maelsechlainn, king of Tara and supreme king of all Ireland, (2) to Olaf Cuarán, king of Dublin, by whom she had a son, Sitric, king of Dublin, (3) to Brian Borumha.

¹⁷ The *Þattr* of Þorleifr Jarlaskald, a continuation of the *Svarfdælasaga*.

¹⁸ Hakon ruled Norway from 965 to 995. His ancestors were hereditary earls of the northern part of the country.

to the latter's hall in disguise and recites a poem called *Þokuviður* or "mist-song". The hall becomes dark in consequence; weapons move of themselves, and kill many men; the jarl falls sick, his beard and hair drop off. The Irish have always believed in the power of the satirical poem. Through this came "storms of every darkness", as is said in "The Colloquy of the Two Sages".¹⁹ The poet Athirne composed satirical poems against the inhabitants of Leinster so that neither grain nor grass nor leaves would grow.

In certain other episodes Irish influence can likewise be traced. A favorite motive in the sagas is the so-called *mannjafnaðr* (comparison between men). Most famous is the colloquy between the two kings of Norway, Eystein and Sigurd the Jerusalem-farer (ca. 1120), where each of the kings puts forth his claims to fame and declares what good he has done. This colloquy is not history but fiction, and formed under influence from Ireland, where similar comparisons play a great part in the heroic tales. In the *Ljósvetningasaga* there is a contention about precedence between two women that reminds the reader of the famous Irish tale "The Festival of Bricriu". Adam of Bremen relates that Olaf Trygvason undertook at his wife's request the expedition in which he fell at Svolder in the year 1000. This episode has been recast by Snorre into a dramatic scene which is borrowed from Brian's saga. King Olaf comes one day with a present for his wife. She pushes it aside, however, and reproaches her husband severely as not daring to march through the realm of her brother, the king of Denmark, while her own father had conquered Norway. Olaf replies in anger: "I shall never be afraid of your brother. In case we meet he will get the worst of it!" He collects a fleet, sails through Öresund and falls at Svolder.

The battle of Clontarf is brought on by a similar episode. The king of Leinster, Maelmordha, comes to pay tribute to Brian. His sister Gormflaith has separated from Brian but is still living at his court. Maelmordha asks her to sew a silver button on his coat. She however throws the cloak into the fire and harshly reproaches her brother for being willing to pay a tax which neither his father nor his grandfather have given. Incited by his sister, Maelmordha severs relations with Brian, collects the latter's enemies and falls at Clontarf. It is only through such scenes that it is possible to indicate the force of Irish influence.²⁰

¹⁹ *Immacallam in dá Thuarad*, ed. by Whitley Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, 1907.

²⁰ One of the most important Norwegian literary works of the Middle Ages is the so-called "Kings' Mirror" (*Speculum Regale* or *Konungs skuggsjá*). In

In the Norse settlements on the British Isles the saga-narrative flourished universally in the eleventh century, notably at the king's court in Dublin, where Irish and Norse scalds recited their elaborated poems.²¹ In the twelfth century sagas were still narrated in Dublin, for instance, that of the Norwegian king Magnus Barefoot, who fell in 1103 in Ulster and who is so prominent in Irish saga tradition.²² Is it too much to assume that people had also an oral saga-tale concerning the heroic death of the last king of Dublin and his companion, John the Furious, who clove a Norman knight in two with a single sword-stroke? Cumberland, where a mixed Norwegian-Cymric civilization developed²³ and where Norse runic inscriptions from the middle of the twelfth century have been found, is the home of the Havelok saga. The Viking saga of the Danish king Rolf Kraki and his heroes grew up in Northumberland or Lincolnshire out of old hero-songs, under the influence of the paladins of Charlemagne and Arthur. One of the heroes of King Rolf, the Norwegian, Boðvar Biarki, the Bear's Son, is mentioned in several writings from eastern England, and in them reference particularly is made to *fabulae Danorum* (Norse tales).²⁴ Geoffrey of Monmouth has made one of the paladins of Arthur out of this Boðvar (Beduerus, Bedivere).

The Viking saga exercised enduring influence upon the English literature of the Middle Ages. Geoffroy of Monmouth, whose *Historia Regum Britanniae* is full of Viking stories, knew for example the above-mentioned saga of Brian. Brennius wishes to shake off the authority of his brother, Belinus, and sues for the hand of a daughter of the king of Norway. With the princess and a great host of Norwegians he returns to Britain. They are attacked on the way by the Danish king Guichtlacus, whom the Norwegian princess has long loved. A violent storm comes on, the fleets are scattered, and Guichtlacus lands with his beloved in Northumberland. This tale has been compared with the story of Helgi and his one of its parts it narrates the wonders of Ireland. Dr. Kuno Meyer has recently shown (*Ériu*, 1908) that these stories about Ireland are not founded upon written sources, but upon oral narratives. This proves that stories and tales during the early Middle Ages really migrated from Ireland and Norway.

²¹ Of Icelandic scalds at the king's court in Dublin, I name only Gunnlaug Snake-tongue and Þorsteinn Orraskald, the court poet of Olaf Cuarán. Irish tales, *e. g.*, of the poet Ruman, tell of Irish scalds who appeared in Dublin.

²² In several Ossianic hero-songs as well as in Irish and Gaelic stories, King Magnus plays an important part. The sea is still called *bothar Manuis*, the road of Magnus. Among the Ostmen of Ireland the Norse language was still spoken at the middle of the thirteenth century.

²³ Cf. the famous cross of Gorforth, with carvings from the Norse mythology.

²⁴ See the narrative of the Anglo-Saxon national hero Hereward, in which several Norse scenes appear (*cf.* Deutschbein). Axel Olrik calls attention to another Northumbrian saga, that of Earl Siward the Fat.

love Sigrun in the Eddic songs,²⁵ and the Helgi saga in turn is conjectured to have been influenced by the saga of Brian.²⁶ The armies of Brennius and Belinus meet in the wood near Calaterium and fierce is the conflict. "The ranks fell like oats under the reaper's hand", says Geoffrey.²⁷ The Norwegians take flight to their ships; Belinus makes his escape to Gaul. There exists, however, no seaport Calaterium. The whole story is modelled on the narrative of the Battle of Clontarf. Here, too, the battle was fought in a forest outside of Dublin. The Irish saga relates that the "ranks fell as when a great host are reaping a field of oats". At the close of the day the Norwegians fled to their ships. The Irish tale at this point shows its origin from the Norse saga of Brian, for it is said to have been the spectators on the walls of Dublin who made this remark.

The Icelanders became acquainted with the Viking saga in part directly, through their relations with Ireland, and in part indirectly, by way of the Orkney Islands. There was rich literary activity on the Orkneys in the twelfth century. The most noted name about the middle of the century was Jarl Rognvaldr Kali, and about 1200, Bishop Biarni Kolbeinsson. Not poetry alone, but the saga flourished here. According to the view of several scholars Bishop Biarni was the author of the saga of the jarls of Orkney (*Jarlasaga*). At any rate, the life of St. Magnus, the Orkney jarl, was written there. It was through a man from the Orkney Islands, as we intimated above, that the Icelanders came to know the British saga of Olaf Tryggvason.

Narrative tales had been related in Iceland since the time of its settlement, but now came knowledge of the saga on the British Isles—like a mental emancipation. Christianity was introduced; the times were more peaceful. Great deeds were now no longer done; men simply told about them. Legal proceedings had come instead of feuds. In such a period the saga could have its rise.

Richard Heinzel, who was the first to attempt a scientific investigation of the spirit of the saga, calls the sagas "historical romances". Finnur Jonsson (in his history of Icelandic literature) constantly emphasizes their historical value. They are, however, neither romances nor histories, but, as the name indicates, *sögur* (narrations), artistic reproductions of tradition. The historical and unhistorical are indissolubly blended. Some sagas are more, and some less, historical. A saga like that of Gunnlaug Snakes-

²⁵ Deutschbein.

²⁶ Sophus Bugge, *Helgedigtene*.

²⁷ Lib. III., c. 3.

tongue, because of its unified structure, stands very close to the historical romance. What the sagas tell of the Norwegian ancestors of their heroes is, as a rule, unhistorical. Where the action takes place in foreign lands it is generally an invention. Dress and weapons in the sagas belong to the end of the twelfth century. Sigurðr Sýr, when he receives his stepson, St. Olaf, is dressed as a knight of the time of Snorre. The chieftain Arinbjorn presents to the poet Egil Skallagrimsson a complete suit of English cloth and gives him long, elaborate silk sleeves to be fastened to the coat with golden buttons, and this about the year 950 when no English cloth-industry existed. Egil expresses his thanks for these sleeves, in a verse. This fashion, as Alwin Schultz²⁸ explains, was not introduced before the second half of the eleventh century.

Where a saga is fiction we find the epic laws established by Axel Olrik²⁹ prevailing. For instance, the "law of the number three" applies. On the third day the queen of Novgorod finds Olaf Tryggvason; the Hallgerd of the *Njála* is thrice married and receives a blow on the cheek from each of her three husbands. In these laws we possess an excellent method of deciding whether or not, and in what parts, a saga is the result of poetic invention.

Oral saga-narration originated between 950 and 1000 in the Viking settlements on the British Isles. During the next fifty years these sagas became known in Iceland as well as in Norway. Then the Icelanders in the second half of the eleventh century began to collect the oral traditions. The oral saga had its rise during this time in Iceland, to be written down eighty or a hundred years later.

Peculiar conditions are responsible for the creation of the art of the Icelandic saga: the peaceful life on that distant island in the midst of the ocean, far from the happenings which alter the course of history; remembrance of the forefathers who fought in Britain and Ireland and who were great chieftains in Norway; the duty of the chieftain to know his ancestral lineage; the relatively great prosperity still prevailing after Viking times, but subsequently offset by economic distress; the long winter evenings in the chieftain's hall or the light summer nights at the Althing.

Three times has the poetry of the Norwegian-Icelandic race conquered the world: by means of the Eddic songs, the Icelandic sagas, and the writings of Ibsen and Björnson. Between these lead paths which the investigator must follow.

ALEXANDER BUGGE.

²⁸ *Höfisches Leben zur Zeit der Minnesänger.*

²⁹ On the Epic Laws Dr. Axel Olrik gave a lecture at the Historical Congress of Berlin.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE DUTCH QUESTION IN 1787-1788

THE first great event of an international character which confronted the younger Pitt in his ministry was the Dutch Question. It would take us too far back to describe the origins of the disputes between the hereditary Stadholder and the States of some of the provinces of the Dutch Netherlands. They were complicated by the questions at issue between the provinces and the States General, representing the United Provinces. It must suffice to say that the federal constitution was settled by the compact arrived at in 1747, whereby the stadholderate (which had been suppressed in 1702) was restored as a perpetual office, hereditary in the House of Orange. The relations between the provinces were also adjusted; but neither these nor the powers of the Stadholder were defined with sufficient clearness to avert disputes in the future. The constitution of 1747 was confirmed in 1766. Nevertheless the troubles which followed, especially the war with England in 1780-1783, brought the whole question to a climax in the succeeding years.

The difficulties resulting from a loose federal tie, and the different constitutions and customs of the component provinces, concerning which the Dutch themselves were generally ill informed,¹ increased owing to the incompetence of the Stadholder, William V. The grandson of George II. of England, trained by his mother the Princess Anne to love and admire her country, he early ruffled the feelings of his subjects. During his minority he was under the tutelage of the Duke Louis of Brunswick, who made some encroachments on the military prerogatives of the provinces. Even when

¹ See Grenville's letter of July 31, 1787, to Pitt from the Hague, in *The Dropmore Papers*, III. 410.

For the Dutch disputes see Jacobi, *Geschichte der Siebenjährigen Verwirrungen . . . in den Vereinigten Niederlanden*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1789); Schloezer, *Ludwig Ernst, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg* (Goettingen, 1787); G. Ellis, *History of the Late Revolution in the Dutch Republic* (London, 1787); De Pfau, *Histoire de la Campagne des Prussiens en Hollande en 1787* (Berlin, 1790); P. de Witt, *Une Invasion Prussienne en Hollande en 1787* (Paris, 1886); F. Luckwaldt, *Die Englisch-Preussische Allianz von 1788* (Leipzig, 1902); Hertzberg, *Recueil des . . . Traités*, etc. (1778-1789), 2 vols. (Berlin, 1789); von Ranke, *Die Deutschen Mächte und der Fürstenbund*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1871-1872); H. T. Colenbrander, *De Patriottentijd hoofdzakelijk naar buitenlandsche Bescheiden* (Hague, 1897, in progress).

the duke was got rid of, foreign influences reigned supreme at the Stadholder's court. Unimpressive in person and torpid in mind, he presented a complete contrast to his consort Wilhelmina, sister of the prince who was soon to become Frederick William II. of Prussia, who possessed not only tact and energy but also the power of inspiring enthusiasm. Sir James Harris who went as British minister to the Hague in December, 1784, wrote soon afterward: "I discover daily many great and good qualities in this Princess: she has a due sense of her situation, and spirit and abilities *equal to anything*; but he, from that contemptible jealousy ever attendant on imbecility, had rather be crushed by his own awkwardness than saved by her dexterity."²

The party which sought to lessen his powers, and probably to abolish the stadholderate, also strove to weaken the federal tie between the provinces and to undermine the authority of the States General and the Council of State. This party, styled the Patriots, had long enjoyed the support of France. The ambassadors sent from Versailles, first Vauguyon and then Vêrac, encouraged them in their assaults on the central institutions; and after the war, the party of the constitution, or Orange party, which favored an alliance with England or Prussia, steadily lost ground, partly owing to the inactivity of the prince and the unpopularity of England, but also because Frederick the Great, uncle of the Princess of Orange, refused to support her consort, and even pressed him to come to terms with France. Though Pitt and his foreign secretary, the Marquis of Carmarthen, sent Earl Cornwallis on an informal mission to Berlin for the purpose of framing a friendly understanding between the two powers, mainly on the Dutch Question, yet the old monarch declined the proposal and rebuked his envoy at London for lending it his support.³ The cause of the Prince of Orange therefore declined, despite the tact and energy which Sir James Harris displayed in its defense. That envoy on December 14, 1784, reported that the British party was "dejected, depressed and divided". But he added on January 4, 1785, that if the prince acted with energy, two-thirds of the country would obey his call.⁴

At that time, and indeed throughout the years 1785 and 1786, Pitt refused to allow Harris a free hand at the Hague. His instructions were to do all that was possible by diplomatic means to prevent the fall of the Stadholder, but on no account to commit Great Britain to a policy which might lead to war. The position of foreign

² *Diaries and Correspondence of the first Earl of Malmesbury*, II. 97.

³ *Cornwallis Correspondence*, I. 206-210; Hertzberg, *Recueil*, II. 413-416.

⁴ *Malmesbury Diaries*, II. 79, 93. See also Colenbrander, *op. cit.*, I. (Appendix), for documents showing the decline of the Stadholder's party.

affairs no less than the urgent need of retrenchment and reform at home called for the greatest caution; and we must therefore take a brief survey of the international situation, which, as will appear, determined Pitt's action in the Dutch Question.

A perusal of the letters of Pitt, Carmarthen and Harris at this time shows the extreme difficulty of gaining an ally for the beaten and discredited island power. Proposal after proposal was made to Vienna and Petersburg only to be waved aside or rudely repulsed. It is significant of the deep distrust haunting the courts of London and Berlin, that, with the exception of the tentative overtures made through Cornwallis, no advances were made by either of these governments. Resentment at the events of 1761 was too keen at Berlin, and suspicion of Frederick's supposed designs on Hanover was too rife at Windsor, for any friendly intercourse. British ministers and their envoys alike believed that either Russia or Austria was their natural ally. Of the two, Russia was preferred, an alliance with Emperor Joseph II. being valued mainly because it would dissolve the "unnatural" union of the houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon. The letters and memoranda which passed between Pitt and Carmarthen show that the two statesmen were in general agreement, except that Pitt adhered more resolutely to a peaceful policy and felt rather less animus against France than his foreign minister. This was especially the case in the year 1786, the year of the commercial treaty with France. Even then, however, Pitt felt suspicious of French *policy*, as his letters to Eden amply show.⁵

The position was therefore exceedingly difficult in the years 1785 and 1786. The hostility of France was always to be feared; she had the alliance of Emperor Joseph II.; and he in his turn was closely connected, though not by any formal treaty, with Catharine II. Further, when George III. in his electoral capacity joined the Fürstenbund (August, 1785), those sovereigns manifested their annoyance in a very marked degree.⁶ Yet so deep-seated was the mutual distrust of the courts of London and Berlin that, despite the efforts of Hertzberg and of Ewart, the British secretary of legation at Berlin, no advance was made toward an Anglo-Prussian *entente*. In fact the two states felt almost identical reasons for moving with extreme caution, namely, that any decided action might lead to the formation of a triple alliance between the imperial courts and France. On August 8, 1785, Carmarthen wrote to Harris setting forth the threatening language of Woronzoff, Russian ambassador at London, as to the hostile compact which Catharine II. would

⁵ *Auckland Journals*, I. 106, 127, 266.

⁶ Hertzberg, *Recueil*, II. 292 ff.; *Malmesbury Diaries*, II. 131-135.

form with France as well as Austria in case Hanover joined the Fürstenbund.⁷ The threats were very properly scorned by George III.; but the danger was so far real as to impose the greatest caution. Harris was so imbued by the anti-Prussian spirit prevalent in the British diplomatic service that, in a "private" letter of August 23, 1785, to Carmarthen, he replied in the following jaunty terms: "As for the King of Prussia, if he is sincere, he will die; if not, he will of course deceive us; in both cases he should be used only as a tool; and by being forced to speak out himself, compel others to declare themselves." On September 9 he informed Carmarthen that he had striven hard to convince the Princess of Orange that England would help her more than Prussia would. He hoped greatly to gain her confidence—"as, if ever Europe recovers its senses sufficiently to admit of the formation of a wise system, the great *remora* which would stand in the way of this country [the Dutch Netherlands] becoming part of it would be the Princess of Orange's predilection for Prussia."⁸

On October 9, 1785, at the time when France was about to mediate between the emperor and the Dutch Netherlands respecting the Scheldt and Maestricht disputes, Harris sent to Carmarthen two memoirs. The former referred to plans for retarding the course of that mediation and the projected Franco-Dutch treaty; in the latter he thus described the measures which should be used for the recovery of Great Britain's position in Europe:

HAGUE, October 12, 1785.

In order ultimately to separate the House of Austria from that of Bourbon, which ought to be the chief and systematick pursuit of Great Britain, no approaches should at this moment be made towards forming an alliance either with Prussia or the Emperor, but a sufficient degree of intimacy kept up at both these Courts to leave them hopes that they will make part of a system we wish to form with Russia, towards which Court all our negotiations ought to be directed. We may safely tell the Empress that she labours under a glaring error in supposing that the accession of Hanover to the German League is an obstacle in the way of an alliance between Her Imperial Majesty and Great Britain. That it does not even militate against an alliance with the Emperor, and that it by no means amounts to a proof, as her Ministers affect to say, that England is determined at all rates [*sic*] to unite itself with Prussia. That the recent friendly and confidential overtures made at Petersburg, and which went even to an indirect proposal of a Triple Alliance with the two Imperial Courts, prove beyond a doubt that a contrary opinion prevails in the English Cabinet, and that it depended on the Emperor alone, if he had known how to set a just value on the friendly offers which came from thence, to have consolidated the most wise and most salutary system he can ever adopt.

⁷ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 28060.

⁸ *Ibid.*

That, whatever the sentiments of His Imperial Majesty may be at this moment, England, in order to give the Empress of Russia an undoubted instance of confidence, and with a view to do away [with] the very unjustifiable suspicions she seems disposed to entertain, does not scruple to say under the seal of the greatest secrecy, that no thoughts exist in the minds of the British Ministers of entering into any systematick engagements with the Court of Berlin, *unless compelled to them by events*. That to leave no doubt of the veracity of this assertion, the Court of London is ready to conclude immediately a separate treaty of defensive alliance with Russia and Denmark on such conditions as Her Imperial Majesty may deem the most advantageous to their common interests and the best adapted to the present times. It will be then evident that England cannot have any engagements contrary to the interests of Russia either in Germany or elsewhere, particularly as the Empress herself acknowledges the Treaties of Westphalia and Teschen to be sufficient sureties for the Germanic constitution.

Should this Triple Alliance succeed, besides the weight England would derive from having a footing on the Continent, it will greatly tend to facilitate the putting an end to the Treaty of 1756,⁹ since not only the insinuations of the Empress may greatly contribute to open the Emperor's eyes, but also his fears will be awakened, and he will be apprehensive that, if he refuses a connection with England, when that Court has formed one with Petersburg, [that] his interests there must sink and those of the King of Prussia rise.¹⁰

It is not a little curious that the diplomatist who three years later won fame and a peerage by his skilful framing of an Anglo-Prussian alliance at Loo, should here scout the idea of such a connection. Carmarthen returned a brief but friendly answer; and the British Foreign Office continued to angle vainly for support at the two imperial courts, even when Frederick William II. succeeded to the crown of the Hohenzollerns (August 17, 1786). In truth, that event made little difference in the relations of Prussia to Great Britain and Holland.¹¹ The new monarch repulsed the entreaties of his sister, the Princess of Orange, for help. The Prussian envoy at the Hague, Thulemeyer, continued to intrigue with the Patriots, against the Stadholder; so that finally the princess begged Frederick William to impose on Thulemeyer at least a policy of neutrality.¹²

In such circumstances the active intervention of Great Britain would have been worse than useless. Carmarthen aimed chiefly at weakening the Austro-French compact, but with little success.¹³ It was therefore in vain that Sir James Harris continued to assure

⁹ The alliance between France and Austria framed chiefly by Kaunitz.

¹⁰ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 28060.

¹¹ Lecky, V. 80, is incorrect in saying that his accession made a great change. No change was observable till June-July, 1787.

¹² F. O., Prussia, no. 11, Dalrymple to Carmarthen, April 21, 1787.

¹³ *Political Memoranda of the Duke of Leeds*, edited by Mr. Oscar Browning, pp. 106, 107.

ministers that the United Provinces were about to fall under the control of France. The successful inroads of the Patriots on the Stadholder's power aroused little interest at Whitehall; and when Harris came over to give ministers fuller information on these complex affairs, Pitt still adhered strictly to his policy of neutrality, though a majority of ministers now desired actively to intervene.¹⁴ All that was done was to vote a sum of £20,000 for secret use by the provinces loyal to the Stadholder; on June 10 the further sum of £70,000 was accorded to Harris for that purpose.¹⁵

It is at this point, shortly before the crisis arrived, that we may expand the narrative, adding those parts of the most important despatches which throw light on the situation.

On his return to the Hague, Harris found that the Patriots had gained complete mastery of Amsterdam; and on June 15 the States General were weak enough to admit the deputies sent by the illegal States of Utrecht, that city having broken away from the rest of the province and set up a legislature in hostility to the provincial States. This accession of strength to the Patriots in the States General enabled them to pass measures depriving the Stadholder of the right to order the march or disposal of the armed forces in the provinces outside the province of Holland, that province having already adopted that rigorous measure.

Four days later, however, the efforts of Harris, probably furthered by British gold, availed to secure the rejection of these decrees.¹⁶ Thus the majority in the States General was kept for the Stadholder—a matter of the utmost importance, as it prevented a formal demand of that body for the intervention of France, which would probably have led to war. Pitt and Carmarthen still hoped to settle matters by diplomacy or by a friendly mediation; and on June 6, 1787, the latter sent a despatch to Harris stating that if the province of Holland (which was more populous and wealthy than all the other provinces taken together) seceded from the Union and appealed to France, care must be taken that an application for the mediation of Great Britain should come from the four loyal provinces (Gelderland, Friesland, Zeeland and Utrecht) and from the two doubtful provinces, Groningen and Overijssel, if it were possible. He added that "Nothing could lay so good a ground for our further interference, or so much dispose the nation in favour of the Republic, as a direct application from the majority of the Provinces, and a

¹⁴ See Harris's notes on the cabinet meeting of May 23, 1787, at which he was present, in *Malmesbury Diaries*, II. 303-306.

¹⁵ F. O., Holland, no. 14, Carmarthen to Harris, June 10, 1787.

¹⁶ *Malmesbury Diaries*, II. 313-319.

prospect of reviving a connection which has repeatedly proved so beneficial to both countries."¹⁷

In the early summer of 1787 the Stadholder and the Princess of Orange rallied their friends, and hoped to secure soon the reduction of the city of Utrecht by force. The prospects of the "constitutional" party were therefore far from hopeless, despite the aid constantly though secretly given by France to the Free Corps. These bodies of armed burghers in the spring and summer of 1787 forcibly changed the regency, or government, of several towns, despoiled the property of opponents, and drew a cordon along the borders of the province of Holland so as to ensure the subjection of all its towns.

The question of intervention therefore became acute. The Princess of Orange, from her safe retreat in the fortress of Nimeguen, had sought to stir up Frederick William of Prussia to her assistance, and had ventured to send assurances that he would have the support of Great Britain. Ewart, the able and energetic secretary of the British legation at Berlin, reported to Carmarthen on June 12 that the Prussian statesman, Hertzberg, had been assured by the Princess of Orange of "the very favourable and encouraging assurances they had got at Nimeguen of the good disposition of the Court of Great Britain to maintain the constitution of the Republic, and that the effects should be made manifest when circumstances required it."¹⁸ She therefore begged Hertzberg to concert a plan of operations with England. Hertzberg sent her letter on to the king and hoped for good results. For many months that statesman and Ewart had been working hard to bring about an Anglo-Prussian alliance, but hitherto in vain. The Dutch Question, as they saw, ought to lead to such an arrangement; and soon the action of the Princess of Orange in determining to make her way through the cordon of the Free Corps and proceed to the Hague for the encouragement of her friends, brought the question to an acute phase.

She would scarcely have taken that step had she not known that Frederick William had recently been annoyed by the refusal of the French court to arrange with him a plan of settlement not unfavorable to the Stadholder. Montmorin, the French foreign minister, replied in very curt terms to the Prussian proposal, accusing the Stadholder of being the cause of the troubles, and warning the King of Prussia that any intervention on his part in support of the prince

¹⁷ F. O., Holland, no. 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Prussia, no. 11. Lord Dalrymple, British ambassador at Berlin, had gone home for his health. Ewart remained as *chargé d'affaires* until August, 1788, when he became ambassador with full powers to sign the Anglo-Prussian treaty of that month.

"ne serviroit qu'à le compromettre seul, en pure perte".¹⁹ Ewart reported that this reply had much irritated Frederick William; and the princess was aware of his change of front. What circumstance led her to believe that Great Britain was ready to intervene is matter for conjecture. Carmarthen, and still more so Pitt, had enjoined on Harris a policy of watchful but strict neutrality, and these orders were repeated on June 6. He was urged to prevent the break-up of the United Provinces, if possible; if it occurred, he might remove from the Hague with the deputies of the seceding provinces; but England must not be committed to a policy of intervention.²⁰

On hearing, however, of the energy and hopefulness of the Princess of Orange, Carmarthen sent the following despatch to Harris. In view of the statement of French historians—*e. g.*, that of M. Dareste—"Il (*i. e.*, Pitt) nous prépara un échec diplomatique en Hollande"²¹—it should be noticed how exceedingly cautious and pacific was the tone of the British minister:

The communication made to the King of Prussia by the Princess of Orange can certainly in no degree pledge His Majesty, and perhaps it may be attended with advantage if the general idea that this country may possibly take some share in the events now depending is conveyed in this Manner to the French Court. At the same time His Majesty's servants think that the expressions, particularly the concluding part of the last par.—"qu'Elle prend Intérêt, que son discours au Parlement le prouve, et qu'Elle le montrera dans l'occasion"—seem to imply that H. M. had given some positive assurances that there might exist an occasion on which H. M. had already determined to take part by open interference if the constitution and independence of the Republic were in danger. I am persuaded you did not, and I hope the Princess did not, consider them as conveying this meaning, which would certainly go beyond the sentiments I have so often expressed to you and which are particularly repeated in my last despatch; that H. M.'s conduct in any future contingency must depend upon the view of many circumstances, which it has not yet been possible to ascertain, particularly the strength and exertions of the well affected part of the Republick.

He then added that Great Britain must not be involved in any intercourse which may take place between the Princess of Orange and the Prussian court; and that any arrangement between Great Britain and Prussia must depend on the international situation. The Emperor Joseph II. would be more likely to intervene effectively than Prussia.²²

As has been hinted, the Dutch Question entered on a new phase when the Princess of Orange attempted to make her way into Hol-

¹⁹ F. O., Prussia, no. 11, Ewart to Carmarthen, June 16 and 23.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Holland, no. 14, Carmarthen to Harris, June 6, 1787.

²¹ Dareste, *Histoire de France*, VII. 112.

²² F. O., Holland, no. 15.

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land. She was stopped near Schoonhoven on the border of that province by a body of the Free Corps and was compelled by the decision of the States of Holland to return to Nimeguen. The motives which induced that princess to undertake the journey to the Hague, the change in the policy of Frederick William and of Pitt, and the discussions which ensued with France, are too complex to be set forth here. They will be recounted in the forthcoming work of the writer—"The Life and Times of William Pitt the Younger". Here it must suffice to quote some of the despatches which prove that the British government, while resolving to support the King of Prussia in his demand for complete reparation for the insult to his sister, yet continued to press for a friendly mediation of Great Britain, France and Prussia in Dutch affairs, such as had been mooted shortly before the occurrence of the incident at Schoonhoven. The following despatch of July 17, from Carmarthen to Ewart, was called forth by a report industriously circulated by Thulemeyer, and sent by him to Berlin, that in no case would England intervene by force on behalf of her partizans. The first sentence merely states that Ewart's despatch of July 7 had arrived yesterday. The despatch then continues:

No report could be falser than this—"That His Majesty had determined not to interfere at all in the Dutch affair, or that Mr. Pitt had made any representations against it"; and it is impossible that M. de Thulemeyer (if he in fact transmitted it) could believe it to be true. Altho' His [Britannic] Majesty would never set the example of foreign interference in the domestic concerns of the Republic, he could by no means see with indifference the attempts of any other Power to destroy its independence. And in fact H. M. has instructed His Minister at The Hague to observe attentively what was going on there with a view to any measures that might contribute to the restoration of harmony and the support of the constitution. You may add that H. M.'s first step in such a business would have been a direct communication with His Prussian Majesty, who, on account of the near relationship of the Princess of Orange towards His Prussian Majesty, and of his connections as so near a neighbour to the Republic, must be deeply interested in whatever concerns her, had not H. M. received repeated accounts from The Hague that the conduct of M. de Thulemeyer had been in uniform hostility to the interests of the House of Orange, and in direct concert with the emissaries of France—a circumstance which could not but shake the opinion H. M. would naturally have formed of the King of Prussia's sentiments on those subject. But if M. de Thulemeyer has ventured to pursue the conduct he has held without authority from his Court, and H. P. M. feels an interest in the independence of the Republic, in the preservation of its constitution, and in the support of the rights of the Stadtholder, H. M. will be extremely ready to enter into a most confidential communication with His Prussian Majesty on the means of preserving the essential objects I have just mentioned.

Carmarthen then stated that Montmorin had explicitly declared that France did not think herself authorized to intervene, as that would draw on an interference from other powers; that France desired to settle the dispute amicably by a joint mediation. His Majesty had not thought that

the Province of Holland could have been so mad as not to have instantly complied with His Prussian Majesty's very just demand of reparation and punishment. Any steps His Prussian Majesty may be under the necessity of taking on this occasion must be considered as totally distinct from an open interference in the domestic affairs of the Republic (which of course will depend on other grounds), and as only requiring that satisfaction which is due from one of the Provinces for a gross insult offered to H. P. M. in the person of his sister.

Carmarthen further states that the emperor is equally concerned in restoring order to his Netherlands; and he asks whether an agreement could not be arrived at, seeing that the Patriots are "*suspected of fomenting* the discontents in the Austrian Netherlands".

"Could such a good understanding be agreed on, there can be little doubt but the affairs of Holland would be settled in an amicable way to the satisfaction of all those who are interested in the welfare of the Republic."²³

This last sentence of the draft of the despatch is in Pitt's handwriting, and it is significant that he should have appended a sentence of this markedly pacific tendency. The standpoint of the British government, therefore, was perfectly clear. One of the Dutch provinces had insulted the sister of the King of Prussia. It must apologize for that insult; and thereafter Great Britain, France, Prussia and the emperor could arrange for a joint mediation in the affairs of the United Provinces. France also did not at that time dispute the right of the Prussian monarch to gain satisfaction; and had she used her great influence in the States of Holland to procure an adequate apology, it is probable that such a mediation would have been amicably arranged. In order to gain further information on the complex constitutional questions there at issue the British government despatched Mr. William Wyndham Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville) to the Hague, where he arrived on July 30. He was then joint paymaster of the forces and had undertaken no diplomatic duties; but his cool and practical nature qualified him for the task; and the long letters which passed between him, Pitt and others, from July 31 to August 20, when he returned, throw much light on the situation.²⁴ They prove the urgent desire of Pitt for a

²³ F. O., Prussia, no. 11, Carmarthen to Ewart, July 17, 1787. The proposal to include the emperor as mediator was soon dropped.

²⁴ See the Addenda in *Dropmore Papers*, III. 408 ff.; also two of the same letters (cut down) in the MSS. of P. V. Smith, reprinted in the Beaufort MSS.,

peaceful solution of the problem, but also his resolve to make preparations for war in case France threatened to intervene by force against the Prussians. In the British Foreign Office Records (France, no. 25) there is a draft of a despatch to Eden, dated Whitehall, August 10, 1787, entirely in Pitt's writing, and the official copy sent off is identical with it. Therein Pitt informed Eden of the rumored preparations by France which would thwart "the great work of conciliation which it is so much the object of the two Courts to forward and promote". He added that Great Britain would probably respond to the appeal of the loyal provinces, Friesland and Zeeland, for her intervention on their behalf, and then referred to the increasing violence of the Free Corps and the need of bringing about a complete cessation of hostilities before the mediation of the three powers could take place with effect. Eden had been authorized to propose that England and France should agree to discontinue their naval preparations until further notice; and on August 4 the French foreign minister acceded to this plan.²⁵ But it is clear that the entry of French volunteers into the United Provinces and the excesses of the Free Corps (as notified by Harris in his urgent despatch of August 20) led the British government to take more decided measures on August 24, as will presently appear.

Meanwhile the refusal of the States of Holland to accord adequate reparation to the King of Prussia led to the assembly of the expeditionary force at Wesel; but the vacillations at Berlin continued and were the cause of much perplexity to Hertzberg, Ewart and Harris. Dr. Luckwaldt has also shown that the force at Wesel was not ready to march by July 20, as M. de Witt had asserted, but was scarcely prepared by September 7, so the Duke of Brunswick averred.²⁶ In fact, the *dénouement* came very slowly, owing to the influence which the French party at Berlin brought to bear on the king, and the apprehensions which he entertained of Austria. His fears of a joint attack from France and the Hapsburg Power, together with the intrigues of Finckenstein at Berlin, Thulemeyer at the Hague, and the equally Francophile Goltz at Paris, probably account for the overture which the court of Berlin sent to that of Versailles in the third week of July, with a view to a joint mediation by those two governments alone in the Dutch Question. Had the three ministers above named solely directed the course of affairs, the

Historical Manuscripts Commission Report, XII., part ix., pp. 355-357; also the excellent monograph of Professor E. D. Adams, *The Influence of Grenville on Pitt's foreign Policy* (Washington, 1904).

²⁵ F. O., France, no. 25, Eden to Carmarthen, August 4, 1787.

²⁶ Luckwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 80, note; P. de Witt, *Une Invasion Prussienne en Hollande en 1787*, p. 235.

result would probably have been a shabby compromise. But Hertzberg, as he informed Ewart, had taken care to work on the susceptibilities of Frederick William by suggesting that any action conjointly with France would be impossible unless she consented to the following preliminary conditions: (1) a full reparation to the Prince and Princess of Orange for the insult; (2) the recognition of the Stadholder as forming an integral part of the Dutch constitution and not as a personage whose claims might be considered separately (as France had recently claimed); (3) a formal request emanating from the States General for the two powers to mediate; (4) the withdrawal of the troops of the province of Holland from the province of Utrecht, and an undertaking of Holland not to interfere with that or the other provinces; (5) the according permission immediately by the States of Holland to the princess to proceed to the Hague. Hertzberg informed Ewart that the king had accepted these conditions and that the court of Versailles would almost certainly reject them.²⁷

This proved to be the case. The resolve of the French court to treat the insult as a negligible affair, and to regard the Prince of Orange as almost external to the Dutch constitution made a bad impression on the Prussian monarch, so Ewart reported on August 9; and, as the States of Holland still refused the required reparation, the question of a Franco-Prussian mediation lapsed. Nevertheless there was more wavering at Berlin, owing to some indiscreet words which Eden let fall at Versailles, probably to Count Goltz, which he transmitted to Berlin, implying that he [Eden] said "that the satisfaction [for the insult] was not a point worth enforcing by arms, and that the march of the Prussian troops must be in the way of the mediation [*sic*]". The report of these words, whether correct or not, produced a sensation at Berlin, and caused ministers to write at once to their envoy at London, Count Lusi, to inquire whether the British minister was about to change front. Of course it met with an entire denial; and Pitt, on September 8, sent a courteous but firm rebuke to Eden, accompanied with a request for an explanation of the incident. It is unfortunate that this part of his letter should have been omitted by the editor of the *Auckland Correspondence*, and quite needlessly, for in a letter of September 19 to Eden, Pitt frankly accepted Eden's explanation of "the supposed conversation between you and Baron Goltz".²⁸

²⁷ F. O., Prussia, no. 11, Ewart to Carmarthen, July 17. See also Luckwaldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.

²⁸ The parts omitted from the *Auckland Correspondence*, I. 191-192, are given in the MSS. of P. V. Smith in the Beaufort MSS., *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report*, XII., part IX., p. 357. See also the *Auckland Correspondence*, I. 198.

These intrigues of Goltz, Thulemeyer and others delayed the *entente* between Great Britain and Prussia; and it was not until definite assurances of support were sent from London to Berlin on August 24 that the diplomatic horizon began to clear. The more decided attitude then taken by the British government resulted from the accentuation of the crisis in Holland. Despite the pacific assurances showered by Montmorin upon Eden, which that envoy received in a very trustful spirit, it was obvious that French agents in Holland were doing their utmost to encourage the Patriots. Montmorin probably acted with sincerity, at least it is difficult to reconcile his resolve (formed about August 20) to recall the mischief-maker, Vêrac, with the duplicity of which Carmarthen more than once accused him in his despatches to Eden. Still, there can be no doubt that French volunteers strengthened the Free Corps, and that the confident expectation of French help rendered the States of Holland obdurate.²⁹ The despatches which Carmarthen forwarded to Harris, Ewart and Eden on August 24 show that the British government had then come to consider war as probable. Its alarm was probably caused by Harris's despatch of August 20 describing the march of a body of Free Corps towards the Hague, and his precautions in sending away the archives of the legation and in preparing to retreat with the Stadholder's friends to Brill, where they might be defended by British ships. The capture of the arsenal at Delft by the Free Corps also seemed imminent; and that event would deprive the Orange party of the munitions of war. On August 21 Harris described the capture of Delft; but probably the latter despatch was not received before Carmarthen wrote the decisive missives of August 24. That which he sent to Ewart had the effect of fixing the wavering purposes of the Prussian monarch (so our envoy stated in his despatch of September 4) and inducing him to forward the ultimatum to the States of Holland and to order the Duke of Brunswick to prepare for the advance. The arrival on September 7 of news concerning the rupture between Turkey and Russia helped to clinch the resolve of Frederick William; and even Finckenstein now favored armed intervention in Holland.³⁰ It is curious, as showing the close connection of all parts of the European system, that the resolve of the Sultan to break away from Russian tutelage should have sealed the doom of the democrats in Holland. But so it was. Russia and Austria were thenceforth too occupied

²⁹ There seem grounds for thinking that Ségur, who held the Ministry for War up to August, 1787, was responsible for this help to the Patriots.

³⁰ F. O., Prussia, Ewart to Carmarthen, September 8, 1787.

to combine against Prussia; and the court of Berlin had no fear of France alone, provided that help from England was assured.

Carmarthen's note of August 24 left no doubt on that point. While stating that Eden had been charged to induce the court of Versailles to acquiesce in Prussia's action, he added that steps were being taken to engage a body of Hessians for the British service. In a secret despatch of the same date he declared that, though naval preparations had been discontinued, Great Britain could send out at short notice a naval force fully equal to that of the French; she would support the King of Prussia, and would act quickly if the need arose.

In the despatch to Harris at the Hague (August 24, 1787) Carmarthen declared that, as France was arming, England would adopt precautionary measures; Lieutenant-General Fawcett had gone to Cassel for the purpose above named, and he would, if necessary, engage 5000 Hessians for the service of the provinces loyal to the Stadholder. A ship would be stationed at Harwich, charged with warlike stores, which Harris might summon if he thought fit.³¹

Equally significant is Carmarthen's despatch of August 24 to Eden at Versailles. In it he traversed the contention of the French government that their proposed camp at Givet was a natural and proper retort to the assembly of Prussian troops at Wesel. He declared that Great Britain, while entirely approving of the action of His Prussian Majesty in demanding satisfaction from the States of Holland, hoped that it might be obtained

without having recourse to extremities; and His Majesty would gladly contribute by all the means in his power to its being amicably arranged; but while the party in Holland persists in refusing this just demand, it appears to His Majesty perfectly just and natural that the King of Prussia should take the necessary steps for enabling him to support it with effect.

He then stated that France could have no interest in opposing this demand which was one of personal honor. If France disliked the King of Prussia's action she should prevail on her party in Holland to offer satisfaction to him. The next thing would be to arrange a suspension of hostilities in the United Provinces, which could be done only by breaking up the cordon of troops, limiting the forces in the provinces to the ordinary quota, and disarming the Free Corps. He then suggested that this might be so done as to give advantage to neither side, the Free Corps giving up their arms on the appointed day to commissioners named by the three mediating powers, who should prevent their recovery by either party unless the

³¹ F. O., Holland, no. 17.

negotiations failed. In that case the arms would be returned to their former owners. The conduct of the province of Holland, however, rendered this plan precarious. Another suspicious circumstance was the number of French soldiers in the Free Corps. As for the Prussian proposals for a settlement, they had had the approval of His Majesty.³²

The opinion of the British government, then, was that the action of the King of Prussia toward the province of Holland was an indispensable preliminary to the joint mediation of the three powers. Naturally enough, France demurred to this view, seeing that she was allied to the United Provinces by the treaty of 1785. The weak side of her case was that she did not persuade the States of Holland to make due reparation. Some of her historians, notably Count Barral de Montferrat, have treated the insult as a very trifling affair, which was adequately explained by the States of Holland.³³ But it is certain that the Prussian monarch did not, and could not, take that view. His hesitation to take decided action is to be regarded, not as a sign that he thought little of the affair, but rather as a proof of his mental instability and of the concern felt at Berlin for the isolation of Prussia and the hostility of Austria. Finally, on September 3, he took the step noticed before; but Ewart declared that he grounded his resolve partly on the reasoning of the Duke of Brunswick, that the seeking of reparation for the insult was distinct from the question of mediation. Grenville had gone to Nimeguen to confer with the Duke of Brunswick;³⁴ and it is probable that the advice which the duke forwarded to the King of Prussia came originally from Whitehall.

That the States of the province of Holland reckoned on armed help from France is clear from the fact that they rejected the Prussian ultimatum above referred to, and on September 9, 1787, sent a pressing request for help to the court of Versailles. Two of the burgomasters of Patriot towns, Utrecht and Gorcum, also proceeded to Paris a little later and expressed themselves to W. A. Miles as certain of securing it.³⁵ A favorable view of French policy may be seen in the Auckland Papers; but it is necessary to supplement them by documents drawn from the British Foreign Office. On September 4 the British envoy, William Eden, received a confidential note from Montmorin, which traversed the contentions of the British and Prussian governments described above. Montmorin defended the

³² F. O., France, no. 25.

³³ Barral de Montferrat, *Dix Ans de Paix Armée* (1893), chs. XIII., XIV.

³⁴ *Dropmore Papers*, III. 413.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 435.

violent actions of the Free Corps in the United Provinces and even stated that the towns where they had forcibly changed the magistrates "ont déjà consommé la réforme: . . . c'est une affaire terminée". As for the Prince of Orange, he must abdicate in favor of his son. In view of the very critical state of French politics it is difficult to see why Montmorin (despite his personal leaning towards peace) should have adopted this provocative tone. Perhaps it was an attempt to browbeat Great Britain and Prussia. If such was his aim, he failed. On September 8, Carmarthen instructed Eden to protest against the excesses of the Free Corps, which were often officered by Frenchmen. He further stated that an unpleasant impression had been created at Whitehall by the delay of France to accede definitely to the proposals for a joint mediation and pacification of the United Provinces; that no mediation would be possible until the Free Corps were disarmed and disbanded; and that the conduct of England had in no wise changed.

The resulting interview of Eden with Montmorin on September 11 was "unpleasant". Montmorin upbraided Eden with the ceaseless suspicions of France harbored by the British government. He even charged it with seeking to amuse France with negotiations, while concocting hostile plans with Prussia. As for disarming the Free Corps, it was as impossible as to control the waves of the sea. France, he asserted, could only very slightly influence the Patriots. No settlement whatever could be arrived at if the Prussians advanced; and in that case hostilities must be the result. He then referred to the rupture between Russia and Turkey as an unfortunate event, and added that France would seek to prevent the destruction of the Ottoman Empire.³⁶ On September 13 he showed to Eden the appeal for help that had come from the States of Holland, which, he declared, France could not refuse. He accused England of inciting Prussia to this action, though, as he averred, perfectly satisfactory explanations had been given of the slight offered to the Princess of Orange.³⁷ The answer of the British government, on September 19, to these threatening declarations is too long to be quoted in full, but it may be thus summarized:

His Majesty feels deep regret at the resolve of the French court to take steps which so directly lead to a rupture. His Majesty still hopes to see the Dutch troubles peacefully settled; but he cannot be a quiet spectator of armed interference on the part of France.

³⁶ F. O., France, no. 26, Eden to Carmarthen, September 11, 1787. This last statement refutes that of Count Barral de Montferrat, *op. cit.*, p. 217, that Montmorin looked on the Eastern war as opening up more promising vistas for Prussia than Holland offered; e. g., a raid into Bohemia or Finland!

³⁷ *Auckland Journals*, I. 522-530.

The British government has not departed from its avowed intentions. M. Montmorin himself formerly expressed a desire for satisfaction to the King of Prussia, but no result accrued from it. The notes of the States of Holland resemble a justification more than an apology. The States General have often disavowed the acts of the States of Holland; and France, if she interferes, will "be supporting a party who act in direct opposition to the sentiments of that ally" (the United Provinces). His Majesty must therefore give orders for naval preparations; but he will strive to avert the evils of war, and will carry on the negotiations. No answer has been received to the British proposals in the despatch of August 24 for the basis of joint mediation. The violence of the Free Corps and the avowed inability of France to restrain them make it necessary that disarmament shall be the first of such proposals; but if this be impossible at the outset, it must take place in the sequel as a prelude to any settlement. The pay of the troops disbanded by the province of Holland must also be paid. For the rest, the Prussian proposals may well be taken as a basis, as Montmorin has not formally objected to them. The Stadholder must also be restored to his duties as captain-general, and to his powers as specified in 1766. If this is agreed to, very much may be hoped from the joint mediation of the three courts. No notice will be taken of the charges of insincerity against England.

Another despatch to Eden of the same date informed him that Grenville would at once proceed to Paris on a special mission. The instructions drawn up for his guidance, dated September 21, require him firstly to discover whether peace may be preserved. The chief points to be aimed at are the right of the King of Prussia to gain reparation for the insult to his family. The settlement of Dutch affairs must also be such as to preserve the constitution in its essential points, and authority must not be allowed to pass into the hands of those opposed to Great Britain. This must be distinctly stated to the French court, and any opposition to this must be regarded as a sign of hostility. Any changes in the *Règlements* of some of the provinces must be referred to the free deliberations of their States. Any attempt of the French court to protract the discussions must be discouraged as far as possible.

Other despatches of the same date to Harris and Ewart make it clear that the British government still looked forward to a joint mediation of the three powers. The obvious inability of France to draw the sword did not lead the British cabinet to decide to oust her from the proposed mediation. On the contrary, if she had recognized the facts of the situation, or showed a desire to co-operate on

the lines above described, she could have played her part in the solution of the problem. Why she decided to hold entirely aloof is hard to fathom; but the facts now to be set forth may help us to a surmise which seems to suit the facts of the case.

The Prussians crossed the Dutch frontier on September 13. The resistance of the Free Corps was easily overcome; and the Prince of Orange entered the Hague on September 20, amidst the enthusiasm of the citizens, a majority of whom had favored his cause there as in the rural districts of the province of Holland. In fact, the feeble stand made by the Patriots against a force of about 25,000 men proves that they had not the bulk of the nation on their side. The Dutch, when united and determined, have ever made a stubborn defense of their land.

Harris clinched the triumph of the Orange party by inducing the States of Holland to reverse their decrees against the Stadholder and to rescind their resolution of September 9 appealing for armed help from France. As this action deprived the court of Versailles of all excuse for armed intervention, the despatch describing it deserves to be quoted nearly in full, especially as it has been (very strangely) omitted from the *Malmesbury Diaries*.

HARRIS TO CARMARTHEN.

No. 125.

HAGUE, Friday, 21 Sept., 1787.

I have succeeded in carrying through the States of Holland the Resolution I mentioned to your Lordship last night, but not without some difficulty; as, although all the towns except Amsterdam, Alkmaar and Hoorn are come round, it was in such direct contradiction to the sentiments they expressed a fortnight ago that they wished to defer it. I however insisted on the importance of the measure and on the necessity of celerity, and I succeeded.

This morning early I collected a few of my most confidential friends to agree on the terms in which this Resolution should be conceived, and I have the honor to enclose it, as we then drew it up, and as it has since passed. It was brought forward by Dordt²⁸ (a singular circumstance), seconded by the Equestrian Order, and, after a slight opposition on the part of Leyden and Gouda, carried unanimously. Sixteen towns out of the 19 were present. It will be despatched tonight to Versailles, and be communicated to M. Caillard, *chargé des affaires de France*, this evening. As far as my judgment reaches, it seems calculated to remove every pretext for the interference of France; or, if that Court does now interfere, it will put her so much in the wrong that she cannot claim or expect the assistance of any of her allies in a war which will have been entirely of her own seeking.

Besides the infinite advantages that always attend quick measures, I was anxious to get this through before the Prince of Orange took his Seat in the Estates of Holland in order that France might not throw

²⁸ Dort had recently sided against the Stadholder.

the odium of it on His Highness and make use of it as a handle to keep alive the resentment of her party against him.³⁹

The news of this crowning diplomatic success reached London on September 25, and Paris probably about the same time. Certainly Grenville knew of it before he had his first interview with Montmorin, on September 28. The letter which Grenville wrote to Pitt at Calais on September 23, in reply to one informing him of the first successes of the Prussians, shows that he fully appreciated the need of the conciliatory methods which Pitt had just prescribed.⁴⁰ Indeed, his conduct throughout was eminently cautious, though he now foresaw that France would give up the game as hopeless.

He found Montmorin reserved and cold. That minister declared that the principles which might formerly have been applicable to the Dutch problem were not so, now that Prussia had 25,000 men on Dutch soil. They must withdraw before negotiations could proceed. Grenville then sought to induce him to cancel the *Déclaration* which the French government had issued on September 16 as to its resolve to aid the province of Holland; but received the reply that it had been called forth by the march of the Prussian troops and would be annulled only when they retired; and he replied in similar terms to Grenville's suggestion that Great Britain and France should agree to discontinue their armaments. To this Grenville made answer that he could not with propriety discuss the question of the Prussian evacuation; and that the Dutch Question must be put in the way of a settlement before they retired. Montmorin then pressed him to draw up a plan of pacification; but this he declined to do, as it would be *ultra vires*.⁴¹

Their interview on October 1 was equally unsatisfactory; and a joint conference held by Grenville and Eden with Montmorin on October 2 was also without result, the French minister refusing to negotiate while the Prussians were in possession. Foreseeing no good from the continuance of these discussions, Grenville decided to return to London to apprise Pitt of the state of affairs. The cabinet fully approved his action and expressed surprise at the protests of France. But in point of fact the letters that passed between Pitt and Grenville show that both of them had divined the secret of the situation, that France could not draw the sword. As Pitt remarked, the chief danger was that she would be *hooted* into war by the populace.⁴² Seeing that the force at Givet had not begun to

³⁹ F. O., Holland, no. 18.

⁴⁰ For Pitt's letters of September 21 and 22 to Grenville, see the *Dropmore Papers*, III. 426, 427. For Grenville's mission, see E. D. Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7.

⁴¹ F. O., France, no. 26, Grenville to Carmarthen, September 28, 1787.

⁴² *Dropmore Papers*, III. 430-436.

assemble by the end of September,⁴³ the chief aim of the French minister seems to have been to back out of the dispute with as little loss of dignity as possible. The device of refusing to negotiate so long as the Prussians were in the United Provinces was well suited to this end; but it compelled France to look on in impotent wrath at the course of events in Holland, which reversed the masterful policy of Vergennes.

The truth seems to be that, in view of the protracted strife between the Crown and the Paris Parlement, the desperate state of the finances, and the need of watching closely the crisis in the Orient, Montmorin had decided that France must on no account go to war over the Dutch Question. On this topic he opened his heart with indiscreet fullness after a private dinner which he and Eden had together on Thursday, September 19. In the course of the conversation, which Eden reported as follows to Whitehall, Montmorin admitted that England's policy had been consistent. So far as his own feelings were concerned, he would tender the following advice to his sovereign:

If the Estates of Holland should prove so defenceless, or so intimidated as to give way to whatever might be forced under the present attack, he should advise the Most Christian King not to engage in a war, but, protesting against the conduct, to give refuge and protection at any practicable expense to all who might be driven from their country and might seek it. On the contrary, if the situation of things should prove such as to give a prospect of assisting with a hope of maintaining the Dutch constitution, and to protect an allied Province against a foreign attack, he would advise France to do it by all the means within her power. In the course of the conversation he gave me explicitly to understand, what he has often alluded to, that he has personally disliked the whole pursuit [*sic*] in Holland, and has wished in vain to find means to get creditably out of it, and also that he feels a solicitude to have the means of turning his attention more compleatly [*sic*] to the other side of Europe. My inference from the whole conversation was that, if the settling of the business in Holland can be accomplished speedily and effectually, and if immediate means are taken by [illegible] measures to moderate and reconcile all discontents within the [United] Provinces, a war will be avoided, which this country is ill prepared to undertake; and more especially at a moment when such exertions as she can make will be more urged towards another Quarter. I have been obliged to state this with some haste, but it appeared to me important, and I hope that I have made it intelligible.

I have etc.

WM. EDEN.⁴⁴

Probably these views of Montmorin were shared by Loménie de Brienne, Malesherbes and Lamoignon. Two ministers, Ségur and Castries, who had favored a forward policy at the Hague, had

⁴³ *Dropmore Papers*, III. 435.

⁴⁴ F. O., France, no. 26.

recently retired. The peace party therefore carried the day. Eden reported on September 16 that France had made efforts to induce Austria, Spain and even Saxony to espouse her cause.⁴⁵ Apparently, they came to naught; and the decision of the men of Amsterdam on October 6 to come to terms with the Duke of Brunswick, who had recently been blockading their city, seems to have quenched the last efforts of the war party at Versailles.

This unexpected turn of events naturally played into the hands of the Stadholder's party. That the British government felt the irregularity of the situation is clear from Carmarthen's despatch of October 5 to Harris. In it Carmarthen declared that all the operations of the Duke of Brunswick should be connected with the original demand for satisfaction to the King of Prussia, so as to prevent France from describing them as a direct interference in the internal affairs of that republic; for the apology to the King of Prussia was incomplete while an armed force protected the persons of those who had insulted the princess. No qualms as to the propriety of their proceedings seem to have troubled the Prussians and the Orange party. We may detect Pitt's hand in the following sentence: "It is certainly His Majesty's wish, as soon as the object in Holland is securely obtained, to terminate the business in such a way as may enable this country to disarm." This consummation was reached by the *Déclaration* and *Contre-Déclaration* signed by the British and French ministers at Versailles on October 27, in the latter of which Montmorin put forth the surprising assertion that it had never been the intention of His Most Christian Majesty forcibly to intervene in Dutch affairs.

The Orange reaction naturally brought about the formation of an Anglo-Dutch alliance, which replaced that with France. The details of the treaty, signed by Harris and Van der Spiegel at the Hague on April 15, 1788, are well known. The most unsatisfactory part of it was that relating to the proposed restitution to the United Provinces of Negapatam, which had been ceded to Great Britain in May, 1784. Negotiations were to be set on foot for its restitution within six months; but they never took place; and much soreness was the result. The Prusso-Dutch treaty, signed at Berlin on April 15, 1788,⁴⁶ served to bind together those states and to pave the way for the Triple Alliance of that year between England, Prussia and the United Provinces, which during three years gave the law to the north of Europe.

The events of 1787-1788 were therefore of far more than local

⁴⁵ F. O., France, no. 26.

⁴⁶ See Hertzberg, *Recueil*, II. 444-448; Garden, *Traité*s, V. 92-93.

interest. They consolidated the position of the House of Orange, and, though their effects vanished for a time in the whirlwind of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, yet they pointed the way to the establishment of monarchy in 1814. Far different was the outcome of affairs in France. There the old order of things tottered under the blow dealt by England and Prussia. All the world expected Louis XVI. to draw the sword; and probably he would have strengthened his position and undermined that of the Parlements had he adopted a spirited policy and aroused a national feeling. As it was, he rattled the sword in the scabbard and then issued the extraordinary *Contre-Déclaration* of October 27 that he had never intended to draw it. A more fatuous and fatal policy cannot be conceived. It was a public confession that France could not fight, even on behalf of an ally; and Napoleon afterwards named it as one of the chief causes of the French Revolution.

In truth, the court of Versailles committed every possible blunder. Its agents in Holland, notably Vêrac, encouraged the Dutch Patriots to push matters to an extreme, though Montmorin all along doubted the wisdom of going to war on their behalf. A little later he confessed to Eden his mistake in not recalling Vêrac long before the troubles came to a climax. This is perfectly true; for, as has been shown, the warlike attitude adopted by the British court on August 24 resulted solely from the aggressions of the Free Corps and the intrigues of Vêrac. Carmarthen continued to accuse Montmorin of duplicity, but he may rather be charged with weakness in not checking the actions of Ségur and in not recalling Vêrac by the spring of 1787. Whatever may be our verdict on the motives that actuated Montmorin, he certainly helped to dig the grave of the old monarchy.

British policy, on the other hand, was active, intelligent and prompt to take advantage of events. Harris played the long uphill game at the Hague with skill, boldness and tenacity. In all probability he did not suggest the journey of the Princess of Orange from Nimeguen to the Hague, though that has generally been credited to him. The evidence seems to show that it was the outcome of her daring and resourceful spirit. But Pitt and Carmarthen at once discerned the results that might accrue from that event. They awaited a favorable opportunity; and the outbreak of war in the East came just in time to clinch the long wavering purposes of the King of Prussia. There are few episodes in modern history which more easily and swiftly brought about an entirely new diplomatic situation, or from which greater results were to spring.

J. HOLLAND ROSE.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE NAVY

FROM March 4, 1861, to April 15, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was the commander-in-chief of the navy of the United States. During these years the duties of this office were more important, varied and difficult than at any other period of the history of our nation. Early in the Civil War the task of administering the navy was suddenly augmented and complicated by a large increase in the number of ships, officers and seamen, by far-reaching changes in the art of naval construction, and by the employment of the fleet in actual warfare. From 1861 to 1865 the naval ships increased from 90 to 670, the officers from 1300 to 6700, and the seamen from 7500 to 51,500. Some two hundred vessels were built either at the navy-yards by the government or at private shipyards under contract, and more than three hundred vessels were purchased. The net annual expenditures of the navy rose from \$12,000,000 to \$123,000,000.¹

During the Civil War naval architecture was in a state of transition. Iron was superseding wood as a material of construction, and steam engines were taking the place of sails as a means of propulsion. When the war began more than one-half of our naval vessels were sailing-ships; when it ended four-fifths of them were steamships. Many of the latter were ironclads, the modern type of war-vessel, now first introduced into our navy. Of the ironclads, not a few were monitors, the well-known invention of that distinguished engineer and naval architect, John Ericsson. The construction of naval machinery and of ordnance was rapidly improved. Nearly every variety and type of engine, valve-gear, screw-propeller and boiler were tried. A chief engineer was sent to Europe to collect information relating to steam engineering. The various kinds of coal in the seaboard states were experimented with in order to ascertain their comparative value for naval vessels. New cannon of different kinds were introduced, the largest of which were the 15-inch guns brought into use by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus V. Fox. These numerous changes in the art of naval construction greatly increased the difficulties of administration.²

¹ *Senate Ex. Doc.*, 45 Cong., 1 sess., no. 3, pp. 156-157; *House Ex. Doc.*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., no. 280; *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy*, for 1864, pp. xii-xxiv; for 1865, pp. xii-xiii; *Navy Registers*, for 1860, pp. 18-81; for 1865, pp. 12-216.

² *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy*, for 1864, p. xxix.

The naval operations of the Civil War were the most extensive ever undertaken by our navy. A blockade of the Southern States was successfully enforced, many important naval expeditions were projected and executed, numerous rivers of the South and West were actively patrolled, and the commerce-destroyers of the enemy were tracked over distant seas. At the beginning of the war the blockading of the extensive coast of the Confederacy was deemed impossible by many men both at home and abroad. To their surprise this difficult undertaking was soon accomplished. The length of the coast blockaded, measured from Alexandria, Virginia, to the Rio Grande, was 3549 miles. One hundred and eighty-nine harbors, openings to rivers, or indentations of the coast were guarded. On the Mississippi and its tributaries the gunboats traversed and patrolled 3615 miles; and on the sounds, bayous, rivers and inlets of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, about 2000 miles.³ Next in importance to the blockade, were the naval operations against the batteries, forts and fortified towns and cities on the sea-coast and rivers of the Confederacy. As examples of this class of operations, it is sufficient to mention the memorable achievements of Farragut at New Orleans, Vicksburg and Mobile, of Porter at Fort Fisher, and of Dupont and of Dahlgren at Charleston. The most important event of the war in connection with the Confederate commerce-destroyers was of course the capture of the *Alabama* by the *Kearsarge*, off Cherbourg, in June, 1864.

President Lincoln has briefly described the work of the navy in a letter written on August 26, 1863, in response to an invitation to attend a mass-meeting of "unconditional Union men", to be held at Springfield, Illinois, the President's home-town. Having referred to the achievements of the army at Antietam, Murfreesboro and Gettysburg, and on fields of lesser note, he paid his respects to its sister-service:

Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present. Not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all.⁴

The immediate representatives of the President in naval affairs were the two leading officials of the Navy Department, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus V. Fox. These two men, with the assistance of their bureau chiefs, largely conducted the naval business of the war.

³ *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy*, for 1863, p. iii.

⁴ Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Gettysburg ed.), IX. 101.

Their relations with the President were exceedingly cordial and intimate. They saw him almost daily, visited him at all hours at the White House, and discussed with him the various phases of naval policy and administration. Upon them largely depended the success or failure of the navy. Differing widely in temperament, training and experience, the two men were complementary. Each would have been weak without the other. Together they were a remarkably strong force in conducting the war. So closely were they associated with the President, and so large and predominant a part in naval affairs did they play, that no account of Lincoln and the navy would be complete without some reference to their work and character.

Gideon Welles was descended from the best stock of Connecticut. The original emigrant of his family to that state, Thomas Welles, held many important public offices between 1639 and 1659, being twice elected governor of the infant colony. Gideon was educated at the Episcopal Academy in Cheshire, Connecticut, and at the Norwich University in Vermont. He read law, and at the age of twenty-three became editor and one of the proprietors of the *Hartford Times*, which he edited until 1837. From 1827 to 1835 he was a member of the Connecticut legislature. For several years Welles served his state as comptroller of public accounts, and for some five years he was postmaster of Hartford. From 1846 to 1849 he was chief of the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing in the Navy Department at Washington.

In politics Welles was for many years a Jacksonian Democrat. His anti-slavery views carried him into the Republican party when it was organized, and in 1856 he was its candidate for governor of Connecticut. He was at that time the leading contributor to the *Hartford Evening Press*, the Republican organ of his state. For several years Welles was a member of the Republican National Committee. He was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1856 and 1860, and during the presidential campaign of 1860 he labored earnestly for the election of Lincoln.⁵

In November, 1860, when Lincoln began to consider various men for places in his Cabinet, Welles's name was one of the first presented to him, and was the subject of a special consultation. Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin urged his appointment. Senator John P. Hale, a New Hampshire politician, was rather earnestly pressed upon the President for Secretary of the Navy, and he was somewhat mortified that his pretensions for the place were not more seriously regarded. Other names may have been considered for the naval

⁵ Boynton, *History of the Navy during the Great Rebellion*, I. 22-24.

portfolio. Lincoln from the first was convinced of Welles's fitness, availability and representative character.⁶

The assignment of Welles to the Navy Department instead of to some other Cabinet position may be ascribed to his three years' experience as chief of the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing, and to his residence in New England, whose maritime interests have given her a claim upon the naval secretaryship. In making up his Cabinet, Lincoln apportioned its members according to their sectional residence and their party antecedents. Welles was chosen as the New England member, and as a representative of the Democratic element of the Republican party. The Whig faction of the party was not generally friendly to him. No love was lost between Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy and his Secretary of State, William H. Seward. Thurlow Weed, one of the leaders of the Whigs in New York, was not kindly disposed towards Welles and opposed his selection for the naval secretaryship. In December, 1860, Weed said to the President that if he would on his way to his inauguration in Washington stop long enough in New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore to select an attractive figure-head from the prow of a ship, would adorn it with an elaborate wig and luxuriant whiskers, and would transfer it to the entrance of the Navy Department, this figure-head would be quite as serviceable to the navy as Welles, and much less expensive. "Oh", Mr. Lincoln replied, "wooden midshipmen answer very well in novels, but we must have a live secretary of the navy."⁷

Welles's "elaborate wig and luxuriant whiskers" gave him a patriarchal appearance, which his age and vigor of intellect belied. When he entered the Cabinet, he was in his fifty-ninth year. Secretary of State Seward and Secretary of War Cameron were older than the Secretary of the Navy, and Attorney-General Bates was ten years his senior. Among the naval officers and seamen Welles's paternal and benevolent aspect won for him the familiar appellation of "Father Welles", or the "Old Man of the Sea". Mr. Charles A. Dana, for a time an assistant of Secretary of War Stanton, has left us one of the best characterizations of Lincoln's naval secretary.

Welles was a curious-looking man: he wore a wig which was parted in the middle, the hair falling down on each side; and it was from his peculiar appearance, I have always thought, that the idea that he was an old foggy originated. I remember Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, coming into my office at the War Department one day and asking where he could find "that old Mormon deacon, the Secretary of the Navy."

⁶ Papers of Gideon Welles, in the possession of his son Edgar T. Welles, of New York City; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, II. 367.

⁷ Weed, *Autobiography*, I. 606-607, 611.

In spite of his peculiarities, I think Mr. Welles was a very wise, strong man. There was nothing decorative about him; "there was no noise in the street when he went along; but he understood his duty, and did it efficiently, continually, and unvaryingly. There was a good deal of opposition to him, for we had no navy when the war began, and he had to create one without much deliberation; but he was patient, laborious, and intelligent at his task."⁸

Welles has sometimes been unjustly regarded as a time-serving and routine-loving executive. It is true that he was not one of those dashing administrators, who reach conclusions by intuition, put their decisions into effect with great strenuousness, and are at once the inspiration and the terror of their subordinates. Rather, he was the quiet, unswerving, fearless executive, who reasons carefully from the evidence presented and draws temperately his conclusions therefrom, who enforces his judgments with firmness and uniformity, and who gains the esteem of his fellows by reason of his patience, integrity and justice. While Welles had his antipathies, he nevertheless administered the navy as a rule with great impartiality. He applied the laws of the navy fearlessly and without favor, no matter what the rank of the offender. He stood, as few secretaries have, for naval discipline and an impartial administration of the naval code. More than once he rebuked a naval court for bringing in a verdict contrary to the evidence presented to it. A court-martial, of which Farragut was president, found the captain of a certain ship guilty of failing to do his utmost in overtaking and capturing a certain Confederate vessel, an offense punishable with death. The court sentenced the offending officer to be suspended from the navy for two years on leave-of-absence pay—a merely nominal penalty. Welles in reviewing these absurd findings pointed out that the sentence of the court would be too mild for a trivial offense, and declared that such punishment as the court had prescribed "no officer could obtain from the Department as a favor".⁹

No man could be more generous than the Secretary of the Navy in praise of gallant and meritorious conduct. His congratulatory messages to the victorious naval officers were warm and hearty, and felicitously phrased. As a newspaper writer he had acquired considerable facility in composition. All of his writings reveal a faculty for lucid expression, clear thinking, and the discernment of the gist of any subject. His official reports are more interesting reading than are most documents of that sort. Unlike some of the naval secretaries, Welles did not depute to his subordinates the composi-

⁸ Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, p. 170.

⁹ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, first series, vol. III, pp. 467-470.

tion of his annual reports, although he availed himself of their criticisms and suggestions. From the diary which he kept during and after the war, an unpublished document of great historical value, one infers that its author was a methodical man, painstaking and honest, and fearless and coldly precise in estimating the character and ability of his colleagues.¹⁰

In determining the policy of the government, Welles's advice was valued by the President, and his judgment was sober and well-balanced. His counsel, however, may not always have been politic. It is recollected that at the time of the Mason and Slidell episode he wrote a warmly-congratulatory letter to Captain Wilkes. That the Secretary of the Navy should have a profound knowledge of international law, was, however, hardly to be expected. Regarding the government's powers under the Constitution, Welles took a middle ground, being neither a strict nor a broad constructionist. He and the Secretary of State were instinctively opposed to each other, and were usually on opposite sides of the questions that came before the Cabinet. Welles regarded Seward as an intriguing and designing politician. He held, on plausible grounds, that Seward's conduct during the first weeks of Lincoln's administration was, if not traitorous, certainly highly unpatriotic. The Secretary of the Navy possessed none of those superb delusions that sometimes afflicted Lincoln's brilliant Secretary of State. On matters lying within the field of his information his judgment was certainly as reliable as that of his more famous colleague.

To a technical and intimate knowledge of the navy, Welles made no pretensions. He, however, was better equipped than most naval secretaries have been. His three years' service in one of the naval bureaus had given him a considerable acquaintance with the business of the navy and the department. Fortunately, the limitations of Welles's naval knowledge were adequately compensated by the extensive professional information of his Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Gustavus V. Fox, whose selection by President Lincoln as Welles's assistant was a most happy one.

At the beginning of the war Fox was in his fortieth year. He was born in Saugus, Essex County, Massachusetts. His father was a country physician, in moderate circumstances. At the age of sixteen young Fox was appointed a midshipman in the navy, where he remained for eighteen years. During a varied career he saw service in the squadrons of the Mediterranean, the East Indies, the Pacific, the coast of Brazil and the west coast of Africa; and he participated in the naval operations of the Mexican War. For a time he was

¹⁰ Diary of Gideon Welles, in possession of Edgar T. Welles.

attached to the Coast Survey. In 1853 and 1854 he commanded a mail steamer plying between New York and the Isthmus of Panama and belonging to one of the three lines subsidized at that time by the United States government. In July, 1856, having reached the rank of lieutenant, he resigned from the navy and accepted the position of "agent" of the Bay State Woolen Mills, of Lawrence, Massachusetts. Early in 1861, he came to Washington with a plan for the relief of Fort Sumter, and in April President Lincoln permitted him to put it into operation. In planning, promoting and conducting this daring adventure, he displayed such energy and initiative that the President formed a high estimate of his character. The Fort Sumter expedition paved the way to his political preferment. On May 9, 1861, he was appointed chief clerk of the Navy Department, and on July 31 he was promoted to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a newly-created position.¹¹

Fox's career both in and out of the navy admirably fitted him for the assistant secretaryship. His long service in the navy gave him a wide acquaintance among the naval officers. He had acquired the habit of the navy and of the sea, and knew well the practice of the naval profession. On the other hand, his experience as a New England manufacturer had familiarized him with the currents of thought and action outside of the navy; with the methods of business, its economies and administration, and the qualities of commercial men. In the science of the naval profession, in contradistinction to its art, Fox was not specially well-grounded. His knowledge of naval architecture was naturally limited, and his strategy proved to be at times faulty. To Rear-Admiral C. H. Davis he appeared more ready to plan, than laboriously to execute. Fox was decisive, quick of mind, and self-confident. No matter how dark and gloomy were the prospects of the North, the buoyancy of his spirits never failed him. Urbane and suave, the amenities of social life came easy to him. His brother-in-law was Lincoln's Postmaster-General, Montgomery Blair. Few men, who in the eventful spring of 1861 came to the surface of that tempestuous political sea at Washington, were so likely as Gustavus V. Fox to survive in its rough waters and ride its waves to preferment and eminence.¹²

Both the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary of the Navy had a great capacity for work, and each wrote with his own hands a vast number of letters. To their subordinates they often appeared fatigued and overworked. Night after night they toiled over their

¹¹ Biographical details in Boynton, *History of the Navy during the Great Rebellion*, pp. 58-59.

¹² Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, V. 4-5; Davis, *Life of Charles Henry Davis*, pp. 132-133.

desks at the department. In the course of his duties Fox now and then visited the navy-yards or some of the principal seaports of the North. Infrequently, Welles or his assistant went to the "front", the latter more often than the former. The Assistant Secretary of the Navy witnessed the fight at Hampton Roads, in March, 1862, between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. In May of that year the Secretary of the Navy invited two or three members of the Cabinet, the chief clerk of the department, and several naval officers with the ladies of their families to make a special cruise on the steamer *City of Baltimore* and visit the Union fleets between Washington and Richmond. Such excursions must have brought to the Secretary and his assistant a welcome relief from the anxieties, vexations and arduous toil of their offices.

Throughout the war Lincoln's gaunt form was a familiar figure in the Old Navy Department Building, situated a stone's throw to the westward of the White House. The rooms of Welles and Fox were on the second floor, in easy reach of each other. Here the President often called and chatted in the most informal way. A clerk, who is still living, remembers seeing him appear in the department with "carpet slippers" on his feet. Sometimes he wore a shawl around his shoulders. Of a visit of Lincoln to the department made in April, 1863, Rear-Admiral Dahlgren writes: "The President came into Fox's room while I was there, and sat some time, talking generally of matters. . . . Abe was in good humor, and at leaving said, 'Well I will go home; I had no business here; but as the lawyer said, I had none anywhere else'."¹³

The following entry occurs in the diary of Dahlgren for March 29, 1863:

I went to the Department. Found the President in the Chief Clerk's room with the Secretary and Fox. He looks thin and badly, and is very nervous. Complained of everything. They were doing nothing at Vicksburg or Charleston. Dupont was asking for one iron-clad after another, as fast as they were built. He said the canal at Vicksburg was of no account, and wondered that a sensible man would do it. I tried my hand at consolation, without much avail. He thought the favorable state of public expectation would pass away before anything was done. Then levelled a couple of jokes at the doings at Vicksburg and Charleston. Poor gentleman!¹⁴

Lincoln kept in close touch with the navy. Almost every day, and often several times a day, he consulted with the Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, the officials of the naval bureaus, and the officers holding important commands. Of these, the most frequent visitor at the White House was the Assistant Secretary, to whom fell,

¹³ Dahlgren, *Memoir of John A. Dahlgren*, p. 390.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

among many other duties, that of obtaining from Congress proper naval legislation. Whenever the leading naval officers were in Washington they always called upon the President and found him an eager listener to all that they had to relate about their plans and operations. Chief among the President's naval advisers were Farragut, Porter, Dahlgren, Dupont, Davis, Foote and Wise. In the conferences on naval affairs Lincoln took an active part, and as a result of them he often reached a decision or issued an order. As no minutes of them were kept, it is impossible in most cases to determine precisely what was said or done. The voluminous papers of Welles and Fox, only a small part of which was accessible to me, will doubtless throw some additional light upon the President's achievements in naval administration.

The planning of the naval operations was largely a composite work. Lincoln's share in it was confined for the most part to criticisms and suggestions respecting the plans formulated by others. As to naval movements upon the Mississippi, however, he seems to have had original opinions of his own, derived doubtless from his early experiences as a flatboatman on that river. In the summer of 1861 the Commission of Conference, composed chiefly of naval officers, served as a board of strategy. The commanding officers often originated their own plans, and the Assistant Secretary was always fertile in suggestions respecting naval operations. In all co-operative movements with the army, much consultation took place between the officers of the army and the navy, the officials of the two departments, and the President.

As a rule, the orders to the officers were drafted in the Navy Department and were issued and signed by either Welles or Fox. Sometimes, however, when the need of action was very great, the President himself wrote or dictated orders. For instance, in April, 1863, when Admiral Dupont was operating against Charleston, South Carolina, Lincoln, fearing that the admiral was about to abandon the movement against the city, telegraphed him to hold his position "inside the bar near Charleston".¹⁵ Before the telegram reached him Dupont had withdrawn his ships from the bar. He regarded it as a reflection upon his management of the fleet, and he soon retired from the command of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. It was unusual for the President to interfere in this manner with the work of his officers.

Early in 1862 Commodore Foote, who was then in command of the Mississippi flotilla and had his headquarters at Cairo, Illinois, encountered many difficulties in procuring mortars at Pittsburgh.

¹⁵ *Official Records*, first series, vol. XIV., p. 132.

Much exasperated by the slowness with which the work proceeded, the President ordered Foote to telegraph daily to Captain H. A. Wise, the assistant inspector of naval ordnance at Washington, his progress in obtaining the mortars. For several weeks Wise went to the White House every day, read the telegrams to the President, and received orders for Foote. In this way Lincoln conducted a small part of the business of the navy independent of both Welles and Fox. "With reference to the mortar rafts", Wise wrote to Foote on January 27, 1862, "Uncle Abe, as you already know, has gone into that business with a will, making his first demonstration, *entre nous*, by pitching General Ripley out of his Ordnance Bureau." On January 31 Wise wrote of the President thus, "He is an evidently practical man, understands precisely what he wants, and is not turned aside by anyone when he has his work before him."¹⁶

In selecting officers for the higher commands Lincoln generally followed the advice of the department. Admiral Porter, however, was of the opinion that the President selected him to command the Mississippi squadron, in opposition to the wishes of Welles. Porter said that Lincoln seemed to be familiar with the name, character and reputation of every officer of rank in the army and navy, and "appeared to understand them better than some whose business it was to do so; he had many a good story to tell of nearly all, and if he could have lived to write the anecdotes of the war, I am sure he would have furnished the most readable book of the century."¹⁷

The Navy Department was conspicuously successful in selecting officers for the higher commands. Its good fortune in this respect as compared with the bad fortune of the War Department was commented upon by President Lincoln. He once said to Welles that the qualities of the officers of the navy must run more even, and the task of selecting officers for the higher commands must be less difficult, than in the army. The Secretary of the Navy assured the President that this was not true, and that the good fortune of the navy in choosing commanders had resulted from the wise judgment exercised by his department.¹⁸ It is a fact that the Navy Department did no experimenting corresponding with that of the War Department with McClellan, Halleck, Hooker and Pope. Before the end of 1862 the navy officers who achieved fame had already received the highest position within the gift of the President. Even at this early date the roll of great naval names could have been made out—Farragut, Porter, Foote, Davis, Dahlgren, Rodgers and Lee.

¹⁶ *Official Records*, first series, vol XXII., pp. 516, 518, 522, 523, 527, 549.

¹⁷ Porter, *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War*, p. 283.

¹⁸ Papers of Gideon Welles, in possession of Edgar T. Welles.

When Lincoln and Welles entered upon their duties in March, 1861, they found the Navy Department and the navy in a deplorable condition. Many of the clerks of the department were hostile to the new Secretary of the Navy. The disaffected naval officers on duty at the department maintained a rallying-point in the Bureau of Ordnance, whose chief, Captain George A. Magruder, and whose clerks, almost to a man, later allied themselves with the Confederacy. The Naval Observatory in Washington, under the command of Commander Matthew F. Maury, the famous meteorologist, and a warm friend of the South, was another centre for the propagation of Secessionist doctrines. The officers of the navy were more or less demoralized. Already a number of them had resigned, and many of those that remained in the service were suspected of disaffection to the Union. Captain Samuel Barron, one of the leaders of a clique of Southern officers, who were favorable to the interests of the Confederacy, was exercising a considerable influence on naval affairs. It was impossible for Welles to tell his friends from his foes. The Pensacola navy-yard was in the hands of the Confederates. The situation at the Norfolk yard was by no means reassuring, and among the officers of the Washington yard sentiments of disloyalty were common. All the navy-yards were in bad repair, since no appropriations for their improvement had been made in 1859 or 1860. The national treasury was bankrupt. In pursuance of President Buchanan's policy of non-resistance and temporizing, Secretary of the Navy Toucey had failed to place the navy in a posture of defense. As was customary in peace, most of the vessels in commission were on foreign stations. The home-squadron consisted of twelve ships, carrying one hundred and eighty-seven guns and about two thousand men.

A sharp turn in naval policy might have been expected to signalize the advent of the new administration. The public records, however, disclose no sudden change of any sort. For the first three weeks Welles did almost nothing to increase or improve the naval defense of the country, and for the second three weeks he did little. In the first days of April he prepared an expedition for the relief of Fort Sumter, and opened several rendezvous for the enlistment of seamen. Until the firing on Fort Sumter the policy of Lincoln differed but little from that of Buchanan. It was one of conciliation and waiting; it was passive, hesitant, expectant, uncertain, cautious and tentative. Lincoln and the members of his Cabinet were not familiar with federal administration, nor with each other; and at first they did not pull well together. They were strangely awkward at their new work, how awkward it is painful to tell. The

attempts of the Secretary of State to manage the government and the President are well known.

Seward's influence on naval affairs greatly added to the confusion of the first weeks of the new administration. On April 1, without consulting the Secretary of the Navy, he obtained Lincoln's signature to a most remarkable naval document. It was addressed to Welles. The body of the document was in the handwriting of Captain Montgomery C. Meigs, of the army; and the postscript in that of Lieutenant David D. Porter, of the navy. The body of the document was an order of Lincoln to Welles to make certain details of naval officers. Of special significance was the direction to Welles to detach Captain Silas H. Stringham from the Secretary's office, to order him to Pensacola, and to supersede him as detailing officer of the department by Captain Samuel Barron. The postscript, which related to the organization of the department, read as follows:

As it is very necessary at this time to have a perfect knowledge of the personal of the navy, and to be able to detail such officers for special purposes as the exigencies of the service may require, I request that you will instruct Captain Barron to proceed and organize the Bureau of Detail in the manner best adapted to meet the wants of the navy, taking cognizance of the discipline of the navy generally, detailing all officers for duty, taking charge of the recruiting of seamen, supervising charges made against officers, and all matters relating to duties which must be best understood by a sea officer. You will please afford Captain Barron any facility for accomplishing this duty, transferring to his department the clerical force heretofore used for the purposes specified. It is to be understood that this officer will act by authority of the Secretary of the Navy, who will exercise such supervision as he may deem necessary.¹⁹

These orders went far towards supplanting Welles as Secretary of the Navy by Barron. In the management of the department they made the naval officer the more important official. Upon receiving them, Welles was greatly astonished; and he immediately, on the night of April 1, carried them to the White House for an explanation. Lincoln was much surprised to find that he had signed a document of such import. He said that Seward, with two or three young men, had been at the White House during the day on a matter which the Secretary of State had much at heart; and that he had signed the document without reading it or knowing what it was, supposing that it related to an enterprise of Seward. Welles told the President that he had no confidence in the fidelity of Barron, who was by the order forced into an official and personal intimacy with him and who was virtually given charge of the department;

¹⁹ *The Galaxy*, vol. X. (1870), p. 624.

that the establishment of a bureau by executive order was unlawful; and that the proposition to make a naval officer secretary of the navy *de facto* was illegal and in his view "monstrous". Lincoln replied that he knew nothing of Barron, that the document was not his although he had signed it, and that Welles should treat it as cancelled. He expressed regret that he had blundered, and was wont afterwards to say that during the first weeks of his administration he and the members of his Cabinet were all new to their work and naturally made mistakes. Welles believed that the attempt of Seward and Porter to place the principal business of the department in the hands of Barron was a movement in behalf of the Confederacy and the Southern naval officers. Barron was shortly dismissed from the naval service. He entered the Confederate navy, taking rank as captain from March 26, 1861, five days before the date of the executive order giving him charge of the federal Navy Department.²⁰

Seward's interference with the department was not confined to measures for its reorganization and to the detailing of naval officers. He planned a naval expedition for the relief of Fort Pickens, Florida, which was officered and fitted out and had sailed before Welles got wind of it. This was the enterprise to which Lincoln supposed the above-mentioned document related when he signed it. On April 1 Seward had obtained Lincoln's signature to a second document, ordering Lieutenant Porter to proceed to the New York navy-yard and prepare an expedition for the relief of Fort Pickens. At this time Welles was fitting out at the New York navy-yard an expedition for the relief of Fort Sumter, which was to be under the command of Gustavus V. Fox. Both Welles and Seward intended that the ship *Powhatan* should sail as one of the vessels of their respective fleets. It therefore happened that the orders respecting her conflicted. The commandant of the New York yard was naturally confused. Since the President's orders were superior to those of the Secretary of the Navy, he gave Porter possession of the vessel. Welles was completely in the dark as to Porter's movements until about the time that Porter's fleet sailed from New York for Fort Pickens on April 6. On receiving intelligence of them, he in company with Seward, went to the White House and asked for an explanation of the diverting of the *Powhatan* from the Fort Sumter expedition, which venture, he said, would fail if this ship was taken from Fox's fleet. Lincoln, after explaining that he had confused the name of the *Powhatan* with that of another ship, decided that Porter should turn the vessel

²⁰ *The Galaxy*, vol. X. (1870), pp. 624-626.

over to Fox. An order to this effect was signed by Seward and sent to Porter at New York, but he had already sailed. A tug was procured, and the orders reached him before he got to sea. He however declined to detach the *Powhatan* from his fleet on the ground that he was acting under orders signed by the President, while the countermanding orders were signed by the President's subordinate, the Secretary of State. The *Powhatan* therefore proceeded to Fort Pickens. Welles and Fox always maintained that the sending of Porter's expedition was one of the main causes of the failure of Fox's.²¹

Porter cannot be freed from all blame for the part that he played in these strange proceedings. He was a man of mature years and long experience in the navy. The postscript of one of the documents was in his handwriting. Knowing well the routine of the department, he must have been aware of the irregularity of Seward's acts, and he must have foreseen that they would likely cause confusion. One might suppose that he had some knowledge of the character of Barron and of that officer's unfitness for the management of the navy during the crisis of the spring of 1861. On the other hand, it may be said in Porter's favor that he was acting under his superiors, the President and the Secretary of State, and that under the extraordinary circumstances that then existed irregularities were to be expected.²² When he accepted the command of the Fort Pickens expedition, he was under orders to proceed to the Pacific Coast and report for duty on the Coast Survey, a detail which he had sought. Welles did not forget the part that Porter played in Seward's machinations. That he did not permit it to prevent the advancement of that gallant and ambitious officer is a tribute to his fairness.

In retrospect, one can now see that during the first months of Lincoln's administration no matter deserved more consideration than the holding and defending of the Norfolk navy-yard, one of the three principal navy-yards of the United States. It contained numerous dwellings, sheds, storehouses and machine shops. Here were large quantities of tools, machines, naval stores and provisions, and some two thousand pieces of artillery. Connected with the yard was a commodious dry dock constructed of granite, and near it were twelve ships. One of these, the *Merrimac*, when equipped for sea, was worth \$1,200,000. The total value of the yard and its property was estimated by the department at \$9,780,000. The Nor-

²¹ *The Galaxy*, vol. X. (1870), pp. 627, 637; vol. XI. (1871), pp. 105-107; *Official Records*, first series, vol. IV., pp. 228-241.

²² Soley, *Admiral Porter*, pp. 101-102.

folk yard was strategically situated for the use of either the Unionists or the Confederates. To the latter, at the beginning of the war, its ordnance stores were worth far more than their value in money. These facts did not receive the consideration that they deserved. It is not here urged that the President should have provided for the defense of this yard without regard to his general policy, but certainly he should not have formulated his general policy without regard to its effect upon the holding of the yard.

During the first weeks of his administration Lincoln's policy was to do nothing that might offend those Southern states that still remained in the Union. He was especially considerate of the feelings of the Virginians. While some slight measures of defense were taken late in March and early in April, 1861, not until about the time that the Old Dominion seceded from the Union was any vigor and decision respecting the Norfolk yard shown by the administration. On April 16 Welles ordered Commodore Hiram Paulding to proceed from Washington to Norfolk and consult with the commandant of the yard, Captain C. S. McCauley, about its defense and the protection of its ships. Paulding carried an order to McCauley that rang with true mettle, the first issued by the department for several months of which this may be said. "The vessels and stores under your charge", the order read, "you will defend at any hazard, repelling by force, if necessary, any and all attempts to seize them, whether by mob violence, authorized effort, or any assumed authority." During the next four days the department showed considerable activity, but unfortunately its efforts were too late. McCauley and Paulding, who were in positions of authority, did not rise to the occasion. They were too old, too long schooled in routine, to accomplish great things in a sudden emergency. McCauley lacked energy and initiative, and he was largely under the influence of his disaffected officers, who were Southerners and who did their utmost to deceive him as to the real situation of the yard. On April 20, fearing an attack on the ships, he ordered them to be scuttled. They were sinking when Paulding arrived from Washington with fresh orders. The two officers now decided not to attempt a defense, but to destroy all the public property and to abandon the navy-yard. Their work of destruction, however, was hasty and ill-executed, and much property fell into the hands of the Confederates.

Possession of the Norfolk navy-yard with its valuable supplies was of great service to the South. Its cannon were used in fortifying the forts and batteries of the Confederacy on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and on the Potomac, York, James, Rappahannock, and Mississippi rivers. The *Merrimac* was raised and converted into a

terrible engine of war. Its dramatic contest with the *Monitor* made its name famous. The dry dock was but little injured. Many of the workshops with their valuable machinery escaped harm. Admiral Porter said that "but for the misfortune of losing, or we may say throwing away, the Norfolk Navy Yard, all the unarmed ports of the South would have easily fallen into our hands".²³

With no other naval officer was Lincoln so intimate as with Rear-Admiral John A. Dahlgren, who early in the war was commandant of the Washington navy-yard, and later was chief of the Bureau of Ordnance. For many years before the outbreak of the war Dahlgren had been in charge of the Ordnance Department of the Washington yard. He was the chief ordnance expert of the Old Navy, and had invented the Dahlgren gun. The friendship between him and the President was established during the first months of the war when the Washington navy-yard was the chief defense of the capital. In the latter part of April, 1861, almost all of the officers of this yard, including its commandant, Captain Franklin Buchanan, resigned from the navy, and most of them cast in their lot with the Confederacy. Dahlgren almost alone remained faithful to the flag, and he was given command of the yard. Later, when some of the higher officers of the navy wished to displace him and obtain his position, Lincoln refused them, saying that it should not be taken from Dahlgren, that he had held it when no one else would, and that he should keep it as long as he wished. During the first two years of the war the President visited the yard almost every week. He would take Dahlgren to ride with him, invite him to the White House to dine, and seek his advice upon naval matters. Often the two men were together during short voyages which Lincoln now and then made down the Potomac on one of the naval vessels. When the news reached Washington on Sunday morning, March 9, 1862, that the *Merrimac* had destroyed the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, and that she might next move upon Washington or one of the Northern ports, the President was excited; he could not be satisfied with the opinions of Welles and other civilian advisers, but ordered his carriage and drove to the navy-yard to consult its commandant.²⁴

The diary of Dahlgren, for the years 1861-1863, is exceedingly interesting and valuable because of his close association with Lincoln during that period. From its pages one may glean much informa-

²³ *The Galaxy*, vol. X. (1870), pp. 112-119; *Senate Reports*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., no. 37, pp. 1-123; *Official Records*, first series, vol. IV., pp. 272-313; Sands, *From Reefer to Rear Admiral*, pp. 225-229; Porter, *The Naval History of the Civil War*, p. 62; Parker, *Recollections of a Naval Officer*, pp. 206-207.

²⁴ Dahlgren, *Memoir of John A. Dahlgren*, p. 358.

tion regarding Lincoln's propensity for joking, the tragedy of his life during the war, his love of good reading, and his careless informality of manners. How the conflict between the States exhausted him and wore his heart away is painfully clear from such sentences as these: "Poor gentleman, how thin and wasted he is"; "I observe the President never jokes now"; "He looks thin and badly, and is very nervous"; "Mr. Lincoln frequently passed sleepless nights." Often, however, the President was in good spirits and would "let off a joke". On the trips down the Potomac he was usually jolly and full of anecdotes. Regarding one of these voyages Dahlgren writes: "Meanwhile we had a gay evening in the little cabin, and then went to bed. Five of us stowed away in a place like a box! The President in his usual way, and telling many a joke." Sometimes on these trips the President would read aloud to the assembled officers and officials some favorite piece of literature. He is said to have read with much dramatic power, and with much pathos or humor according to the character of the selection. His choice on one occasion was Halleck's spirited lyric, *Marco Bozzaris*, the closing lines of which have been thought prophetic of Lincoln's own career and fate:

"For thou art Freedom's now, and Fame's;
One of the few, the immortal names,
That were not born to die."²⁵

When the war began, Lincoln was entirely ignorant of military and naval affairs, but before its close he had acquired a considerable knowledge of them. He was especially interested in ordnance and ammunition. A resident of Washington tells me that he has seen the President in the White Lot firing at a target with a Spencer gun. The diary of Dahlgren contains many references to Lincoln in connection with naval ordnance. On one day he drives to the navy-yard with Assistant Secretary of the Navy Fox to see a 150-pounder fired off; shortly he comes down with the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury and examines "guns, iron plates, etc."; next, he goes to the Bureau of Ordnance "to see about some new powder". On January 29, 1863, Dahlgren records that the President sent for him. "Some man in trouble about arms. President holding a breech-loader in his hand." On February 16 Dahlgren is again sent for: "Some inflammable humbug had been poked at him; from it he went off easily to Charleston matters. Dupont and Fox differ as to plan of attack, and he insists on Fox going down to Charleston to talk it over." On April 28 Dahlgren

²⁵ Dahlgren, *Memoir of John A. Dahlgren*, pp. 364, 368.

writes thus: "The President came down in the afternoon, to learn about Ames, one of the hunters for a heavy ordnance contract. It is unfortunate that the President will meddle in such matters. No adventure on the Treasury now stands on its merits. Projects for new cannon, new powder, and devices of all kinds are backed by the highest influences."²⁶

Dahlgren's account of a visit to the White House on December 22, 1862, affords an excellent view of the variety and vexation of Lincoln's tasks:

The President sent for me about ten. Entering his cabinet room, Forney, Secretary of Senate, was in conversation with him, and saying that it would be well to publish report of committee on fight at Frederick, as the people were excited.

The President answered warmly, "that he did not want to swear, but why will people be such damned fools?" Forney remarked, going, "that he hoped the President would not let Mr. Chase resign", and added, "nor Mr. Seward". The President paused and reddened, then said suddenly, "If one goes, the other must; they must hunt in couples." So Forney made his bow.

The President, much glad to drop such troublesome business, and relaxing into his usual humor, sat down and said, "Well, Captain, here's a letter about a new powder", which he read, and showed the sample. Said he had burned some, and there was too much residuum. "Now, I'll show you." He got a small sheet of paper, placed on it some of the powder, ran to the fire, and with the tongs picked up a coal, which he blew, specs still on nose. It occurred to me how peaceful was his mind, so easily diverted from the great convulsion going on, and a nation menaced with disruption.

The President clapped the coal to the powder and away it went, he remarking, "There is too much left there." He handed me a small parcel of the powder to try, and, in noticing the late imbroglio, said, "it was very well to talk of remodelling the Cabinet, but the caucus had thought more of *their* plans than of *his* benefit", and he had told them so.²⁷

The President's interest in naval details was by no means confined to arms and ammunition. On September 15, 1861, Dahlgren writes: "Last night Professor Way took his electro-mercury light down the river, and I had the President out in a steamboat to see it." Several months later the same authority records that the President came down to the navy-yard to look at "some invention". Lincoln often inspected the vessels of the navy that visited Washington or Alexandria. Rear-Admiral Daniel Ammen relates that on one occasion when the President, in company with Dahlgren and Thurlow Weed, was passing Alexandria on board the *Philadelphia*, he happened to see our war-ship *Pawnee* abreast the wharf. On

²⁶ Dahlgren, *Memoir of John A. Dahlgren*, pp. 386, 388, 390-391.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 383-384.

hearing her name he asked if she were not the vessel with the "curious bottom having bilges coming down below the line of the keel, and then drew roughly on the marble top of a table, with a lead-pencil, a cross-section of the vessel, and asked Dahlgren whether the bottom was not something like that, and on receiving an affirmative answer he made one of the humorous comparisons for which he was famous".²⁸

Several naval officers who saw much of the President during the war have left us their impressions of him and their estimates of his character. Shortly after Lincoln's death, Dahlgren wrote: "I can say, from an intimate acquaintance with the President, that he was a man of rare sagacity, good genial temper, and desirable firmness; that he possessed qualities of the highest order as a ruler; indeed, we know of no man who was so well fitted to carry the country through her trial."²⁹

On several occasions Admiral Porter had good opportunities for observing the President. Early in 1865, a few weeks before the war ended, Lincoln spent several days with him on board of his flagship *Malvern*, on the James River. Porter was impressed with the kindness of heart, the habit of story-telling, and the unassuming simplicity of his distinguished visitor. Long after the war he wrote of Lincoln as follows:

To me, he was one of the most interesting men I ever met. He had an originality about him which was peculiarly his own, and one felt when with him as if he could confide his dearest secret to him with absolute security against its betrayal. There, it might be said, was "God's noblest work—an honest man", and such he was all through. I have not a particle of the bump of veneration on my head, but I saw more to admire in this man, more to reverence, than I had believed possible. He had a load to bear that few men could carry, yet he traveled on with it, footsore and weary, but without complaint; rather, on the contrary, cheering those who would faint on the roadside. He was not a demonstrative man, so no one will ever know amid all the trials he underwent how much he had to contend with and how often he was called upon to sacrifice his own opinions to those of others who he felt did not know as much about matters at issue as he did himself. When he did surrender, it was always with a pleasant manner, winding up with a characteristic story.³⁰

Rear-Admiral C. H. Davis was for the larger part of the war attached to the Navy Department, in Washington. He was an officer of cultivated mind and acute observation. His descriptions of the President are especially valuable since they were penned with-

²⁸ Dahlgren, *Memoir of John A. Dahlgren*, pp. 343, 378; Ammen, *The Old Navy and the New*, p. 341.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 509.

³⁰ Soley, *Admiral Porter*, pp. 445-446.

out view to their publication and before the Lincoln tradition had more or less obscured the real man. The following words, written on March 9, 1861, give Davis's first impressions:

Yesterday morning, Friday, I set off early for the department, in and about which I passed the day. I found that the officers of the navy were to be formally received by the Secretary and President, and being in uniform (though the others were in full dress), I fell in and had the pleasure of seeing the President and Mrs. Lincoln. In the former I was agreeably disappointed. His likenesses, such as are seen in prints, etc., give no idea of his appearance,—I might almost say, none whatever. His countenance is far from ugly, and its expression is decidedly attractive. The play of features and the easy smile are more engaging than the pictures make him. He is awkward in his figure and manners, but his awkwardness is not *gaucherie*. It is by no means vulgar. The impression he makes is altogether favorable.³¹

In a letter of December 13, 1863, apparently to his wife, Davis wrote the following prophetic words:

You may be assured that in future times Lincoln will be regarded as the very greatest of all the blessings bestowed on this country in these sad times,—as God-sent, appointed by God, like the prophets of old, to do his work, to save the nation and regenerate the people, to remove the curse of slavery, and to set another example of the profound wisdom that lies hidden and unrevealed in simplicity, truthfulness, uprightness before God, humility, conscientiousness, even when unaccompanied with great talents or great learning. In his and similar examples consists the political life of the nation and its safety,—the safety of our republican institutions.³²

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

³¹ Davis, *Life of Charles Henry Davis*, pp. 114-115.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 301.

DOCUMENTS

Letters of General Thomas Williams, 1862.

THE following letters have several claims to special interest. They are continuous in character, they describe important phases of Civil War experience, and they were written by a man not only exceedingly expert in military science but who was a wonderfully pure and patriotic character. Perhaps a brief synopsis of his career should introduce the letters, as, while he enjoyed a very great professional fame among those best qualified to judge, he was not widely known nor well understood by the public.

Thomas Williams was born at Albany, New York, January 16, 1815. His father, Captain John R. Williams, was a native and well-known citizen of Detroit, in the Territory of Michigan, who was temporarily residing in Albany on account of the War of 1812, having been made prisoner in Hull's surrender, and paroled. John R. Williams returned to Detroit in 1816, where his son Thomas received his early education. The youth showed his first military bias in the Black Hawk War, where he served as a trumpeter, his father being in command of a division of Michigan troops. This determined his future career, and he was admitted to West Point in 1833 as a cadet, graduating in 1837 with Hooker, Sedgwick, Van Dorn and other generals of the Civil War.

His field service began immediately on graduation as second lieutenant in the Fourth Artillery, in the closing campaigns of the Florida War. In 1839 he was in instruction camp at Trenton, New Jersey, shortly afterward at Detroit, and then instructor at West Point. He went to the Mexican War as first lieutenant and aide-de-camp to General Scott, beginning with the siege of Vera Cruz, where he had charge of a battery. He was in all the heavy actions which followed in the advance to Mexico and the siege and capture of the city, except Molino del Rey, and was brevetted both captain and major for gallant and meritorious conduct. He became captain, Fourth Artillery, in 1850, serving at Fort Columbus, New York Harbor, and took command at Fort Mackinac in 1852. While there he was married to Miss Mary Neosho Bailey, daughter of Dr. Joseph H. Bailey, U.S.A., and to her these letters were written. The wife

was fully able to enter into the military tone of the letters, as she grew up in an atmosphere of such affairs.

In 1856 Major Williams joined General Harney's Florida expedition and spent a year or more in the Everglades, or their neighborhood, a very trying service. Then he was transferred to Leavenworth, and began early in 1858 a long march across the plains in support of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston's Utah expedition. Reaching Laramie, he found that Johnston had already been successful, and so went into camp for the winter at the Cheyenne Pass, now in Wyoming. Then followed another long march to Fort Randall on the Upper Missouri, and then a short leave.

Major Williams returned to duty in April, 1860, and spent the trying year that followed at Fort Monroe, Virginia, engaged in the Artillery School. During the opening months of the Civil War he was occupied with recruiting the new Fifth Artillery and with duties of inspection, there and in Pennsylvania, and with the instruction of volunteers at Harrisburg. His commission as major in the new Fifth came in June, 1861, and that of brigadier-general of volunteers in September. From October, 1861, to the beginning of March, 1862, he was in command at Hatteras Inlet. He was then assigned to General Butler's Mississippi expedition. The letters here printed begin with the arrival of that expedition in the neighborhood of Ship Island.

Subsequent events can be learned fairly well from the letters. The few days preceding his death, which are not described in the letters, may be filled in by saying that he was constantly on the alert against an expected attack, but always calm and a tower of strength to his men, who never ceased to marvel at his coolness in danger. On Sunday, August 3, 1862, he received the Holy Communion in the Episcopal church in Baton Rouge. On Monday evening he took all his field officers and battery commanders around his position and over the field of the impending conflict. By four o'clock the following morning his little force of invalids was engaged in a desperate struggle with two divisions of the Confederate Army, whose attacks continued until after ten o'clock. The fighting was exceedingly heavy and at close range, and severe losses were suffered among the ranking officers of the Confederate Army.

General Williams entered the action with a hastily improvised staff, as his own selected staff, all but one, were dead or absent on account of sickness. He was forced therefore to be often exposed, and after losing two horses shot under him was himself killed, leading the Twenty-first Indiana Regiment in a bayonet charge. The

odds against him had been so severe that it is no small glory that he held the town and saved his small command.

He had an extraordinary devotion to discipline as the ground of a soldier's character, and many, especially among the volunteers, had thought him too severe. But he was himself most rigorously disciplined, and those whom he had trained certainly afterward thoroughly justified their teacher and leader. With all this, his heart was extraordinarily kind, and his manners so gracious and courtly that old people speak of him to this day as the fine flower of chivalry.

The South had few good words to say of many of our leaders, but it has recorded in its histories that it greatly respected and admired him for his virtues and his humanity. His own commander described him in General Orders as "the true friend, the gallant gentleman, the pure patriot and victorious hero, and the devoted Christian. All and more went out when Williams died. . . . His virtues we cannot exceed; his example we may emulate."

General Williams was survived by a widow and four children. The youngest son soon followed him. The rest are still living.¹

The letters have been very slightly abridged by omissions, which are marked. Matters of purely family interest were often too trivial and sometimes too sacred for publication.

G. MOTT WILLIAMS.

March 12, 1862. Transport *Constitution*, at sea.

This is our 6th day out from Ft. Monroe, and we think ourselves at this writing three hours from Ship Island, our supposed destination. The supposition will probably be changed into certainty, should I meet Gen'l Butler, as I expect to, at Ship Island. Ship Island is east and north of the mouth of the Mississippi, between New Orleans and Mobile. We have already a force of about 4000 men at Ship Island, and my force on board of this ship is about 3000. What additional force Gen'l Butler may have with him we are not informed. We learn, however, from rumour, that the entire force of his expedition numbers 15,000, which force will probably be divided into three brigades of 5000 each. Gen. Phelps to command one brigade, myself another, and who will command the third I don't know. The trip thus far has been rapid and agreeable. A succession of so many days of clear sky and smooth sea as we have had is not common. And then, the temperature, that of late spring or summer. Too hot yesterday for winter clothing. The shower of last night and the early morning has however cooled the air to about 70—very pleasant. I can hardly imagine a finer ship than this. So large, well furnished, so swift and so well provided with creature comforts. Perfectly clean, for this is only her third trip since she was launched and every department complete—pantry, store rooms, ice

¹To one of General Williams's sons, the Bishop of Marquette, we are indebted for permission to print these letters.—Ed.

house, kitchen, etc. She cost \$460,000 and receives from Gov't \$2500 a day for carrying troops, feeding the officers and providing the men with coffee, morning and night, and cooking their rations. The table cloths and knives and forks clean and white: and my table for self and staff a separate one, as good as any man could wish. An asst Adj. Gen'l, a surgeon, a qrmaster, a commissary and two aides de camp, a topographical officer, Lt. Turnbull of the army, on his way to join Gen. Butler, is also of our table.

The men are of better quality physically than any I have yet seen, and the officers highly respectable. Thus far, in this calamitous war, our western regiments are the only ones which have shown any proper spirit in the fight, and with the right spirit they, no doubt, excel the eastern regiments in knowledge of arms and aptitude for war. I hope Gen'l Butler will permanently assign those with me to my brigade. I understand, they desire it themselves. It is a coincidence, is it not, that I, a western man, ordered from a sand spit on the Hatteras coast to a sand spit near the mouth of the Mississippi should meet with and take command of the only western reg'ts assigned to the Expedition. I hope it promises good fortune. Success for me with western troops would have a completeness, it seems to me, that it could not have with eastern. But, with all supposed auxiliaries in men and material, I yet look to the blessing of Providence, and count on no success without. I ask His blessing morning and night, and depend not a little on the prayers of my wife. If I ever doubted the efficacy of prayer, I no longer doubt. The greatest results in war, as in the general affairs of nations are in His hand, and the greatest and best and bravest men have been accustomed to invoke his help.

15 min. to 6 P. M. We have arrived at Ship Island and I've just returned from shore, having selected a camping ground for the three regts. The place is not unlike Hatteras. Gen Butler not arrived. I shall commence to disembark early tomorrow morning.

March 12, 9.15 P. M. Steamship *Constitution*, OFF SHIP ISLAND.

Hatteras Island is as like Ship Island as two peas, and coming from one to the other reminds me of the saying of jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. But Papa hopes we'll be able to get to the main land, only 12 miles off. Rumour says the Secessionists are working hard to make New Orleans impregnable, but also that our great success at Fort Donaldson has greatly dispirited them. Papa brought with him from Ft. Monroe a regiment from Michigan, one from Wisconsin and one from Indiana. They are large, strong, active men and look brave.

March 14, 1862. Steam Transport *Constitution*.

The work of disembarking is nearly completed, and I expect to be ashore this evening and in a tent. Gen. Butler, hourly expected, is not yet arrived. Till his arrival ther'll be no movement of the land forces, though I believe it is or was contemplated to-day to try our mortar vessels at Forts Pike and Jackson—the former near the passage into Lake Ponchartrain, and the latter just up the Mississippi. Without more knowledge on the subject than my neighbors, I only conjecture that the Expedition is designed for New Orleans. That we shall meet with determined resistance is probable, I think also that our success is probable. The troops here are in good spirits and anxious to go for-

ward, and I think that both navy and army are impressed with the importance to the cause of a decided success, in an enterprise which once baffled the best British troops—badly commanded. My former subaltern, Capt Kensell, is Gen. Butler's chief of Artillery and is now with Gen. Butler on his way here. Kensell is very partial to his former Captain and, I understand, seconded as much as in his power Gen. Butler's determination to get me.

While on that Hatteras sandbank I cogitated a good deal over a tactical formation for troops which would enable them to act most effectively and with the utmost rapidity in battle, and having succeeded, as I think, I sent before I left Hatteras, a copy to the Sec'y of War, asking for it a week's trial by some of Gen. McClellan batallions. It gave great satisfaction to my colonels at Hatteras, and takes well with the military here. I have great hopes from it, *great* hopes that it will bring success to our arms. So, if not directly, I hope to do something indirectly for victory. Whitney, I believe never cleaned cotton himself, but he invented the gin. So if I do not win victories, I may enable others to do so.

March 24, 1862.

A note from Gen. Butler's Adj. Gen'l has just informed me that a mail goes north from this at two o'clock this afternoon.

Gen. Butler, detained by an accident to his vessel, arrived here from Port Royal only three days ago. By this time we are possessed of some positive idea concerning the destination and objects of the Expedition. All the troops expected are not yet here. We have now about 13,000 and there are some 4000 to come. The force here has been divided into 3 brigades, mine, the 2d brigade, consists of the 4th Wisconsin, 6th Michigan, 21st Indiana, 26th and 30th Massachusetts, a Wisconsin battery, a Massachusetts battery and a company of cavalry, and is considered the best brigade of the three, and being so, will probably be the first to start for the main land. My brigade is chiefly considered the best, because it contains the only Western Regiments in the Expedition, and the Western men, as yet, have been the only troops on our side who have showed prowess and spirit.

I am of course greatly interested and my time much occupied with the work of preparation. Men have not only to be drilled, but equipments looked to, and their daily and prospective wants anticipated. Having done all I can for success, I shall invoke and do daily ask for the blessing of Providence, for the cause of my country.

This is indeed an isolated place, hard to get to and hard to get from. In the matter of mails, and news from the States, one would not be greatly worse off in Kamschatka. My tent is on the north beach of Ship Island, looking out on the Gulf and looking towards you. The weather changeable, ranging from 70 to 50, and Buffalo robes as comfortable and necessary as in Newburgh, in tents without board floors.

The sand about us, inside of my tent and out, is as white, nearly, as this paper, and so fine that the wind blows it everywhere, not respecting eyes, ears, hair, bread, butter, or the pot on the fire. I think sometimes that sand may have its uses in the processes of digestion and in sharpening the teeth. Don't the hens use sand to aid the digestion?

I have been most fortunate in the selection of my staff of seven gentlemen. We have accordingly a most agreeable mess, perfect harmony, good will and good nature. All efficient, too, in their respective

duties. A good staff is not only essential to a commander in the details of business, but can and must greatly assist to establish agreeable relations between himself and his troops. So far, there has not been a word of reproof on my part, or of complaint on theirs. And the regiments, moreover, as I am informed, would have selected me for their commander, if they had had the choice. Now this is a good beginning, is it not?

I may move in 5 days, or not in 10 or 15. But I will always write when opportunity offers all about myself and as much about our doings or intentions as may be proper to commit to a private letter.

March 29, 1862. Saturday, SHIP ISLAND, MISS.

This morning Gen. Butler sent for me to consult about the reg'ts best fitted, by discipline and instruction, to lead our advance toward the Mississippi, and about the necessary outfit in ammunition, clothing and subsistence stores for a movement. The result was that we're to begin to embark six reg'ts and two batteries tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock, and should the weather not be unfavorable, all six will probably be on board their respective transports before night.

I go with Gen'l Butler, the six regiments and two batteries constituting my brigade. The remaining troops on the Island to follow as soon as they can get transportation. We are to co-operate with the navy, who, no doubt, will do their part and more than their part if they can. The land and naval portion of the forces are emulous of each other, and all, I think, look for satisfactory results. In point of numbers, my brigade greatly exceeds our divisions in the old army, and would there be a Major General's command. John and Mott would feel quite martial if they could see papa's brigade on drill or review. They look well and soldierly and move well. I don't believe the other side have any as good. And besides, having our quarrel just, we are thrice armed. Armed also I trust with the Arm that gives all victory and all good.

Daily, in the morning and at night I ask His blessing for the glory and success of my country's efforts to conquer the restoration of the Union, and bring back peace and prosperity. And I pray that the whole country may recognize in such success and acknowledge therein in word and in deed the power and boundless mercy of God. Regarding the subject from a mere political point of view, I do not doubt that the ordeal the country's now passing through will tend to give us the nationality we lack, and restore through the alternations of hope and despondency, success and disaster, the virtue, public and private, and the love of country for which our sires of the first revolution were so distinguished.

The chastisements and chastenings of eternal wisdom and mercy can never fail of their purpose.

I wish I could afford to run a mail steamer to the great city of Gotham. Last dates received at Fort Monroe were to the 5th of March. Nearly a month ago, long enough, too long. So long, it seems almost a year. Meanwhile, how many things are happening at home! What great events too of the highest interest to our country may be transpiring! It cannot all be success, of course. War is never all on one side. It is a game of varying fortune, and apparently necessarily so to the side, even, that finally prevails, in order to beget the stronger interest and persistence.

We have a rumour that the rebel iron clad steamer *Merrimac* made sad work of the frigates *Cumberland* and *Congress* lately in Hampton Roads. The contest was too unequal between impervious iron and destructible wood, and between the locomotive power of steam and sail. But it will work best for us in the end. The North has not yet waked up thoroughly to this war, and it seems that success lulls them into the feeling of security, which their knowledge of superior power is so apt to do. Whips and spurs are a help to us. The rumour also is that we have Manassas, and that there's lately been a great success for our arms in Arkansas. I don't know where the rumours come from, they appear to be in the air: the birds bring them, I suppose. Rumour says, too, that we have No. 10 Island near Columbus, and the last, of this evening, that we have New Orleans. Some truth there must be in all this rumour. The birds, I hope are not against us, though many charming young women with voices like birds are. How do you account for the secession proclivities of the sex? But for the women, many a man would have remained true to the flag he's now in arms against. Is it that statesman and soldiers have not sufficiently acknowledged their power and they're determined to make them?

SHIP ISLAND, In Camp on North Beach. April 11, 1862.

Not embarked yet. Movements are unavoidably uncertain that wait on wind, wave, steam, coal, water, provision and the much careful and laborious preparation of our Navy friends. The time expended has not however been without profit to us or them, and we're certainly nearer our destination than we were.

Such a sand storm as is prevailing—that is, a furious wind storm that drives the sand into everything we eat, drives it, like so much fine snow, tingling in our faces, stopping eyes, ears and nose, making a “feller” sneeze. Don't object to sneezing, for they say it's good luck to sneeze. We sneezed a good deal at Vera Cruz from the same cause. Having come bravely out of that—indeed all the better for it—we trust to come bravely out of this, perhaps like that at Vera Cruz, from the preliminary ordeal to great and complete success.

My poor country! Methinks, I read in the 80th Psalm matter strangely applicable to our national beginnings, to our growth, prosperity and our present divided state and the attitude of France and England toward us. Is not the parallel striking? So much so do I think it, that it is often my morning and evening prayer.

Not a letter has come to me from you since leaving Fort Monroe, March 6. Our newspapers are far behind the times. A chance ship comes in occasionally with news we heard at Old Point before leaving. Not quite so bad as this. We have heard of McClellan's advance, the rebel abandonment of Manassas, etc., but that is the sum of our news to this date. Rumours of the capture of I'd No. 10. No doubt we shall take it. I mean our forces under Gen. Halleck. Probably taken by this time and possibly Richmond Va. by McClellan. Oh, how I hope and pray we shall strike some blow in the work of conquering peace and union, we of the Expedition of the Mississippi.

April 12, 11 A. M. The wind and sand storm of yesterday became last night a furious rain and thunder and lightning storm, upsetting and deluging tents and, worse than all, killing three men near me in one of the reg'ts of my brigade (31st Massachusetts), by lightning

stroke, wounding more or less some 11 others in the same guard tent. At this writing the sky is bright, the sea calm, and all the elements in repose, and but for the sound of musketry and bugle and drum, one might imagine himself alone in the world:—out of the world on a fishing excursion by himself on this sand bank. There's pretty good fishing here, fishing by net and line.

April 15th. At last embarked. Here I am on board of the *Great Republic*, with three regiments of my brigade, our destination the Southwest pass of the Mississippi. The remaining reg'ts of my brigade are on board the *Mississippi* with Gen. Butler and staff. The whole force embarked will be 8 regiments and some three batteries of artillery, a company of sappers and miners, and a company of dismounted cavalry, in all, say, rather less than 7000 men. One of these days, at a fitting time, 7000 or 8000 more will probably follow. Five of the 8 regts, 2 batteries and the company of cavalry belong to my brigade. Gen. Phelps commands the remaining three reg'ts. My brigade is the 2d, his is the 1st. But my brigade leads, in consequence, I think, of the good account our western troops elsewhere have given of themselves.

April 16. Still off Ship Island waiting the final orders to sail, expected to be given this afternoon. My ship, the *Great Republic* (good and great name, isn't it, to be entrusted to one's keeping), is to be towed by the U. S. armed steamer *Jackson*. *Jackson* and the *Great Republic*! Is not this all a good omen? If *Jackson* won at New Orleans for the Great Republic, ought not the two combined also to win at New Orleans? The navy are in great force and expect to be able to reduce Forts Jackson and St. Philip, chiefly by the use of mortar fire, for which they are abundantly provided. If one shell in 10 falls within the limits for which they are intended, it appears to me that those forts must fall. What the land force will be able to do in reducing the forts can not now be foreseen.

The rebels have stretched a formidable system of chains across the river above Forts Jackson and St. Philip, buoyed up on five vessels securely anchored. The navy propose to cut this chain, and are, they say, furnished with the experts and machinery that can do it. The forts taken or passed, and New Orleans is ours.

My ship the *Great Republic* is famous for the part she played in the Crimean War as a transport of French troops. Conspicuous I say, because of her great proportions and her name, which, alas for the change which has since taken place, was then in such striking harmony with her great proportions. The *Great Republic* carried 3000 French troops at one time from Marseilles to the harbor of Kamiesh in the Crimea. They were on the passage 24 days. We expect to be on our passage hardly more than twice as many hours; may be more, may be less.

Rumours give us Norfolk and lose us Corinth and Island No. 10. But rumours are so plenty and so contradictory that we attach little importance to them. There is a rumour, which if it should ever prevail, I'd like greatly to come true, and that is that we have New Orleans. New Orleans *must* belong to the Union. The capture of New Orleans would tend as much, and perhaps more than any other success, to the restoration of union and peace. This is a commercial and political necessity to the Union States on the banks of the Mississippi, and a political necessity to the whole country. Should we

succeed, my loss in not taking part in the capture of Newberne need not trouble me. In truth, without New Orleans it will not trouble me. Newberne is very well as far as it goes. But it is but the first step towards the results contemplated in organizing the Burnside Expedition. Let us take New Orleans and you'll see.

The orders are that we sail at 3 P. M. today. It's now 15 min. to 1.

Transport Ship *Great Republic*, OFF SOUTHWEST PASS OF MISS.

April 25, 1862.

Arriving here on the 19th we are still here, but leave probably tomorrow at day light for some point near the Quarantine Ground, some 10 miles above Forts Jackson and St. Philip. These forts, having been passed by the fleet, are not only cut off and rendered valueless as a protection to New Orleans, but are also cut off from supplies, rendering their surrender without further attack a simple question of time. We learn this evening that they offered to surrender *conditionally* to the fleet, but were told the surrender must be unconditional. Thus far the navy have had the good fortune to do all that has been done, and the report is they're now on their way to New Orleans, whether to be stopped or not by intervening obstacles in the matter of gunboats, rams, fire rafts and batteries, it's impossible to say. But that the land forces will before long find land enough to co-operate, I have no doubt. Such is the purpose of our contemplated movement tomorrow on the seaside of Fort St. Philip and the Quarantine ground. I have with me three reg'ts on board this ship, and another reg't on board the Steam Transport *Matanzas*, which is to assist our sails with her steam towing powers. Two other reg'ts belonging to my brigade are in advance with Gen. Butler, having left at daylight this morning.

Our ship, the *Great Republic*, the largest sailing ship in the world, is admirable as a transport, with the single exception that her great size and great draft of water make her difficult to handle on a coast, so studded with bars and shoals as this is. Three vessels capable each of carrying a single reg't would have been better for *despatch*—that all important element of success in military operations. Sails, moreover, are too slow and uncertain for these days whether the vessel be large or small. The introduction of steam has affected as much for locomotion by sea, as ironclad sides have for purposes of offence and defence in war by sea. The scales of success will be most apt to incline to the side which has the steam or iron sides. I allude to combined land and water expeditions. That side will be the side which has most money. Money is called the sinews of war—and I suppose the enterprise and skill and daring which put the sinews in motion may be called Mars' nervous system.

This afternoon at 3, I had an agreeable call from Capt. Peardy of a British Steam frigate lying near us. A travelled, liberal minded gentleman, and I doubt not a good sailor. He passed an hour with us over a glass of sherry and ginger nuts. As he came over the side of the ship, he was received by Capt. Hoffman, the guard saluted, and the band played "God save the Queen." I rec'd him near the stern of the ship, and after a few moments chat conducted him to the cabin. The conversation was of course largely taken up with war topics; soldiers, sailors, ships, forts, cannon, etc. He told us he brought out in his ship to Canada two battalions of Guards; that there was plenty of room for

them, for the Guard being picked troops are seldom crowded as troops generally are that are transported by sea. Speaking of the Guards, I told him this anecdote: of a Colo. Somebody from New York who went to Montreal with letters to Sir James McDonald, and was invited to be present at a review of several battalions of the Guards. As they were passing in review, Sir James said "Fine looking troops, Colonel?". The Colonel assented. Sir James continued, "They should be fine looking, for they're picked out of the whole British army". "How do ye think they'd look in the States, Colonel?" "Not so well as they do here, Sir James." "How so?" said Sir James. "Why", said the Colonel, "they'd be without *arms*". "Ah", said Sir James, "that's well said, I like that." The colonel's ready wit won the heart of the Waterloo veteran. A gold snuff box presented to the Duke of Wellington, to be by him presented to the bravest man in the British army, was given by the great Duke to Lt. Gen. Sir James McDonald, who was at the Battle of Waterloo a Captain in the Guards, and who, with the assistance of a sergeant, closed the gate of the Chateau of Huegemont at the moment when the French assaulting column was about to enter. This timely and gallant act saved the position to the British, and ultimately won the battle of Waterloo. I recollect to have met Sir James McDonald at West Point, in the summer of 43 or 44.

Transport ship *Great Republic*, OFF PASS A LOUTRE,
April 26, 1862.

We got fairly under weigh at a quarter to ten this morning in tow of Steamer *Matanzas*, in order to overtake Gen. Butler who had preceded me with two regts of my brigade, to the quarantine ground below New Orleans. We had hardly been under weigh 20 minutes, when there was a cry of "man overboard" and a rush to the side of the ship. It proved to be one of the crew, who fell from the vessel while engaged about the anchor. The poor fellow never rose above the surface, and was seen for a moment only under the surface, as if in the act of swimming. Ropes and life preservers were thrown him in vain. I was told on enquiry that he could not swim. Swimming indeed might not have saved him, for at the rate the ship was going, he must have been left far behind before a boat could have gone to his assistance. It's a startling cry, that of "man overboard!!" Poor fellow!

April 27. A quarter after 8 A. M. arrived off the north point of Sable Island, was signalled from the steamer *Mississippi*, Gen. Butler's ship, to come to anchor. Found upon our arrival, that part of the 26th Massachusetts regt had been landed at the Quarantine Ground some 7 miles above Ft. St. Philip. Tomorrow the disembarkation of the other regiments will follow, should the rebels fail to surrender the forts.

I read today a letter, dated April 24, from Commodore Farragut to Gen. Butler, saying that the fleet had sunk the ram *Manassas* and destroyed 11 rebel gunboats, and that he was about to continue up the river to N. Orleans. We learn this morning that the Commodore is before N. Orleans, and that the Mayor of N. Orleans, a Union man, was on board the flagship, making terms for the surrender of the city. The rebel forces in Fts. Jackson and St. Philip can hardly escape capture. They may put it off, but with what benefit to themselves, I cannot see.

Gen. Lovell, late Lieut 4th Art'y, and Gen. Duncan, late Lieut 3d

art'y, are both said to be in Fort Jackson. I'd rather all the others should escape than lose the two generals. Lovell, especially, who, at the time he went South was in office in New York as an asst Street Commissioner. If my recollection serves me, he plotted treason and held on to office until after the disaster of Bull Run. Lovell is the son of Dr. Lovell, Dr. Lawson's predecessor in the office of Surgeon Gen'l of the army, was born in Washington, but both father and mother, I believe, were from Massachusetts. Both have been dead several years. He was associated with the filibustering schemes of Gen. Quitman and other leading southern men towards Cuba and Central America, and in the latter is understood to have sold his services for \$10,000. He embarked in this rebellion as a speculation, no doubt, which is likely, happily for the right, to be as barren of gain to himself and coadjutors as the filibustering projects. So perish the wrong and the wrongdoer forever. And so will he fail and perish forever, if we as a people repent and pray. Calamity will bless us more than the prosperity has cursed us, if it restore the nation's integrity to the standard of the days of Washington. If Calamity will do this let us all pray for that measure of it. Let us pray to be corrected, but not in anger, lest we be consumed.

April 28. At Quarantine Ground, 65 miles below New Orleans—arrived at 10½ P. M. in row boats accompanied by 2 companies of 4th Wisconsin regt and 1 company of Indianians. Found Gen. Butler had gone to New Orleans and found Colo. Jones with 26th Mass. reg't in charge of the Quarantine premises. I came here by order of Gen. Butler to assume command so as to regulate, or rather prevent the Colo. and a Lt. of Engineers from falling out. The remainder of the troops, including the remaining regts of my brigade, I directed to come to New Orleans by way of the Passes.

April 29. Gen. Butler arrived from New Orleans announcing the surrender of the city and all the Forts, and that the rebel troops under Gen. Lovell had all left post haste for Corinth. We occupy New Orleans as soon as our steamers can take us there. Some have already started. The 26th Mass. regt occupy this point (Quarantine Ground), a post across the river, and Forts St. Philip and Jackson. Gen. Butler brings word that the rebels say they're going to try another battle near Corinth, in which, if failing, they intend to give up rebelling. So mote it be, that they be again disastrously beaten, and at last into submission to good government, into law, loyalty and order.

April 30, 1862. QUARANTINE GROUND, 6.10 A. M.

I'm just informed that a mail goes from this direct to New York. We are still at Quarantine, but our position is a locomotive one. Not many hours more, and it is hoped we shall occupy N. Orleans. Some vessels of the Navy are now holding it in subjection with their guns. The population, they tell us, is violently secession, and, what is worse, are under the rule of a mob. Rigid military rule is what the city wants to restore order, protection and prosperity. This will be done, and acts of mob violence will be repressed by military force. Gen. Butler is sitting at the same table with me writing his dispatches to the War Dep't. They are to go by this mail.

The success of the Navy is something new in the annals of war. But the public will probably confound the ability of steam vessels of

war to pass forts, thus avoiding the fire of their guns, and the ability to contend with them. The forts on the Mississippi defended the approach to New Orleans and when passed, New Orleans was, of course, obliged to fall. Had the rebels been able to block up the passage by rafts or otherwise, so as to keep the war vessels under the fire of the forts' guns, the vessels must have been destroyed. Luckily for us, the great depth and great current and width of the Mississippi rendered the stoppage of the river by rafts or otherwise impossible to the rebels and perhaps impossible in fact.

At any rate the success of the navy is great, providential, for there is only about 100 killed and wounded. I believe the last battle at Corinth, a land battle, cost us some thousands.

But there is this significant fact in regard to the rebel defence of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, that their troops positively mutinied and refused to continue at the guns, then left the forts in a body, leaving their officers behind, and spiking the guns that bore on their retreat. However, the forts are still, notwithstanding the fire of the vessels, in good defensible condition, and their surrender was no doubt hastened by many days, by a movement of the land troops in row boats, on their rear, cutting them off from all supplies. After reaching New Orleans we shall probably endeavor to get up beyond Baton Rouge, or as far as the point of the Red River's entrance into the Mississippi. The purpose of this is to cut off supplies and make a demonstration in favor of Gen. Buell.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., May 1, 1862.

Leaving Quarantine Ground, 65 to 70 miles below this, 2 o'clock this morning, we arrived off the city at 12 M. and came to anchor at 12.30, thus having made the passage of 70 miles against a 5 mile current in about 10 hours. Myself and staff were on board the steam transport *Mississippi*, with Gen. Butler.

By 6 o'clock this evening, two reg'ts of my brigade, the 4th Wisconsin and 31st Massachusetts, and 4 pieces of artillery were landed, and amidst a dense crowd of disaffected, marched and took quarters at the Custom House. Muskets and art'y loaded and ready to meet force with force. The city has a look of utter desertion, by everybody but the rabble, not a window, door or shop open of any sort; not a vessel along the whole levee. Having broken open one of the doors of the Custom House, the reg'ts entered and were quartered, and myself and staff also took lodgings here.

I occupy the private office of the late U. S. Collector, for office and lodgings. Sofa, chairs, desks, tables—handsome French furniture, a handsome carpet, curtains, maps, clock, etc., complete the furniture of this airy handsome room. We take our meals at a French restaurant, very expensive, \$3 to \$5 a day.

May 2. I enclose with this Gen. Butler's Proclamation to the inhabitants of New Orleans, and people of Louisiana. Before its publication, the Gen'l invited the Mayor and Common Council of the City, and Mr. Pierre Soule, late Senator of the United States, to meet him at the Gen'l's lodgings at the St. Charles Hotel. The Proclamation was read to them. At first Mr. Soule and the Common Council objected to it *in toto*. Mr. Soule made an eloquent speech, acknowledging themselves conquered and appealing to the generosity of the victors. Gen. Butler answered the speech, and step by step forced Mr. Soule to

abandon his objections, and so the Common Council. The Conference began at 8 in the evening and continued through about 2 hours and a half. It broke up pretty amicably. While [this was] going on, the 4th Wisconsin and 2 pieces of artillery keep the street clear and quiet near the hotel and the band discoursed our national airs and others. Some preliminaries not agreed upon when the Conference ended are to be settled at 11 tomorrow morning.

May 3. City perfectly orderly and quiet last night, a good many shops open this morning; the crowd in the streets greatly diminished in numbers and not so sullen; insulting and jeering remarks at Yankees and Bull Run almost entirely abandoned. Sentinels are ordered to enter the crowd and seize and turn over to the Guard all such persons to be put at hard labor at Fort Jackson. From the beginning I have felt perfectly easy about the mob, and thus far have gone about the city as my business required without further precaution than to have one or two of my staff with me. The densest crowd has invariably opened for me to pass. "Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just." Thus do I feel, and I believe thus do we all feel. The rebel forces under General Lovell, six or seven thousand, who abandoned the city on our entering it, are encamped 70 miles from New Orleans north, on the New Orleans and Great Northern R. Road, passing through Jackson, Memphis, etc. We ought to have here 50,000 men to act from here in conjunction with Gen'ls Halleck and Buell. I hope the Gov't will recognize the importance of our position, and make the best of it. An officer is going from this to Washington to urge this.

I understand some of the principal rebels say that they mean to try another great battle in the valley of the Mississippi, and if they fail, give up and abandon the war. So mote it be. I pray daily for the success of our country's arms and councils.

May 5. I expected to have made a movement with my brigade ere this, but our limited transportation prevents. The truth is, I do not think it prudent to make detachments from our limited force. The city, indeed, is apparently in subjection, but a force of 6500 men is not in excess, for the object of keeping so large a disaffected population as this in order. Disaffected, I say. Disaffection against the Gov't of the United States is almost universal. One has to see to believe. Secession stares us in the face from every face—from infancy to old age. The girls and women even (the angels) look secession. A shop door here and there only open, and sometimes we have even to take by force and then to pay. Such is the reluctance of people who live by selling to sell to us. The other day all the printing offices refused to print Gen. Butler's proclamation. I called for printers from the reg'ts, sent a guard with them to the office of the *True Delta* and had the Proclamation printed. Gradually, however, they must relax. Their interest and their comfort will constrain them. But there will never be any love for the Union—not in our generation.

May 5. Later in the day.

Shops are beginning to open: well dressed people are beginning to show themselves in the streets: crowds of the vulgar are less numerous and less frequent. To outsiders and insiders, in respectful and apparently contented silence, the band of the 4th Wisconsin this evening discoursed waltzes and marches and songs, on the portico of the St. Charles Hotel.

News of an important character is daily looked for from the army before Richmond. We have rumours of every sort from several directions. But I know that rumours, even here, in the hot bed of secession, recounting rebel success, are regard[ed] with great distrust by rebels themselves. They are despondent, say they're beaten but not subdued. I cannot account for the signal and wonderful passing of the Forts on the Mississippi by the Fleet with the utterly inconsiderable loss of life, but by regarding it as the work of Providence. No other view will account for the success. I look confidently to His aid in the future, and believe He has made our cause His cause.

May 6. You can hardly guess how expensive the most ordinary board is now here. Provisions are enormously high. Mutton 65 cents a pound, flour at \$50 a barrel—not to be had indeed. The poor, as you may imagine, greatly distressed. Yesterday my dinner and a cup of coffee at night cost \$6.00. But, happily, prices must soon come down, permission having been given by Gen. Butler to bring flour from Mobile and cattle from the Red River. Coffee without milk 25 cents a cup. I'm ashamed of being compelled to squander my money for the mere privilege of *eating*. I think this is cheating you and our babies. Well it cannot and must not continue many days, for as a last resort, I can and will take to the soldier's ration.

May 7, 12 M. A mail leaves probably in a few hours direct for N. York, and in the midst of preparation for an expected move with two reg'ts of my brigade up the river, I write to close this letter giving one day's later tidings. More shops open today than yesterday, more of an air of business in the hitherto deserted streets. Yet we do not deceive ourselves by thinking that this place can be held for the Union except by military force. There is no Union feeling in all New Orleans.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER 3 miles below Vicksburg,
Steam Transport *Laurel Hill*. May 22, 1862.

Here we are:—some ½ doz gunboats and flag officer Farragut; and two of my reg'ts and a battery of artillery contemplating this focus of Secession, Vicksburg, with its high bluffs crowned with batteries and its show of rebel troops.

My force is an independent though co-operating force. But our combined force, though equal to a profitable diversion in behalf of our army at Corinth is unequal to the capture and holding of Vicksburg. Instead of 2000 men, I ought to have at least 10,000. But I have all Gen. Butler could afford to spare from the holding of New Orleans with its numerous and hostile population. There's been a little firing of cannon and a little skirmishing with infantry, but nothing of importance.

The Flag-officer may damage the rebel batteries and demolish the town with his big guns, but our forces combined can neither capture nor hold it if captured. For with their 8 or 10 thousand and Jackson an hour by rail away with forces in reserve, our 2000 have to consider discretion the better part of valor. It's provoking, isn't it?

So I think, operations here, until a competent land force can be brought forward, and until the river between this and Memphis is cleared out by Foote's gunboats and Halleck's and Buell's forces, must be limited to a diversion and blockade. A diversion, by compelling Beauregard to keep a large force here, and thus relieve our army near

Corinth of so much rebel force, and a blockade of the river from Vicksburg down to New Orleans, cutting off supplies of food, as flour, corn, beef cattle, etc., drawn by the rebel army from the corresponding country on the west of the Miss. You cannot conceive the flooded condition of the country on both banks of the Mississippi. Water 5 and more feet over the levees. Utter destruction to cotton and other crops. Destruction to cattle and property. Houses almost submerged, abandoned by their inhabitants. One wide desolation, with here and there a spot only above water from here to New Orleans. So I'm told it is above Vicksburg, and yet the June rise of water is to come. War, with all its losses can hardly be worse for starvation and misery. Poor Arkansas is largely flooded of course, your rebel State. What a state for a loyal woman to have been nurtured in. And the blackies, they swarm wherever there's a dry spot to stand on, and wave us a welcome with their hats, and grin their delight at the hope we've come to free them. Skiffs bearing them away from their masters are constantly met with floating down the river. Where they can go and how they can subsist is hard to say. But many must eventually escape and be otherwise lost by starvation to their masters.

These fanatic slaveholders, the counterparts of our abolition fanatics, have thrown overboard, in throwing off their allegiance to the Gov't of the United States, the only protection to their slave property. A party of these slaveholding gentlemen called on me the other day to ask if we would not assist them to recover their slaves. I answered it was a singular request to ask assistance from an authority they had repudiated; going on to say, that I did not doubt, that if they could convince Gen. Butler of their loyalty to the Union, he might help them, not by the employment of force, but by the moral weight of his declaration, that the slave property of loyal inhabitants was entitled to all the protection and guarantees promised in the Constitution of the United States. These secession people must see that their principles lead to nothing but loss and ruin, and yet they appear to be as enamoured of Secession, as if she promised them every good. Strange madness! Calamity, I fear, is the only thing that can restore them to their senses. We have no news here from Corinth. Vague rumours and occasional unreliable secession newspaper statements only. We're as much out of the world here with the river closed above us, and infrequent communication with New Orleans, itself so far from all that interest home, as we would be at the north pole. God grant that the scourge of war which desolates the land may soon end, chastising us as a nation, into the virtue and the religion we have so widely departed from. We must be chastised into reverence for law and order, reverence for right and the fear of God.

BATON ROUGE, LA., June 2, 1862.

I write with constant interruptions, applications of all kinds. It's a court martial, rations, guards, pickets, distressed inhabitants wanting passes, others asking for redress of grievances; reports of the advance of the enemy's forces. And so it goes, affording little time for the most necessary and most ordinary processes of eating and sleeping.

We are here in the capital of the State of Louisiana. It's a pretty town, and an old town, prettily situated. I have quartered one reg't in the State House, a beautiful building with terraced grounds bordered with trees and flowers. In the rotunda of the State House stands a

life size statue of Washington, by the sculptor Powers. And a sentinel has, by my orders, been placed over it to stand watch and ward night and day.

Within this building are the houses of the legislature, Senate and Representatives; the libraries and archives of the State. In the Senate Chamber, to the right and left of the Speaker's chair hang two fine portraits, one of Washington as President, and one of Gen. Taylor as President. All these things will be guarded by our troops with scrupulous care.

I must tell you what the papers may give you a wrong version of, or in some way excite your apprehensions for my personal safety. My aid de camp Lt. DeKay was severely and it is feared fatally wounded in a skirmish on the evening of the 26th of May, at a place called Grand Gulf, on the east bank of the Mississippi, some 50 miles below Vicksburg. As we passed down the river, a rebel battery of four field pieces concealed by the trees opened upon our transport striking the boat repeatedly, and sending the shot through our crowds of men. Most providentially one man only was killed and an officer wounded. Such an escape as it was, was indeed marvellous. Well, we put our boats about and returned to chastise the vagrants. Our escort, two gunboats and a sloop of war, proceeded to the point whence the fire came, opening some of their guns on the place of the battery, and afterwards on the town near by, supposed to be in league with the attacking party. Soon white flags went up in all directions, and I sent a detachment of four companies to capture the battery and their camp. Mr. DeKay applied to accompany the detachment. Arriving on the ground, the enemy was found to have decamped with their guns and tents, the last just leaving. Our people pursued them, skirmishing as they went. Lieut. DeKay very incautiously, but very gallantly, had gotten in advance of the advance guard, and, without his suspicion or knowledge, had gotten within 15 paces of a rebel, whom in the twilight he took to be one of our own people. The rebel turned upon him, levelled his piece and shot him. Seven buck shot struck his left arm at or near the elbow, and five entered his left side and back. Poor fellow, he lies bleeding profusely, and his lower limbs entirely paralyzed. Fatally, I'm afraid, he is wounded. I have just sent him north, that is, I have sent him to New Orleans to go north at the first opportunity, which will probably be in a day or two. I have written to his mother at Newport, Rhode Island, and to his uncle, Charles Augustus Davis in New York.

Mr. DeKay will steam direct to New York; look out for his arrival. Poor fellow, I'm afraid he'll not survive to reach his destination. Poor fellow, he was gallant enough and his generous qualities had endeared him to us all. I shall miss him greatly, socially and officially. I pray for his restoration to health, and shall keep his place open for him.

BATON ROUGE, LA., June 11, 1862.

I was at dinner when Capt. Hoffman came in with the mail. You mention Banks' falling back, but not the rumored disaster to Gen. McClellan's army. The latter came to us here through rebel sources, I don't believe [it]. There may have been a repulse. Repulses are not uncommon in great siege operations. There were many in the War of the Crimea before Sevastopol, but the end at last came. So—let us hope we shall have a victorious ending. Let us ask God to help us, and then we shall prevail.

June 13. Rumours of disaster come to us from Richmond. I don't believe them. The people here with all their sympathies in favor of rebellion do believe, and I suppose, in secret rejoice.

From above we have rumours of the abandonment of Fort Pillow and the falling back of Beauregard from Corinth to Colona in Alabama some 30 miles, with the loss of a million's worth of provisions. Rumours also say that in a great gunboat engagement Foote has again signally prevailed. Vicksburg is being fortified and strongly armed, and several points, bluffs, between this and Vicksburg are or are to be fortified, so that going from this to Vicksburg will involve partial engagements from point to point between our gunboats, and troops perhaps, and the rebel defences. Flag-officer Farragut is now lying off this place with several vessels of the fleet, and awaiting Butler's mortar vessels before ascending the river to attempt the reduction of Vicksburg, and thence go on to join or meet Commodore Foote.

A land force is designed to cooperate with flag-officer Farragut from Gen. Butler's division, and it is probable I shall have command of that force. What it may be enabled to do cannot be foreseen for owing to the flooded condition of the country, some 30 miles below Vicksburg, there are few places where troops can be landed, or where they can be used.

Should, however, the rumoured great disaster to McClellan's army prove true, it's likely that Gen'l Butler will not deem it prudent to spare any troops (from his really small force for the task of keeping in subjection so large and disaffected a city as New Orleans) to cooperate with Flag-officer Farragut in the reduction of Vicksburg. Then the Flag-officer will probably simply run by Vicksburg and meet Commodore Foote and come down with him, and then try their hand at Vicksburg with any land force it may be practicable to detach from Gen. Halleck or Gen. Butler.

One can hardly imagine that these people of Louisiana ever had any attachment for the Union. Here and there a man who acknowledges Union sentiments with his face averted, and in a whisper, for less often do we find a woman: on the contrary, for the most part almost violent, threatening to spit in the faces of union officers. Such venom one must see to believe. Such unsexing was hardly ever before in any cause or country so marked and so universal. I look at them and think of fallen angels.

By the way, a rumour we cannot trace says we have Richmond. I should incline to believe this with all my confidence in McClellan's skill and the excellence imputed to his army. But there are some bright spots even with war all around us with its ever changing phases of success and disaster. There is a bright spot to me on the banks of the Hudson. Wife and children, and a home consecrated to the amenities and charities of Christian life. Loving hearts that shelter and watch over wife and little ones.

June 14. Mr. Whitney, a former Massachusetts man, but long resident in this country, reports at HdQrs this morning the surrender of Memphis to Capt. Davis, and the destruction by Davis of the rebel fleet of gun boats in sight of the population of Memphis. So now Davis and his fleet may get to Vicksburg before Flag Officer Farragut and myself. There are now no obstacles between Memphis and Vicksburg to keep back Davis except 400 miles of steaming, with the current

to assist the steam. The flag officer and myself are impatient to get off and have a hand in opening the navigation of the Father of Waters.

What an extraordinary somersault the *London Times* has lately executed on the subject of the military power of the United States! The last *Times* speaks of Mr. Lincoln as wielding more power than the first Napoleon did, and that if the whole British army were sent to New York, it would be lost in the great armies of the Union, and that all the British fleet could not add to the sufficiency for all purposes of war, of our own. What a somersault! The end must be at hand when John Bull's representative newspaper talks in this way.

June 15. Went to Church with Capt. Hoffman (Dr. Gurlo's Church, Episcopal), and took the Sacrament, asking the Blessing of God on my efforts to save my country.

BATON ROUGE, June 16, 1862.

In a separate command and in a factious city, I'm not only a military commander, but necessarily an administrator of civil affairs, judge, court and jury in more cases than I would wish to be, if I could choose. My time is more cut up even than yours with our daughter on your knee. Such a whirl of solicitation, remonstrance and enquiry I never expected to be a martyr to. I've hardly a moment to myself, really the servant of the public. Here's a guerrilla case of joint stock property with an innocent, inoffensive man. The guerilla's property is confiscated and destroyed, how are we to shield the inoffensive partner? It Can't be done. These claims must be deferred, until peace comes, for the action of Congress. All sorts of complications: a rebel rents land of a widow, owes her for rent. His property was confiscated and the widow exhibits the articles of agreement, and shows the indebtedness by regular account. She asks for a cow in part payment. And I order the officer in charge of the property to give her a cow. The cow was among the oxen, and mules and cows of which the guerilla rebel was dispossessed, etc., etc.

A financial case comes up. Certain parties representing the city corporation had issued small bills redeemable in confederate notes. Confederate notes are proscribed, and the Mayor and council call to ask what they shall do. Small bills are required for circulation:—there's no other way. Without these bills of the corporation no one can buy his marketing. I say, "Call a meeting of the council and call in all small notes they have issued redeemable in Confederate paper, and issue a corresponding sum pledging the property and faith of the city for their redemption", and so forth.

June 17. Flag officer Farragut and Capt. Bell, his fleet Captain, dined with us today. Capt. Bell tells me that his wife and family reside in Newburgh, and that he's going to write his wife that you live in the same town. He's a North Carolinian, and highly loyal. Hardly through my tea, when a case was presented by a man (clergyman), whose horses and mules had been seized by one of my officers on the ground of connection with the guerillas. He came this afternoon and complained, averring that he had nothing to do with the rebellion in any way, and had from the beginning preached against it from his pulpit. I told him to call this evening and meet the officer in my presence, that I might do him justice after a full hearing of both sides. The officer came and told a pretty hard and connected story in direct contradiction to the preacher's assertions, viz.: that he had counselled his flock to rise

against the invaders, and if with no other arms, like Samson to slay with the jawbone of an ass. The preacher did not meet with us according to appointment, and so his horses and mules are still retained. These people are strangely bitter, and many forbearing men on our side, Northern and Southern loyalists, think leniency is all a mistake, but that the rebellionists must be chastized into loyalty.

June 18. A visit just now from a lady and her husband about a valuable mulatto run away from them. I told the lady to stop the war and all such troubles would cease, that Southern women had done so much to bring about this war, and they must now do as much to end it. The lady smiled and went on her way—pondering seriously.

June 19, 6 P. M. William is packing bedding, mess effects, etc., etc., for a start. I shall embark about 7, bound for Memphis perhaps, or to meet Capt. Davis and gunboats perhaps no higher up than Vicksburg. Flag-officer Farragut and myself are to co-operate.

My Flagship is the *Louisiana Belle*, a small steamer on which I embark with my staff only. I have some 8 river steamers besides for four regiments and nearly two whole batteries of field artillery. The strength of the four regts and the art'y will be about 3200 men. People, who pretend to be knowing and wise, say we'll meet with no opposition at Vicksburg. I leave about 1200 men, and 5 guns, here for the protection of the place, Gov't stores and buildings. Rumors that the place is to be attacked when I leave are not credited by me.

Flag Ship *Hartford*, MISSISSIPPI RIVER, just above Vicksburg,

June 28, [18]62.

I arrived just below Vicksburg from Baton Rouge, June 25 and commenced on the 27th to cut off by a canal the bend opposite Vicksburg. It's a great work and not of certain execution, for the river is falling rapidly. If the canal succeeds, Vicksburg is cut off and the Mississippi river turned, and Vicksburg and its defences and batteries are conquered by the shovel.

This morning at 4 o'clock, the fleet under Flag officer Farragut attacked the batteries at Vicksburg, and after many hours firing passed the batteries without reducing them. Seven vessels passed the batteries, and all the mortar vessels, and some 5 gunboats remained behind. I had a battery of 8 guns established to assist the (Navy), who did admirably. My force of 3300 was inadequate to storming the batteries, and we are awaiting reinforcements from Gen. Halleck, who is reported to be at Memphis with 80,000 men. The Vicksburgers are well fortified and have from 15 to 20 thousand men. How did I get here? I crossed over on horseback from my camp, made signal for a boat which came, and I've just dined with Flag officer.

The proposed cut off is 4 miles from Vicksburg. If the cut succeeds, the Mississippi will take the course of the cut off and Vicksburg becomes an inland town with a mere creek in front of it. So the batteries will be made useless, and Vicksburg will fall with the spade.

Flagship *Hartford*, JUST ABOVE VICKSBURG, July 2, 1862.

Here I am again having again crossed the bend, on horseback, to confer with Flag-officer Farragut, and this time also with Flag-officer Davis who arrived here from Memphis yesterday. The great part of both fleets is now just above Vicksburg—in a short two miles—and are

yet awaiting events. We hope for the arrival of a considerable force from above, but in the mean time are busy in our own way. The navy mortar vessels firing shells from time to time, and our own field guns held ready for use when the moment arrives for using them to the best advantage. But also the land forces are engaged in a cut off canal, which if successful, will beyond all doubt capture Vicksburg. And we hope largely for success, notwithstanding the rapid falling of the river. I have upwards of 700 contrabands employed on the work, which have been taken by my armed parties from the plantations, 3 to 5 miles around. They work and shout as they work, thinking they're working for their freedom, and if the canal is a success will deserve it and shall have it.

The weather has been oppressively warm, but the last two days have been overcast and comparatively cool. Much advantage this to our fellows who have to delve and dig on the canal. The contrabands, on the contrary, flourish and glisten and shine most when the sun's the hottest. And long may they flourish, if the cut off's a success.

In these days we're looking for the great battle at Richmond, the battle of the war and which is to end the war. Desperate will be the fray: twice desperate to those who have everything to lose by defeat. But success on our side is hardly less necessary, and that soon. For the crowds of the spinning mills at Manchester crying for bread is a strong motive for intervention by Mr. Bull, and the loss of import trade a strong motive for intervention to Louis Nap'l'n. A great battle won by us at Richmond, and there'll not be the shadow of a southern Confederacy left to intervene for. This success is our hope, and no doubt the hope and determination of the army before Richmond. We have a Chicago paper of the 27th of June, nothing conclusive in it, but that the great battle has not yet taken place, but was in expectancy. Capt. Davis tells me he has learned from the newspapers that McClellan had established his first parallel, the rebels not having been able to prevent it. If so, it is the beginning of the chapter which is to record the capture of the rebel capital. For, if they could not prevent the establishing of our first parallel, they will not be able to stop the succeeding works of approach.

July 18, 1862. BELOW VICKSBURG, Louisiana side of river.

We, the navies and myself, that is, the lower Fleet of Flag officer Farragut and the upper Fleet of Commodore Davis, and my 2500 are still here blockading Vicksburg. Up to the 11th inst our prospects were promising that the canal we were cutting would succeed in turning the course of the Mississippi and thus cut off Vicksburg from the Mississippi and make it an inland town, and render useless all its guns and great batteries. But alas, on the 11th, the canal caved in at several points and so delayed the work, that the end of three days found us some feet above the level of the river, and the water falling faster then we could dig. Thus we have encountered at least temporary failure after great labor and some anxiety. If not interrupted by the rebels, nor stopped by orders from HdQrs. it is my purpose to cut a real canal, to the depth of the lowest fall of the river, here say 40 to 45 feet, which work will employ 3000 negroes for 3 months. Something of a task, is it not?

But how shall I describe this habitation of ours? It's now afloat and

now ashore; sometimes by land, sometimes by water. Today on board a transport river steamer, tomorrow on land, which two weeks ago was water. Yes, land, now 16 to 18 feet above the river, was 2 months ago 4 feet under the river. Happily the excavation we have made is a mighty ditch, and the earth thrown up a respectable parapet which can be turned to military purposes if necessary.

To vary the monotony of almost daily canonading between the fleet (and sometimes our field batteries) and the rebels, we had unexpectedly, about 8 in the morning of the 15th, a visit from the ram *Arkansas*, an iron clad rebel. She ran through our fleet, receiving their broadsides, not without perceptible injury, and took refuge under the guns of Vicksburg. She is now lying between Commodore Davis' fleet above and Commodore Farragut's fleet below Vicksburg. She came down from the Yazoo River, which enters the Mississippi some 7 miles above Vicksburg. But I will tell the story as it happened.

At 5 in the morning of July 5th, two of our gun boats of Commodore Davis' fleet, and a ram of Col. Ellett's fleet of army rams, started from the upper side of the bend opposite Vicksburg to go up the Yazoo River to reconnoiter, to find out about this very ram *Arkansas*, ascertained being built there and nearing completion, and learn what land batteries and land forces protected her, with a view to a joint expedition on my part and the fleet. At 6 whom should they meet but the rebel ram coming down the Yazoo? Well, of course they engaged her, and she returned their fire and kept on. One of our gunboats, the *Carondelet*, an iron clad, kept side by side with her, exchanging broadsides, for at least 5 miles, when a break in her steering apparatus enabled the rebel to leave her behind. And so she came on and on and was on the fleets of Commodore Davis and Farragut before they knew or suspected her vicinity. Unluckily for us (to save coal) none of our steam fleet had steam enough to follow the rebel; so after taking their broadsides with the best grace she could, she passed down and ensconced herself under the guns of Vicksburg. In the night of the 15th Flag officer Farragut came down with the greater part of his fleet, engaged the batteries of the town, and tried to find the ram in order to run her down. But as she is very low in the water, and about the color of the river bank, and the night very dark, the rebel monster could not be seen and so escaped destruction. There she lies in sight of us, and deserters say will try to pass down the river to New Orleans and Mobile, which she will not do unless it happens to be pitch dark: for Commodore Farragut is determined to destroy her in some way or other, no matter at what sacrifice. Should she pass him, he with the fleet will follow and overtake her. I wish the ram was a sheep!

July 20. Sunday morning, everybody, blacks and all, resting from the labors of the week. It's now 15 minutes to 9 A. M. and the thermometer at 90 in the shade. Such hot weather as we have here is seldom experienced anywhere, and what is worse, the drying up of the lately overflowed land gives rise to a malarious atmosphere, which is telling alarmingly on the health of the troops. Nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of my whole force is on the sick list. I have not told you that Mr. DeKay died of his wound June 27th. My remaining A. D. C., Mr. Biddle, left me yesterday to go up the river and home with a fever on him, and my Adj. Gen. Capt. Hoffman is just taken with fever. The navy, too, is suffering dreadfully from disease, and it would not surprise me if the decimation

of troops and sailors by disease did not compel the abandonment of this Expedition until the return of frost and cool weather. A great disappointment this to all concerned. Many of us entertained hopes of accomplishing in the Cutoff something worth suffering for, and as long as that prospect was before us, officers and men kept back disease by the mere force of resolution. But now that the prospect has failed, the disposition is general to give way. In my own case, happily, my health does not give way, but I confess that my hopes to accomplish the object of my part of the Expedition, surrounded as I am by the sick and desponding, sometimes do give way. This morning the commanders of regiments are to meet me at my flagship *Louisiana Belle*, by my own appointment. I shall instruct them to enquire into the causes of disease, and through their surgeons to report upon the means of preventing or at least modifying.

The inhabitants say this season is unusually unhealthy—many sick themselves, and all men women and children look sick—thin, pale spiritless and yellow. A neighboring physician told me this morning that acclimating did not exempt the resident from the ordinary effects of malaria; that the climate appeared to be perfectly impartial between resident and stranger. A delectable habitation indeed. Again, many of our people not on sick report are yet so affected by malaria as to be good for nothing—feeling unequal to any exertion of mind and body. This is the worse phase.

July 21. Still at our usual avocations of entrenching and canalling. The sick report receives its customary addition, and I'm preparing to send all the sick down the river to Baton Rouge, some 1100! But I'm not discouraged. I know these things to be the accustomed accompaniment of war. The troops do not, and therefore despond more or less. But, I feel, that in this crisis of our country's fortunes our country's success or failure, desponding is not the cure—desponding is neither safety nor success.

The Confiscation Act and Emancipation Act of Congress of recent passage must bring the Southerners to their senses, or culminate in their destruction. If the war continues a year longer, I don't see how they're to escape a servile war. The negroes are flying from their masters in all directions, and have become thoroughly impressed with the *idea* of being free. Old, decrepit men and women, even, come into our lines, whose old age and infirmities were probably well provided for. Yet they leave the comforts their age and infirmities require, for freedom, which, may be, has been the dream of all their lives. That idea of being free, how can they ever be dispossessed of it? Never. The doom of slavery is already written, unless the South stop the rebellion. They began the rebellion to establish a great slave empire: they must stop the rebellion to save their country from destruction and servile war, and perhaps themselves from negro domination and a Black Republic. What a terrible punishment!

This is my third letter by the up river route. We cross the bend opposite Vicksburg by land, and thus communicate with the up river fleet, and get mails from Memphis and St. Louis.

It seems to be my good or bad fortune to get into the newspapers and get more abuse than praise. I hope it may be my really good fortune to do something to silence all slander and slanderers. We have corrupt combinations—old party combinations—in our volunteer forces

Bad, unscrupulous men. But they cannot prevail. The truth must beat them thousand to one.

I believe it is the intention of the fleet to attempt the destruction of the ram this afternoon. She must be destroyed, or we cannot maintain our supremacy on the Mississippi. If destroyed, I may go to Baton Rouge, unless the force with me be necessary to holding this point of land opposite Vicksburg I now hold. My only doubt about the propriety of remaining is whether it will be possible to keep troops here during the more sickly months of August and September. Nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of my present force are unfit for duty now.

BELOW VICKSBURG, in sight of the town, the batteries, and the Ram,
July 21, 1862.

To Mrs. M. A. Bailey.²

Is every body abused in the newspapers as well as I am? My hope and prayer is to be permitted to achieve something to silence all slander and all slanderers. Our country and ourselves are in other hands, let us hope, than those of party politicians and corrupt men:—corrupt combinations, who seek to effect their own schemes in our volunteer army as they have hitherto in civil life.

It is impossible slander should succeed against truth and virtue. It is impossible the corrupt should prevail over the upright.

I've been here since June 29, trying to cut off Vicksburg by a canal across the bend opposite. On July 11, the bottom of our ditch was $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the Mississippi, and we should have opened it for the water, but for a slide or cave in which delayed so in removing it, that when it was done, the river had fallen some three feet below the grade of the canal's bottom, and was falling faster than we could dig with our 1500 contrabands. Well, what am I doing now? Waiting for land forces from above to take Vicksburg with, say 15,000. I have written twice to Gen. Grant. Commodore Farragut has written to Gen. Halleck. From the latter has come an answer he had no troops to spare: from the former I have not heard. Gen. Butler cannot spare any troops from New Orleans.

Next, what am I doing? I have begun a new canal it will take three months to finish with good management and good luck. But already I've been obliged to divert a portion of my laboring force to convert the canal already cut into a defensive work, for Rumour says the rebels are going to try to interrupt the work by land attack. Not unlikely at all, if our fleet does not destroy their ram. Then, I'm embarrassed by the excessive number of sick in my fighting force. Twelve hundred on the sick list, some eight hundred others about, unequal from the effects of malaria to any vigorous exertion of mind or body. On paper, my force numbers some 3000, in fact, for service, it is doubtful if under the greatest emergency, I could get together 1000 men able to fight for hours and march a dozen miles. This is a dilemma, is it not?

Commodore Farragut and fleet has received orders to go down the river to New Orleans. I am cooperating with him. Commodore Davis and fleet are on the opposite side of the bend above Vicksburg. The latter are to remain in charge of the river. Part of Davis' fleet will have to occupy both sides of the bend, and communicate by land, $1\frac{1}{4}$

² The writer's wife's mother.

miles across the bend, with each other. They ought to have a railroad track, which it is quite possible to make out of the rails from the Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas rail road which runs through our midst. I'm so anxious to do something useful, that I've half a mind to undertake the work, notwithstanding my alarmingly large and fast increasing sick list, and my desire and prayer to win, if we have to fight. So we go! The country's circumstances require everything, every energy to carry it safely through the war.

But emancipation and confiscation must do much to end the war. Or what can the south expect but a servile insurrection! If the war continues a year longer, nothing can save them from it. The idea of freedom has possessed itself of the entire black population, and what idea of this sort ever failed to work itself out? The old and decrepit are not exempt from it, and leave the comforts age and infirmity require for freedom. Here they are in our lines, old, young; men, women; boys, girls; rampant with the idea of being free, look and speak defiantly to their quondam masters.

Yes, a year's longer war, and negro slavery is doomed forever. And they whose ambition led them to attempt the foundation of a great slave empire are in danger of domination by the former slave, under the terrors and humiliations of perhaps a Black Republic! How Providence works let no man pretend to say. But this looks like retribution.

BATON ROUGE, July 26.

To Mrs. M. N. Williams.

Ten precious letters from May 31 to July 2 met me on my arrival from Vicksburg today. One envelope contains a missive of announcement and congratulation with a lock of hair from baby, by Cousin P. and a special announcement from you.

My transports came down convoyed by all of Commodore Farragut's fleet, expecting to have to run a gauntlet of art'y and musketry all the way through. But to our surprise and greater comfort not a shot was fired, because they saw us so well prepared to return their fire.

Rumours have been various and rife of the enemy's intentions on Baton Rouge. At one time 15,000 men reported to be within 8 miles. My force which came down the river has augmented the force here, more numerically than effectively, on account of the great number of sick. But still, to all here, its arrival must be comforting.

I confess I'm glad to get back from swamps and malaria to something civilized in aspect and civilized in fact. We, the army, have some good friends and courteous here, people too humane to encourage civil war, and too much attached to the Union to aid its enemies by their money or services. Yet there is that *Conscription* which thousands would evade if they could and thousands are contributing to against their will. Yes, that Conscription which makes the war the cause of the South, by bringing by force every southern man capable of bearing arms into the war. And, once in arms, it matters little how they get there, they will according to all experience on the subject fight as well as conscripts as they would as volunteers—yea better. For, as conscripts, the only relation between the private in the ranks and the officer is a purely official relation, which exacts discipline and compels instruction without fear, favor or affection. This result is not attainable with volunteers, raised and brought into service as ours are, with

their political and party connections retained in full force—their hopes of preferment to civil office urging them to be popular rather than faithful, holding out the prospect of advancement to the man who neglects his duty most—the demagogue who is trying to serve himself rather than his country.

I am not mistaken in my assertion that we ought to adopt the conscription, and then we may count on beating down rebellion and restoring the union. Our volunteer system is radically bad, and must be set aside, and the sooner set aside the better. This is the truth, and in this crisis of our country nothing but the truth will save us. Lying politicians and lying newspapers have brought the country to its present extremity. Brave and true men only will save it. Let us be true to our country, and true to ourselves, then may we, with hope that we shall be heard, ask God to help us.

While writing this, I'm interrupted by a shining, ebony face and profound salutation, in a little voluble man who calls himself Baptiste Charles. Baptiste Charles has a large watermelon in both hands which he comes to present to me—which I persuade Charles to accept a quarter of a dollar for. Charles asserts his loyalty to the north and proclaims the secession sentiments of his master. I do not discuss Constitutional questions with Baptiste Charles, but tell him his melon is an uncommonly fine one, and that if he has cantelopes or figs, or fruit or eggs, or vegetables of any sort to sell, to bring them in. Charles bows profoundly, for he is remembered that Charles is a French negro, and has the politeness of that nation.

July 27, Sunday. Good bye, my own wife. Love to Cousins. Kisses to J. M. S. and X.³

[This concludes the letters. There was probably no further opportunity to send, if there had been leisure to write. The enemy's advance was known, and there was disaffection in the city. The good-bye written July 27 was a last one. G. M. W.]

³ General Williams's youngest son was born June 28, 1861.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Science of Jurisprudence: a Treatise in which the Growth of Positive Law is Unfolded by the Historical Method and its Elements Classified and Defined by the Analytical. By HANNIS TAYLOR, LL.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. lxxv, 676.)

MR TAYLOR tells us (p. 31): "The primary purpose of that branch of the Historical Method known as Comparative Politics is to classify and label the outer shells of states as represented by their political constitutions; the primary purpose of that branch of the same method known as Comparative Law is to classify and label the interior codes under which rights recognized by law are enforced by state authority . . . No matter whether we look to the ancient or modern world, it appears that Comparative Law has ever been the subsidiary science which collects the data to which the science of jurisprudence has been and must be applied."

In view of this statement it is surprising to find nearly one-half of the book devoted to the description of political institutions, which are only remotely, if at all, relevant to the subject indicated by the title. What is called the External History of English Law, covering no less than 272 pages, is nothing but an outline of the growth of the British constitution; the foundation of our own national constitution, especially as foreshadowed in an "epoch making tract" of Pelatiah Webster (printed in full in the appendix) occupies the chapter entitled English Law in the the United States; while under the curious title Roman and English Law Combined we get chiefly an account of the Latin American governments.

Mr. Taylor's theory seems to be that private law cannot be understood without a thorough comprehension of political institutions. "If it be true that law proper is such only when it is enforceable as a command emanating from the corporate person of the state, acting through that organ in which the sovereign power is vested, it follows that the state, as a living and growing organism, should be so analyzed by the jurist as to lay bare all of its organs and their functions" (p. 503). An obvious fallacy; as well might it be said that we cannot study the law of corporations without studying the state, since the corporation is the creature of the state. The production and enforcement of private law

is but one of many functions of the state, and to its political factors generally quite a secondary function. If the jurist is interested in government except as it bears directly upon private law, it is because government is a distinct province of life in which the idea of law expresses itself; the problems of law in this province, however, and in most countries the methods and organs of its development, have been so different from those of private law, that a conventional differentiation has taken place, according to which jurisprudence has become associated with the science of private law.

For the "unfolding of the growth of positive law by the historical method" we turn to ch. III. entitled External History of Roman Law. Down to the codification of Justinian this offers a readable account of a familiar topic; the continuation of the history of the civil law in continental Europe contains some valuable material not otherwise easily accessible to English or American readers. As a summary of existing legal systems this latter portion of the chapter challenges comparison with Renton and Phillimore's corresponding chapter in their recent work on Colonial Laws and Courts, which is more complete. The omission of any mention of the new Swiss Civil Code with the valuable notes of its draftsman—in themselves a first-class treatise on jurisprudence—seems unpardonable. Had Mr. Taylor expanded this part of his book by sacrificing other material not having a legitimate place in it, he would have placed his readers under obligation.

In a chapter of 94 pages entitled Law Proper or State Law, Mr. Taylor attempts to present an analysis of law and of legal relations and a classification of the divisions of the law. The treatment of the various topics is uneven, and in some cases (*e. g.*, quasi-contract and administrative law) inadequate. The observations on remedial law and the sources of law are on the whole the most satisfactory part of this chapter. We have, however, to note the unaccountable misstatement that "in nearly all the states of the Union carefully prepared codes have appeared in which is restated, on the Roman plan, in titles, chapters, and sections, the entire body of law of the particular state, resting everywhere, except in Louisiana, upon an English basis" (p. 517).

The author's view of the nature of international law is indicated by the fact that he treats of it as under the head of Law by Analogy. In this connection we also find very unexpectedly a brief discussion of the composite types of state organization. The closing chapter on International Rules to Prevent Conflict of Laws belongs to the most satisfactory portions of the book. However, in view of the long list of writings, some of them of quite second-rate importance, which the author enumerates, it is surprising that he has not a word to say about the Hague Conferences of 1893, 1894 and 1900, surely the most noteworthy recent development in the history of international private law.

On the whole, the book is not sufficiently systematic, complete, or

accurate to serve the purpose of an elementary treatise on jurisprudence. Nor does it succeed, on the other hand, in contributing to the solution of fundamental problems or even in presenting them in a new light. Coming from an author of such distinguished reputation as Mr. Taylor enjoys, the impression which the work leaves is one of disappointment. A timely essay might be written on the topic "of the vocation of eminent lawyers for the science of jurisprudence".

E. F.

General History of Western Nations from 5000 B. C. to 1900 A. D.

By EMIL REICH, Doctor Juris. Volumes I. and II. *Antiquity*. (London and New York: Macmillan and Company. 1908. Pp. xxvi, 485; x, 479.)

THE author's idea of his subject is the most interesting feature of the present work, and may be briefly stated as follows. General history is not a summary of special histories, as is ordinarily assumed, but a study of large facts. "At the basis of all that happened in the history of western nations there is a series of some twenty to thirty general facts, which singly, and still more by meeting, blending, or antagonizing one another, created a multitude of particular facts." The treatment of these general truths in the present volumes is not philosophy, which depreciates teleological reasoning; it is rather psychology in that it has to do with motive as a primary cause. In this respect the author claims his work to be superior to that of other historians, among whom "it is not considered good form to try to know more than one's sources, which is precious little." The chief contents of history, he continues, are institutions, events and persons. Because of the static character of institutions we are in a position to know them much better than the other two elements, and must therefore make them the basis of our study. Institutions repeat themselves, though persons and events do not. It is possible for us accordingly by the direct study of some modern institution, analogous to one of ancient times, to find a means of getting into closer touch with the real psychological essence of the earlier institution. The only way to gain this knowledge of present conditions is by long sojourns in the countries in which they exist. Most historians are of the "arm-chair" type; they are utterly impractical, their vision is narrow, and they are hampered by their philological method.

In his treatment of events and their relation to institutions he contests the theory represented by Eduard Meyer and Seignobos that history is a chain of accidents. It is in fact, he asserts, the science of correlations, which are affected by chance occurrences no more than comets and meteors affect the regularity of the solar system. A correlation is the psychological motive underlying two or more historical phenomena and bringing them into unity. The history of the

world is such a unit, the paramount current of which is "the Europeanisation of mankind. In the present year eleven hundred out of a total of over fifteen hundred million human beings are under the sway of Europeans or their direct descendants." The primary factor in this process is Hellenic civilization, to which must be added two others of less importance, Roman polity, and Christianity. Of Teutonism, so prominent in all our histories, he makes nothing, in the conviction that race does not count appreciably as a historical force. Even Hellenic culture was not the creation of a race as such but of a peculiar environment.

In looking for causes more general than the twenty or thirty facts referred to above, and more elementary than the three just mentioned, Dr. Reich discovers five, which he terms correlative forces. The first, and in the early stage of a nation's progress most prominent, is geopolitics. In explanation of this cause he states that it is not the configuration of the country alone which makes a people, but much more the configuration of neighboring countries. The growth of a state is largely the result of conflict. "France has ever since the last of the Merovingian kings been the most exposed large country of Europe. By sea and on land powerful enemies have been constantly threatening the French, thus producing that French alertness and quickness of intellect, that tendency to centralised, that is, ever-ready government which is vainly ascribed to some 'Gallic' or 'Celts-Latin' race quality." The second great force is the production and distribution of wealth—not all-powerful, however, as many historians have assumed. The third is the relation of man to woman. The conservative influence of women may be illustrated by the contrast between stagnant Sparta and progressive Athens. The fourth cause is personality, and the fifth is ideals.

In these two volumes, with which he begins his general history of Western nations, he applies to the development of antiquity the principles enumerated above. The work is not a history in the usual sense, but a succession of essays on some of the larger aspects of the period treated. The discursive style arises from the circumstance that the method is essentially comparative. In the treatment of details the author often falls into grave errors, which might have been avoided, had he taken an "arm-chair" historian into partnership in his labor. Long periods are represented by meagre summaries. Many subjects, like the reform movement begun by the Gracchi, are inadequately treated. The author gives little space to the imperial period of Roman history, and his ideas of individual emperors are largely antiquated. For living and earlier scholars who are ordinarily considered pre-eminent in the field he expresses profound contempt, while extolling himself as the creator of the only true historical method. Notwithstanding these disagreeable features the work proves the author to possess some constructive ability. His synthetic principles, though

extravagantly stated and not so new as he claims, are worthy of attention.

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India: the Indian Empire. Volume II. *Historical.* Published under the Authority of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1908. Pp. xxxv, 573. New edition.)

THE history of the development of this work goes back a little over a quarter of a century to the time when Sir W. W. Hunter published his *Indian Empire* with the intention of "distilling into one volume the essence of the *Imperial Gazetteer*". The second edition of the *Gazetteer* was followed by a new and revised edition of the *Indian Empire* (1892) which like the work upon which it was based had expanded about fifty per cent., but still remained the work of one man. It is characteristic of the advance of scholarship in the last fifteen years that the companion to the third edition of the *Gazetteer* should be broken into four volumes each requiring for its completion the co-operation of a number of specialists. The companion volumes bearing the subtitles, *Descriptive*, *Economic*, and *Administrative*, appeared in 1907 and constitute with the present volume what is in reality a new work, a fact which should however not make its users oblivious of their indebtedness to the first author of the *Indian Empire*.

To indicate briefly the contents of the work: the first chapter (pp. 1-88) deals with epigraphy and is the work of Dr. J. F. Fleet. In the three following chapters Mr. Vincent A. Smith treats of the pre-historic antiquities (pp. 89-100), the history of sculpture and painting (pp. 101-134), and (pp. 135-155) the coinage of India. Architecture (pp. 156-201) is the subject of Dr. James Burgess's contribution. In the sixth chapter (pp. 206-269) Professor A. A. Macdonell gives an outline of Sanskrit literature. The political history of India before the Muhammadan Conquest is divided between Mr. Vincent A. Smith who treats of the history of northern India from 600 B. C. to A. D. 650 (pp. 270-302), Mr. James Kennedy who continues the narrative from 650-1200 (pp. 303-320), and Mr. Robert Sewell whose subject (pp. 321-349) is the history of Southern India. The tenth chapter, Muhammadan India (pp. 350-413), is the work of Mr. William Irvine, and is followed by an exceedingly interesting sketch (pp. 414-438) of the Vernacular Literature by Dr. G. A. Grierson. The editor, Mr. J. S. Cotton, contributes a short account (pp. 439-445) of the Marāthās; and the last two chapters of the book, Early European Settlements (pp. 446-469), and History of British Rule (pp. 470-530), while revised by Mr. P. E. Roberts, have been allowed to retain the personal impress of Sir W. W. Hunter.

As this sketch indicates, the work is a storehouse of valuable information in a most highly condensed form. Detailed criticism is pre-

cluded both by the wide range of subjects treated and by the limitations of space. But while recognizing the general merits of the book it may be permitted to signalize as of special value the chapters by Dr. Grierson, Dr. Burgess, and Dr. Fleet; the last both because of its sound valuation of the sources of Indian history, and because of its stimulating suggestions of new lines of research. The historical chapter by Mr. Smith is a skilful condensation of his *Early History of India*, previously reviewed in this journal; and Professor Macdonell's article bears a similar relation to his excellent *History of Sanskrit Literature*.

One point on which the reviewer would differ from the last scholar is of sufficient general interest to be mentioned here. Professor Macdonell roughly dates the first two periods of Vedic literature between 1500 B. C. and the time of Buddha. To me it seems that Winternitz is correct in saying that Buddhism presupposes the Vedāṅgas as well as the Brāhmanas and Samhitās, that the beginning of the period is entirely undefined, so that the best date is $x-500$, with the probability that this must be changed to $x-800$, and that x falls in the third not the second millenium before our era. Recent investigations are pointing to a greater age of the Avesta than has generally been assumed and this result cannot fail to have its bearing upon the date of the Vedas.

Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique, Celtique et Gallo-Romaine.

Par JOSEPH DÉCHELETTE, Conservateur du Musée de Roanne.
Volume I. *Archéologie Préhistorique*. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1908. Pp. xix, 747.)

THERE has been for some time need of a general treatise on Gaulish archaeology. Investigation has made rapid progress in recent years, and the literature of the subject has become very extensive and in some measure difficult of access. A co-ordinating survey of the field has thus become increasingly necessary not only for archaeologists themselves, but hardly less for historians and philologists who are constantly concerned with the results of archaeological research. M. Déchelette has undertaken to supply the want in a manner at once comprehensive and thorough. His *Manuel* is to be in three volumes, of which only the first, dealing with the Stone Age, has now appeared. The second will cover the Age of Bronze and the earlier part of the Iron Age—that is, the period of Celtic occupation down to the invasion of Caesar; and the third will take up the Gallo-Roman epoch.

The opening chapters of the first volume expound the aims and methods of archaeological investigation and describe briefly the geological eras which precede the appearance of man. Then a chapter is devoted to a discussion of man's existence in the Tertiary Age. Nine chapters follow, dealing with the successive phases of palaeolithic culture from the earliest alluvial remains to the epoch of the reindeer and the

cave-dwellers. The sites of important excavations are passed in review and the evidences they yield concerning climate, fauna and flora, human implements and utensils, and general manners of living. In a separate chapter the human racial types of the Quaternary period are discussed in detail. Then in the second general subdivision of the volume the features of neolithic culture are examined at similar length: the new types of habitations, the great stone monuments, the smaller relics of art and manufacture, and the character of the races that produced them all. Two extensive appendixes furnish carefully classified geographical lists of the caves of the "âge du renne" and of the stations and "ateliers" of the Neolithic Age.

Such is the range of M. Déchelette's first volume. In method of treatment it is skilfully adapted to the needs both of the archaeologist in search of detail information and of the layman desirous of guidance and orientation. For the benefit of the latter class of readers the methods of archaeological investigation are fully expounded and illustrated and elementary explanations (such as the meaning of "megalith" or of the "cephalic index") are freely supplied. Although the systematic account is confined to Gaulish territory, frequent comparisons are made with conditions existing in other parts of the world. The exposition is nearly always lucid and often full of interest, and the value of the book is much enhanced by numerous illustrations.

The work may be pronounced without question a trustworthy guide to the wide and difficult field of science with which it deals. Being rather encyclopaedic than original in purpose, it will not be expected to contain novelties either of fact or theory. But it will be found to exhibit in a high degree thoroughness of scholarship and sobriety of judgment. In dealing with unsettled questions, such as the problem of early Oriental influences (pp. 217 ff., 313 ff., 339 ff., 424 ff.), the nature of primitive magic and religion (pp. 224 ff., 236-237) the supposed hiatus between palaeolithic and neolithic culture (pp. 312 ff.), or the purpose of the great cromlechs and stone circles (pp. 447 ff.), M. Déchelette presents arguments impartially and states his conclusions cautiously, where indeed he does not withhold decision entirely. It should be added that although the volume stops far short of historical time, it treats of many subjects which vitally concern students of the literature and institutions of later ages.

F. N. ROBINSON.

Histoire de la Gaule. Par CAMILLE JULLIAN, Professeur au Collège de France. Volume II. *La Gaule Indépendante.* (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1908. Pp. 557.)

THE second volume of M. Jullian's history is almost entirely descriptive or expository in character. The movements of the early population of Gaul and the course of the Celtic conquest having been traced in the first volume, the author now deals with the period of

Celtic occupation down to the beginning of Roman rule. He surveys with admirable thoroughness the political and social organization of Gaul in the era of its independence, and takes up every phase of public or private life concerning which any record has been preserved. As a collection of materials and a source of information the volume is decidedly better than any other book on the subject, though in a field where so many things are matters of individual interpretation it can hardly be expected wholly to supersede previous treatises, some of which have been written from quite different points of view.

In the investigation of the earlier period M. Jullian had to occupy himself largely with questions of anthropology and archaeology, and his doctrines have not all met the approval of the experts in those sciences. Some of his unorthodox views—his “panligurisme”, as it has been called, and his theory with regard to the Bronze Age—appear again in the second volume, or at least underlie a portion of the discussion. But for the most part here he is concerned with evidence derived from the classical historians or from inscribed monuments, and of all these things he has a thorough first-hand knowledge. Moreover in handling his material, in the organization, criticism and presentation of it, he proves himself an historian of breadth and power. Where the subject permits it, as in the descriptions of daily life, he makes good use of a vivid imagination; he always writes with sympathy, and sometimes with an enthusiasm which recalls the neo-druidical historians of a past generation. But he is saved from their extravagances by his good sense and by his superior knowledge of other civilization parallel to that of which he writes. Thus he comments sensibly (p. 159) both on the traditional exaltation of the druidical order and on the extravagant abuse which they received at the hands of classical historians. Again, after expounding the possible symbolism in the cult of the mistletoe very much as Henri Martin used to interpret it (though in less rhapsodical terms), he dismisses the subject with a word of caution: “Mais cela n'est qu'une hypothèse, et peut-être, en le faisant, cède-t-on trop au désir de donner à la religion druidique le charme attrayant d'une morale poétique” (p. 169).

On the whole, though by no means lacking in originality or independence, M. Jullian exhibits a caution suited to the difficulties of his subject. But occasionally this very quality has betrayed him into dangers opposite to those he sought to escape. He refuses, for example, to complete and interpret the testimony of ancient historians by the aid of evidence derived from Welsh and Irish documents of the Christian era; and there is a manifest advantage in keeping the ancient, contemporary evidence by itself, unmixed with any of later date. He is probably wise in thus restricting his field. But it is one thing to leave a body of testimony aside, for good and sufficient reasons, and it is another thing to repudiate it. And M. Jullian certainly goes too far when he questions the pertinency of the records of the insular

Celts, and makes use by preference of the meagre, classical accounts of the ancient Germans (p. 14). This is to attach too little significance to the community of speech which even in his dubious re-classification of the Celtic language (p. 365) he does not undertake to deny. Moreover it is not true, as he maintains, that the similarities between Gaulish institutions and those of the insular Celts are only such as can be pointed out between Gauls and Germans or Greeks or even peoples still more remote. The parallels are too numerous and significant to be dismissed in this fashion, and in some cases, if M. Julian had taken them into account, they might have modified his interpretation of the evidence concerning Gaul. Insular conditions, for example, are not without their bearings on the origin of Continental druidism (pp. 88, 116), or on the existence of a Gaulish mythology (p. 148), or even on the apparent lack of a Gaulish drama (p. 382); and it should also be borne in mind that if, on the one hand, the Welsh and Irish documents are late and semi-Christian, they have, to offset this, the value of direct testimony, whereas the classical accounts of Gaul are almost entirely the work of foreigners, and are none too explicit at that.

In a work for which the materials are, after all, scanty and of such doubtful meaning, it is inevitable that there should be differences of opinion not only concerning general methods but also concerning many particular conclusions. M. Julian, in recognizing the existence of a general Gaulish pantheon (pp. 98, 118, 151), takes issue (justifiably, in the opinion of the present reviewer) with a doctrine which has been gaining ground of late among French scholars. In his discussion of the "Matres" (p. 135) he also departs from received opinion, but with less good reason. His description of them as divinities of springs and fountains ("mères fontainières") appears to rest chiefly upon a doubtful etymology of certain epithets. M. Julian's explanation of "Lugdunum" (p. 252) is by no means obviously preferable to that which associates it with the god *Lug*. His statements concerning the linguistic unity of Gaul (p. 366) are more positive than are warranted by the meagre remains of Gaulish speech. (Contrast Thurneysen's remarks in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, II. 541.) But all these are at least defensible opinions, presented by the author, perhaps, with full knowledge of the objections that lie against them; and the limits of this review will not permit the mention of other such matters of dispute. Very little in the volume can be set down as positively erroneous, though it is hard to characterize otherwise the statement (p. 365) that there is no evidence before the thirteenth century to show the structure of the insular Celtic languages.

F. N. ROBINSON.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Constitutional History of England. A Course of Lectures delivered by F. W. MAITLAND, LL.D., late Downing Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press. 1908. Pp. xxviii, 547.)

ONE cannot take up the book in which are printed the lectures on English constitutional history written by Maitland in the winter of 1887-1888 without asking involuntarily whether he is to undergo the fate of Stubbs and to have published a mass of class-room lectures, never intended to see the light, and which he never would have consented to publish without the editing so evidently needed. It takes but little reading, however, to relieve one of the fear. The surprising thing about the book is that it contains so little that Maitland himself would have changed, or materially modified if he had rewritten these lectures twenty years later. That there are some statements that would have been changed, as for instance that on page 157 about the apportionment of military service after the Conquest, is no doubt true, but the lectures are in many things almost an advance programme of Maitland's later work. Again and again in the pages devoted to the first period, the field of his life study, we come upon a brief statement of the ideas elaborated in later works, at that date not even planned. Many of these passages are pointed out by Mr. Fisher, and it suffices to say of the editor's work in this case that it is wholly admirable both in what it says and in what it refrains from saying. The publication also fully justifies itself. It will be of great advantage to the teacher of English constitutional history to have in compendious form, accessible to his students, and easy to be understood, the results of Maitland's work, for this is practically what the book is, notwithstanding the date of the lectures.

Maitland's work upon the medieval constitutional history of England represents a distinct advance over that of Stubbs. This is true both of many details, and, of what is of greater importance, the general conception of the whole subject and of its relations. English constitutional history in his hands is freed entirely from the theory, which Stubbs could never wholly shake off, of a pure Teutonic community developing its institutions naturally without decisive influence from abroad. This Maitland does not do by substituting another general theory in the place of the one abandoned. He does it by studying the constitution in and for itself with little reference to the original sources of institutions, and little use of foreign analogies. The process is a thoroughly scientific and necessary one, and the result is large building on the foundations laid down by Stubbs. It cannot fail to bring materially nearer the time when the English constitution can be put into its proper relation with the Continental constitutions which were forming at the same time. That this needs to be done is evident. The limita-

tions on feudalism described on pp. 161-163, for instance, where they do not need to be modified in statement, are characteristic in greater or less degree of almost every feudal state, and the only peculiarity of England is that which is due to the stronger kingship. When the English constitution is put completely into these relations another step forward in its understanding will be taken.

The lectures were constructed on the plan of what may be called cross-sections at five important points of the history of the constitution: 1307; 1509; 1625; 1702; and 1887. These are not, however, mere cross-sections. They are points from which the view especially runs back over the past and observes growth and change, but where also the lines of connection with the future are made plain. On the general constitutional history of these periods after the first, disregarding the narrower history of the law, Maitland did not write again so fully as here. These portions of the book have, therefore, a peculiar value and are especially welcome. They show abundantly the peculiarities of Maitland's work in his especial field: a sure discernment of the really essential, lucid statement, fresh interpretation, and stimulating views.

Regarded as a text-book Maitland's *History of the Constitution* will fall into a class with Medley, not with Taswell-Langmead. It will be likely to strike the student as a history of the development of details, of separate institutions, rather than of the constitution as a whole. If he gains from its study any clear conception of the historical building up of the Anglo-Saxon type of government, as that has come to prevail in the world, he will get it from the supplementary work of the teacher rather than from the book. For the study of this side of constitutional history Taswell-Langmead still remains the best text-book, notwithstanding the inadequate editing it has received. It needs to be supplemented with some other book, however, and Maitland will probably make a better combination with it, one less difficult for the ordinary undergraduate to manage, than Medley. It will also be surprising if it is not found to be more interesting to the student than either of the other books. Certainly the instructor can further the interests of future scholarship in no better way than by making his advanced students familiar with this book.

GEORGE B. ADAMS.

Die Geschichte des Englischen Pfandrechts. Von Dr. jur. HAROLD DEXTER HAZELTINE, Reader in English Law an der Universität Cambridge. [Untersuchungen zur Deutschen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte, herausgegeben von Dr. OTTO GIERKE, Professor der Rechte an der Universität Berlin.] (Breslau: M. and H. Marcus. 1907. Pp. xxviii, 372.)

THIS valuable and scholarly work on the English law of gage or pledge represents the gathering together and presentation in comprehensive form of several articles and monographs in English and Ger-

man, together with much new material, by Dr. Hazeltine as a contribution to Gierke's well-known series of research works on German governmental and legal history. As the work is intended for German rather than English readers the more special discussion of the English *Pfandrechts* is prefaced by an interesting general survey of the governmental, economic and legal background of English medieval law. This survey concludes with a discussion of the growth of the law of personal and proprietary actions and of real and movable property, together with a brief summary of the sources and literature of medieval and early modern English law. There are also two brief chapters explaining the terminology of English *Pfandrechts* as derived from the sources.

The main portion of the treatise consists of a detailed examination of the origin and growth of the pledge or gage idea and of its various and complex applications in later procedure in England. The subject-matter is arranged in two books, the first covering the Anglo-Saxon period and the second the period from the Norman Conquest to the close of the Middle Ages. The first part of book I. consists of a careful and painstaking discussion of the formal oath or pledge, with or without some security, as found in Anglo-Saxon society. Following this in the second part of book I. is an extended account of the Anglo-Saxon law and practice in regard to movable property as pledges, while the third and concluding part takes up the gage of land before the Conquest under the two main heads of usufruct-gage (*Nutzpfand*) and property-gage (*Proprietätspfand*). In book II. dealing with the later medieval period of English legal development a more extended treatment is given of the formal oath and pledge of faith, and the early development of the law in regard to debt and contract is noticed under the chapter headings of Simple Contract and Contract under Seal. Parts II. and III. of book II. take up the law of movable gages and of the gage of land. Emphasis is placed on the growth of various forms of the gage and in particular on the origin and development of the "Hypothek" or mortgage principle by which the land gaged for a loan is left in possession of the debtor until default is made. This is regarded by Dr. Hazeltine as of later origin than the gage with immediate possession to the creditor, and he traces the history of this form of security from the early "Jewish Gage" in England through the statute law and recognizances to the modern law of mortgages. The excellent organization of the whole work gives unity and force to the author's conclusions that in the medieval law of usufruct-gage and property-gage is to be found those principles of security that govern the law of mortgages to-day.

As an appendix to the work there is a collection of source extracts illustrative of the gage of land in medieval England. There is also an excellent bibliography and index. One is surprised, however, that nowhere in the work is to be found mention of Dr. Gross's *Sources and*

Literature of English History which has been out now for some seven or eight years.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

The Making of Ireland and its Undoing, 1200-1600. By ALICE STOPFORD GREEN. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1908. Pp. xvi, 511.)

THIS is a refreshing book. Among the many woes of unfortunate Ireland not the least has been the character of her historians. The patient, moderate, judicious, learned historian has for the most part simply passed poor Ireland by.

Signs have not been wanting lately that this period of neglect or mistreatment is approaching its close, and that the history of Ireland may receive as serious attention as that of other countries. Toward this consummation Mrs. Green's book is another step. Its principal contents are a vast number of quotations from contemporary sources describing the considerable development of Irish agriculture, trade, manufactures, and intellectual and artistic life in the Middle Ages, and the decay and destruction of these, due to the policy and the wars of the Tudor sovereigns, in the sixteenth century. The fifteenth century, a period which the English historians have generally treated as a specially dark age in Irish history, since it was the age when English power in Ireland was at its lowest ebb, is looked upon by Mrs. Green as a period of culmination of many elements of a truly native civilization. The relations of Ireland, economic and intellectual, were largely with the continent of Europe rather than with England. Many Irish chieftains who had no knowledge of the English language and were therefore looked upon by their conquerors as barbarians, nevertheless were well trained in Latin, and often spoke French or Spanish as well. More Irish scholars studied and travelled on the Continent than in England. An interesting list is given of translations from Latin, French, Spanish and English into Irish. It is also of extreme interest to get the glimpse we do of the relations of Irish chieftains and merchants with the Continent along commercial lines, and of the ancient *aonachs*, half-political gatherings, half-provincial fairs. A much more favorable comparison of the Irish land and judicial systems with the English is here made than that which has been most usual. The quotations from Irish patriot-bards and singers of the country's sorrows are most impressive.

No one can read the statements of Mrs. Green and the contemporary records on which they are based without the feeling that the native resources and achievements of Ireland belong on a much higher plane than they have been traditionally placed; and that the ignorant, selfish and generally inept policy of England in the sixteenth century brought about vast misery and permanent loss to Ireland and the world. Nevertheless, one may not agree—the cautious scholar certainly will not agree—with the author, in her extreme estimate of these same achievements

and losses. One may feel tolerably sure he is dealing with exaggerations when it is declared on one page that "every port in the circuit of Ireland was then filled with ships busy in the Continental trade", and, as an instance, four pages later, that at Carrickfergus "in one summer three barks of 40 tons apiece discharged their loading of excellent good Gascoigne wine". One may have quite a realizing sense of the incapacity and ill-judgment shown in the long story of English misgovernment of Ireland, and yet doubt whether there was such a deep-laid and deliberate and wide-spread plot in the sixteenth century for the destruction of Ireland as is here attributed to the English sovereigns and their advisers and representatives in Ireland.

Mrs. Green has a loose habit of referring to periods centuries apart as if describing one particular age. Events of the years 1265, 1387 and 1565 are referred to in one space of eight lines; in another, we pass from 1565 back to 1233 without recognizing it, except by a marginal reference. It would certainly be far more impressive and more accurate if the author would chose a certain definite period and give a concrete and complete description of conditions during that period. Three centuries are too long a time to be treated as a historic unit.

Indeed it is the absence of constructive plan and definite statement that is the greatest weakness of Mrs. Green's historical work. We wander around in a maze of somewhat incoherent assertions and detached illustrations and receive a general impression rather than a set of clear notions. If the same material were more rigorously and more closely organized and the results more moderately stated the effect on scholars would certainly be deeper and more convincing and the impression made on the minds of more casual readers more clear and lasting. An equally serious defect is the lack of a bibliography. Certain enigmatic initials and abbreviations are constantly repeated but nowhere is there any statement of their meaning, or of the relative value as contemporary testimony of the sources which they represent. Certainly the general knowledge of the bibliography of Irish history, even by scholars, is not such as to enable an author to count on a familiarity with Irish historical sources as a matter of commonplace knowledge. Mrs. Green, in other words, gives her readers no real information as to what part of her narrative is solidly based, and what part is derived from doubtful or worthless testimony. But after all technical objections have been made this work must be recognized as being of serious value as a learned, original and sympathetic contribution to the history of Ireland.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

Charles the Bold, Last Duke of Burgundy, 1433-1477. By RUTH PUTNAM. [Heroes of the Nations, edited by H. W. C. DAVIS.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1908. Pp. xiv, 484.)

As popular historical presentations, few equal the *Heroes of the Nations* series in the scholarly qualifications possessed by the authors therein. While in some cases the volume may be the first production of the writer, in most instances the authors have already won recognition. Not the least of these is Miss Ruth Putnam. As the author of *William the Silent* and *A Mediaeval Princess* she has made the history of the Low Countries more particularly her province than any American writer since Motley.

The present work is different in compass and character from the familiar *Life of Charles the Bold* by Kirk, of whose collection she has made use, and to whose "accuracy and industry", even when differing from his conclusions, she pays the tribute of praise.

In a peculiar sense the subject of *Charles the Bold* falls within a fortunate period for the historian. In the fifteenth century European historiography had passed beyond the era of medieval annals and chronicles and was beginning to be rich in historical memoirs. To be sure, the thirteenth century had intimations of this kind of literature in the writings of Villehardouin and Joinville. But from the death of the latter in 1317, to the re-awakening of the memoir during the reign of Charles V. through the services of Christine de Pisan, the marshal Boucicault and others, there was nearly three-quarters of a century of stagnation as far as this form of historical writing was concerned in France.

In Commines and Olivier de la Marche Miss Putnam had copious and racy memoirs to draw from, and many of her lesser sources of information are little less interesting. The effect of such sources clearly appears, for whole pages and half-pages are filled with direct quotations from them. A rough calculation shows that approximately one-fifth of the book is made up of quotations and they are vivid, telling extracts which embellish the narrative and do not burden the page with unessential details. It should be added that the reference is always appended. Proportions are well maintained throughout, about one-third of the book being devoted to Charles's youth. His diplomacy and his wars are carefully treated, but one looks in vain for information about the working of the Burgundian administrative system and institutional organization. Perhaps the omission was deliberate and due to the belief that such matters were too technical for an *oeuvre de vulgarisation*.

On page 6 there is an observation to the effect that at Charles's baptism his father had the baptismal font draped in black silk, and Miss Putnam remarks in the note "Why mourning was used on this joyful occasion does not appear." The truth is that black was not a color of

mourning as yet throughout Europe, and even the wearing of the mourning costume was only just beginning. In England and Burgundy red was the color of mourning. In France the royal house wore white, as did the ancient Romans, whence Isabeau of Bavaria, who was at this time in mourning for Charles VI., was called La Reine Blanche. The wearing of black as a sign of mourning first obtained in Spain, from which it spread to Naples and in the first half of the sixteenth century over Italy. Catharine de' Medici was the first queen of France to wear it. The portrait of Catterina Sforza, wife of Giovanni de' Medici, represents her attired in black dress and head-dress, yet not as a sign of grief. As a matter of fact, Duke Philip of Burgundy was especially fond of black silks and black velours and this is all the explanation there is of the draping of the baptismal font.

There are twenty-eight cuts from contemporary originals, three battle plans, one map, and an excellent bibliography.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

The King over the Water. By A. SHIELD and ANDREW LANG.
(London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company.
1907. Pp. xiii, 499.)

THE House of Stuart in these modern days is adding still another to its many vicissitudes of fortune. The unfaltering devotion of its adherents, long since defeated in the fields of war and politics, has turned seriously to that of history, and here, at last, has achieved no small success. To aid in this redressing of the balance, we have been given in the same year two elaborate and favorable biographies of the "Old Pretender", that cited above, and Martin Haile's *James Francis Edward, the Old Chevalier* (Dutton, 1907). The first work is, by token of its authorship, a product of the "Andrew Lang factory", but any misgivings arising from this fact are allayed by Mr. Lang's frank statement that "most of the research, and almost all the writing, are Miss Shield's. My part has mainly been that of supervision and of condensation." We only wish that this part had been more rigorously performed. The thrusting in of details in their chronological places is, from the literary viewpoint, a grievous defect in the book. The narrative is continually broken by material which, if admitted, should take the form of notes. Mr. Haile's story is, in contrast, more direct and readable, but less critical and complete.

Of authorities Miss Shield gives (pp. 476-479) a strangely arranged and cited list, including "Walpole's George II.", "The Stuarts in Italy. Quarterly Review", "Historical MSS. Commission Reports", and "Local Histories: Italian. Vatican Library." The notes, however, are in good form, and the chief sources have been used—with one serious exception, "the whole mass of later Stuart Papers at Windsor, as far as they are still unpublished". These, being in editorial hands,

were inaccessible. Mr. Haile apparently suffers from the same misfortune, though one discovers the fact only by going through his notes. This situation is unfortunate. What is more perplexing to both readers and contemplating writers than a scholarly book which says not quite the last word?

Mr. Lang's chief interest was to vindicate James's character. He blames Thackeray's *Esmond* for the need of such defense, and in a brilliant passage (p. vii) declares that Thackeray's picture is "merely an unconscious reproduction . . . of Scott's chapters on Charles II., a fugitive sheltered at Woodstock after Worcester fight". It may be added that many persons confuse the two "pretenders", and visit the son's misdeeds upon the father. Scholars have, of course, escaped these errors, but for everybody the high integrity of James's character is now established. Nevertheless, not even Miss Shield can acquit him of ungenerous conduct during his engagement to Clementina Sobieska, whom he seemed quite ready to jilt at the very moment when she was risking everything for him. In their later troubles, the chief blame is rightly laid on Clementina. If James's temperament was difficult, hers was impossible, and it was absolutely necessary to exclude her from political affairs.

Detailed criticism of a long story of intrigue is obviously here impossible. One can only say that James's personal career is well set forth; that the pulling and hauling of Jacobite plotters, though narrated with some confusion in details, leave an effective total impression; but that the relations of the cause to general politics, and especially to Scottish politics, are inadequately traced. The best chapters—on James's share in "the 'Fifteen'"—show "his courage and resolution", but also his incapacity to plan or lead a desperate endeavor. On the other hand, the book leaves one almost convinced that this honest, loyal, tolerant and reasonable man would have stood by his guarantees of the church and the laws, and would not have failed in the rôle of a constitutional king.

JOSEPH PARKER WARREN.

England in the Seven Years' War: a Study in Combined Strategy.

In two volumes. By JULIAN S. CORBETT, LL.M., Lecturer in History to the Royal Naval War College. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xi, 476; vii, 407.)

MR. CORBETT's subject has a twofold justification. In the first place we have had hitherto no thoroughly adequate study of that department of the war which directly affected the destinies of three nations and three continents; and secondly, we are treated for the first time to an intimate appreciation of how Pitt really conducted it. It is not enough that judging from results we call Pitt an organizer of victory. Mr.

Corbett shows us exactly how brain and brawn accomplished those results.

Naturally a book with a limited object, such as this, labors under certain disadvantages. Mr. Corbett seldom allows us to look over French shoulders; and merely to study how one nation played the great game is dangerously conducive to distorted impressions. Very clearly are we shown that France's policy of the "naval defensive" was a largely determining factor in the issue as well as the character of the war; and Mr. Corbett believes rightly that to seek compensation in Germany for inevitable losses in America was, under the circumstances, excellent policy. But what we are apt to forget in reading his book is that the corruption and inefficiency of French administration, and the decline in the personnel of the army were not only the main reasons for the failure of that policy but the conditions which rendered Pitt's achievements possible. Thus while the author's assertion (I. 191) that "to say, as is often said, that his policy was to conquer Canada in America is entirely to misconceive it" is correct as far as it goes, Pitt's actual statement was indirectly true.

But the gravest objection to the book is its bias. It is too much to assert that France's policy of a fortified barrier in America was based on "fine-drawn arguments that had no real foundation (I. 12)". It would be more just to remain content with the admission that "the stubborn commercial spirit", later mentioned (I. 14), rendered a diplomatic arrangement almost impossible. Again, to overlook the sweeping demands of the British cabinet and write of an ultimatum in which "France gaily claimed the whole of the disputed territory" (I. 40) is to convey an erroneous impression of the whole negotiation. In dealing with Boscawen's blow in 1755, Mr. Corbett is almost ingenuous. "It would be only charitable", he declares (I. 67), "to remember the temptation to which she [England] was exposed by the incredible simplicity of her adversary." Then if we turn to his discussion of the Spanish question of 1761, we find him naively stating (II. 207) that "one more such attempt could hardly have given us a worse reputation". He is perhaps presenting the best excuse when he appeals to British precedent as justification for a secret blow (I. 46); but even here it is to be remembered that a negotiation for a peaceful settlement was still pending when the cabinet resolved upon Boscawen's instructions. The episode is, of course, one on which Continental writers almost invariably disagree with their British neighbors. But when Mr. Corbett writes that the English ministers were "playing the great game of war, and playing it correctly" (I. 46), he substitutes a "might-is-right" proposition for the broader question of when and how a war may properly begin. And this leads us to remark incidentally that Mr. Corbett's profound sense of strategy blinds him to the greatest merit which diplomacy possesses. "Every consideration", he writes (I. 3), "of diplomatic . . . operations must rest subservient to naval strategy."

Correct as this may be, strategically, and true as it is that international relations possessed little of the sanctity of legal regulation, the irresistible feeling that they were playing a dangerous hand was at the bottom of much of the English council's vacillation over Hawke. Throughout his treatment of foreign policy and the evolution of the war Mr. Corbett's historical judgment seems warped by his patriotism. We may question whether the strategic foresight with which he credits the Newcastle ministry (I. 83, 140) is evinced by any statement in the ministers' letters; and it is hard to endorse his estimate of Hardwicke (I. 33) if he were really, as the author alleges (I. 50-51), "the dominating brain of the administration". Equally strange is his high praise of Cumberland (I. 33) in view of the latter's record and appointments; and Anson's weighty contribution to the Minorca disaster (I. 134-135) is no less to be remembered than his subsequent success in redeeming himself. Mr. Corbett gives, in fact, the impression of wishing to rehabilitate the Newcastle administration without finding much justification for it himself. Rather than own frankly that many of these ministers proved their worth only after a man appeared at the helm who could stimulate and drive them, he struggles in vain against the contrast which most historians find in the conduct of the war before and after Pitt's elevation. Whether it be true or not that the project of invasion was anything more than a well-reasoned feint, Mr. Corbett certainly fails to exculpate Newcastle from neglect of Minorca. Later we find the author himself acknowledging (I. 102) that "the line of passage from Toulon ought to have been seized earlier", and he shows in the same connection how Newcastle for political reasons diminished the navy. Yet with all his negligence and vacillation Newcastle was not guilty in Mr. Corbett's opinion of "inability to grasp the situation" (I. 37)! Fortunately we have the author's own strictures—at a later period—on which we may base a more consistent estimate.

Mr. Corbett's enunciation of the broad outlines of Pitt's "system" (I. 187-191) are very instructive. Throughout his book the author's grasp of strategy compels our admiration. He vindicates Pitt's coastal operations from adverse criticism and shows in each case the object they were intended to attain and how well in general the policy worked. One exception which perhaps may strike the reader is the case of the Rochfort project, which Pitt carried through even after Cumberland's defeat, and against the soberer judgment of his colleagues. Since Richelieu's nervousness and the state of his army were all that tided England and Prussia over a very grave crisis, it is hard to resist the feeling that Pitt's decision was perilous. Indeed the fact that he himself appreciated the situation may be seen in his offer to cede Gibraltar to Spain—an important negotiation, which Mr. Corbett omits. Whether or when Pitt's policies were affected by political considerations is a question which Mr. Corbett refrains from discussing.

One of the most interesting features of the book is the description

of the British efforts to gain Canada and of how two of the three attempts were frustrated by the French policy of the naval defensive. Another feature of interest is the writer's criticism of commanders who failed. He acquits Loudoun of blame in the Louisbourg miscarriage and lays the responsibility upon the home-government (vol. I. ch. vii.); he defends Conflans's conduct at Quiberon (II. 57, 61-62); and he seems also to justify Montcalm's precipitate attack on the Plains of Abraham (I. 470-471). The idea that the latter "could not tell how large was the force before him" (I. 470) is a plausible explanation based probably on Admiral Holmes's assertion, quoted by Mr. Doughty. Among the new evidence adduced in the book we note particularly the cabinet minutes of 1755 and the citations from the Viri-Solar correspondence; while American readers will take peculiar interest in the letter which reveals Bedford's prophetic reasoning (II. 173).

In general it may be urged that Mr. Corbett is inclined to be weak wherever he leaves the beaten track of strategy and naval war. Perhaps the scholarly treatment of his main theme is that which makes defects in the political and diplomatic background the more patent. He shows, nevertheless, a clear understanding of constitutional questions, and his discussion of Pitt's downfall (II. 205-206) is admirable. In his treatment of Choiseul's first overtures Mr. Corbett differs considerably from M. Waddington, who believes in their sincerity; but it is difficult to see why if Pitt "wished to unmask the Franco-Spanish game" (II. 155), he could not best have done so by promptly accepting the proffered conditions. The author probably reaches the truth when he points out that Pitt's aim was to destroy entirely the sea-power of France (II. 143); hence his insistence upon her exclusion from the fisheries, and hence his general attitude toward the peace. Mr. Corbett argues also that Pitt might well have pacified Spain by a timely policy of conciliation (II. 207). On the whole it would seem that when people began to desire peace, the rôle of the great war minister had properly come to an end. We might suggest that Mr. Corbett's judgment of Pitt's and Newcastle's "loyalty to Frederick" should have been tempered somewhat by the results of Dr. von Ruville's researches; whereas his view of Bute is on the whole more convincing than that taken by the German scholar.

Despite some defects in style and a few grammatical errors the book is entertainingly written, and, as "a study in combined strategy", is excellent. While in certain respects it needs to be read with caution, the student will find it a valuable companion-piece to M. Waddington's depiction of the Continental phases of the struggle.

T. W. RIKER.

A Historical Geography of the British Colonies. By HUGH E. EGERTON, M.A., Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. Volume V. *Canada*. Part II. *Historical*. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1908. Pp. vii, 365.)

As the title indicates, this is one of a series of volumes on the *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, planned and partly executed by Sir Charles Lucas, but which he found it impossible to finish. Professor Egerton deals with the British period of Canadian history, the French epoch having been treated in a previous volume of the series. The series is intended, primarily, for the advanced classes of secondary schools, and for such a purpose an exceptional amount of research is represented in the book before us.

Professor Egerton, in his preface, fully recognizes the difficulty of writing the history of a country, with the concrete conditions of which he is not familiar. But though evidences of this disadvantage are undoubtedly noticeable, yet, throughout the volume, there is constant evidence of an anxiety to obtain the most reliable information available, as well as of a scrupulous desire to be fair to the many conflicting interests which are represented in Canadian history.

So much in the earlier years of Canadian development depended upon the character and policy of the governors that they largely monopolize the historic stage during the first half of the nineteenth century. Yet most of the real problems of the country arose from the economic and social conditions which confronted the early settlers, but which have scarcely yet been sufficiently studied to bring out the true significance of the striking incidents in higher politics, or to permit always of the emphasis being placed in the proper quarter.

In the limited space of a small volume, only a bird's eye view of the leading events of Canadian history is possible. Yet Professor Egerton has maintained an admirable proportion in his treatment of the field assigned him, and has given his readers an introduction, at least, to the history of every portion of the large area now included in the Dominion of Canada. Thus, in chapter six, he introduces a sketch of the early western exploration which eventually opened up to British settlement the region lately divided between the new provinces of western Canada. On the other hand, he has recognized the comparative unimportance of the War of 1812, which, for lack of a better knowledge of the really vital factors in the country's development, has hitherto bulked so largely in Canadian histories. In his treatment of the stormy period from 1818 to 1840, the author, though sometimes perhaps misplacing the emphasis, yet manifests an admirable spirit of fairness in dealing with the bitter controversies between the government and the popular party. Book I., which covers the pre-Union period to 1841, closes with a chapter on the early history of the Maritime Provinces.

Book II. deals with the practical realization of the union of the two

Canadas, now Ontario and Quebec, and the early operation of responsible government. After Lord Elgin's time, however, the government was gradually brought to a dead-lock through the mutual entanglement of party and racial forces, which completely frustrated the normal operation of the political party system, and consequently of responsible cabinet government. In his treatment of this period, Professor Egerton has devoted more attention to the great economic and social problems, such as trade, transportation and education, which, though always vital factors in Canadian history, at this period bulk more largely in the usual historic records. In chapter six, due attention is given to the conditions and negotiations which resulted ultimately in confederation and the establishment of the Dominion of Canada. This is appropriately followed by another chapter on the later development of the Northwest which, when added to federated Canada, rounded out the Dominion to its present dimensions. As this was finally accomplished through the inclusion of British Columbia in 1871, book II. closes with that date.

Book III., confined to the last seventy pages, deals very briefly with the Dominion of Canada from 1871 to the present time. Here we find merely an outline of such matters as the relations between Canada and the United States, including boundaries, reciprocal trade, and fisheries; the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway; the tariff and protection. The relations between provincial and Dominion powers are passed in review, and the closing chapter of the volume gives a glimpse of present-day conditions.

A number of maps are distributed through the volume; but those purporting to represent the railways of the Dominion are most misleading. According to these there is in Canada but one railway and its connections—the Canadian Pacific Railway.

ADAM SHORTT.

[Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française, publiés par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique]: *Département du Loiret, Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage d'Orléans pour les États Généraux de 1789*. Publiés par CAMILLE BLOCH. Tomes I.-II. (Orléans: Imprimerie Orléanaise. 1907. Pp. lxxvi, 800, and ii, 515); *Département de la Marne, Cahiers de Doléances pour les États Généraux de 1789*. Publiés par GUSTAV LAURENT. Tome I. *Bailliage de Châlons-sur-Marne*. (Épernay: Imprimerie Henri Villers. 1906. Pp. xxxii, 872); *Département de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Cahiers de Doléances des Bailliages des Généralités de Metz et de Nancy pour les États Généraux de 1789*. I^{re} Série, Tome I. *Cahiers du Bailliage de Vic*. Publiés par CHARLES ÉTIENNE. (Nancy: Imprimerie Berger-Levrault et Cie. 1907. Pp. xxxvi, 775);

Département de la Manche, Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage de Cotentin (Coutances et Secondaires) pour les États Généraux de 1789. Publiés par ÉMILE BRIDREY. Tomes I.-II. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1907. Pp. 808 and 806); *Département de la Charente, Cahiers de Doléances de la Sénéchaussée d'Angoulême et du Siège Royal de Cognac pour les États Généraux de 1789.* Publiés par P. BOISSONNADE. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1907. Pp. 555.)

IN December 1903 a commission composed of well-known historians was appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction in France to undertake the publication of the sources relating to the economic history of the French Revolution. The objects and organization of this important enterprise, originally conceived and promoted by the well-known socialist, M. Jaurès, have been described by one of its leading members, M. Caron, in a recent issue of this REVIEW.¹ The chief attention of the commission has hitherto been directed to the publication of the *cahiers* of 1789, a celebrated mass of material of which only a very small portion, and that badly edited, has hitherto been available for students of the period. It will be remembered that the order convoking the Estates General, issued January 24, 1789, provided that the well-nigh obsolete *bailliages* (or *sénéchaussées*, as they were termed in parts of the kingdom), which had served as election districts when the estates last met in 1614, should not only send their deputies to Versailles but should draw up *le cahier de leurs plaintes et doléances*. The *cahiers*, Chérest surmises, were in the eyes of the government only a part of the ancient routine. Mounier went so far as to declare them an instrument of despotism, since they only served to assuage the growing discontent by permitting the people to pour out fruitless expostulations to which the king's ministers need pay no attention whatever. The task of drafting them was, however, taken very seriously on the whole throughout the kingdom and the desire the king had expressed that those even in the most remote and obscure regions of his realm should make their wishes and their grievances known to him was generously gratified. Voters belonging to the clergy and nobility were to appear in person or through representatives at the meeting held by each order in the "chief" *bailliages*, there to select deputies to the Estates General and to draft a *cahier* to be taken to Versailles. There are but seventy-five chief *bailliages* enumerated in the instructions issued by the government, January 24, 1789; accordingly, if we make no allowance for the numerous later modifications and inevitable anomalies, the *cahiers* of the privileged classes would not exceed one hundred and fifty. Those

¹ Volume XIII. 501ff. See also his more elaborate articles in *La Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, VI. 443ff, and VIII. 545ff. The activities of the commission and its successive circular instructions are carefully given in the well-known periodical, *La Révolution Française*.

drafted by the Third Estate had a far more complicated history and their number is variously estimated to have been forty or fifty thousand. Each parish, village and town was ordered to hold its primary assembly and draft its cahier. Some one hundred and forty larger places were enumerated in which the assembly which was to draft the cahier was to be composed of delegates chosen by the various corporations, industrial and otherwise. Although they were not explicitly required to do so, many of the corporations and guilds seized the opportunity to draw up each its particular cahier, which was later to be fused with the others into the general cahier of the town. To add to the complexity, many of the bailliages were classified as "secondary". Each of these held its own assembly of the delegates from the towns and parishes within bounds and fused the local cahiers into one, which was later taken to the assembly of the chief bailliage there to be fused with those of the other secondary bailliages and that of the chief bailliage.

To illustrate the situation we may take the contents of the two volumes that M. Bloch has prepared of the cahiers of the bailliage of Orleans. There are (1) the cahiers of the one hundred and sixty-nine parishes of the chief bailliage and of its five towns, excluding the city of Orleans itself. Next come (2) the cahiers of the forty-eight corporations of the city of Orleans—the several groups of local administrative officers, judges, lawyers, notaries, the university, the medical school, the Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, the apothecaries, printers, grocers, goldsmiths, tailors, cordwainers, butchers, bakers, boatmen of the Loire, etc., ending with the "habitants libres" who were not enrolled in any corporation. Representatives of these bodies together with those of four urban parishes, all bringing their appropriate cahiers, met to draw up the cahier of the city. This had later to be taken to a meeting of the deputies from the neighboring towns and rural parishes and combined with their cahiers into (3) the cahier of the chief bailliage. (4) In each of the six secondary bailliages an assembly was held for the consolidation of the cahiers submitted by the various villages and towns. The primary cahiers of the secondary bailliages are, however, M. Bloch believes, lost. Lastly (5) the cahiers of the chief bailliage and of the six secondary bailliages were combined into the definitive cahier of the Third Estate of Orleans to be presented, along with that of the clergy and of the nobility, to the king by the deputies chosen to sit in the Estates General at Versailles.

The first serious attempt to print the cahiers was made by the editors of the *Archives Parlementaires*. Partial as is this collection it fills over five large volumes, printed in double columns.² The editors ordinarily

² *Archives Parlementaires*, I-VII. (1868-1875). Volume I. is devoted mainly to a general introduction to the French Revolution. Volume VII. is an analytical index where one will find, pp. 10-28, a list of all the cahiers that the editors included—and they claim to have included *intégralement* all that they could find. A second unimproved edition appeared in 1879. Considerable numbers of the cahiers were printed separately in 1789.

give only the three definitive cahiers of each chief bailliage, but a few of the parish cahiers—especially those coming from around Paris and from the neighborhood of Aix—are given, as well as several of those drawn up by the corporations. But the list of even the definitive cahiers is very incomplete. Brette estimates that from the provinces of Provence, Lorraine, the Three Bishoprics and Brittany no less than one hundred and seventeen are wanting. The edition is moreover cheerfully innocent of scholarship and its defects have been frequently pointed out.³ Since the appearance of this inadequate edition individuals and historical societies have undertaken here and there to print collections of primary cahiers. The most recent and successful enterprise of this character is that of MM. A. de Saint-Léger and Ph. Sagnac, who with the aid of a local society at Dunkirk issued two volumes in 1906 containing the cahiers of Flandre Maritime, with introduction and notes. Chassin has also contributed an elaborate study of the elections and cahiers of Paris.⁴ The way was smoothed for the particular task we have under consideration by A. Brette's admirable *Collection of Documents relating to the Convocation of the Estates General in 1789*.⁵ This is re-enforced by an atlas of the electoral districts.⁶

The commission for the publication of the sources for the economic history of the French Revolution carefully formulated the rules to be observed in the editing of the cahiers, and issued them in a circular addressed to the various local committees, April 5, 1905.⁷ In order to exclude from the collections the numerous private lists of grievances and the protests of dissatisfied minorities and other unauthorized bodies a cahier was defined as one drawn up by a regularly summoned assembly. A committee in each department is to be responsible for the publication, according to the rules laid down by the central committee, of the cahiers of the various bailliages, primary and secondary, of which the chief seat lay within the present boundaries of the department. A few only

³ For example, by Brette, "Les Cahiers de 1789 et les Archives Parlementaires", in *La Révolution Française*, vol. XLVII. (1904), pp. 5ff. He accuses the editors of including "sans ordre et sans methode, dans les six volumes, les cahiers definitifs avec les cahiers des paroisses, les cahiers de corporations avec ceux de bailliages secondaires, sans parler des faux cahiers et des cahiers de particuliers sans mandat".

⁴ *Les Elections et les Cahiers de Paris en 1789* (1888-1889), 4 vols. (in the *Collection de Documents relatifs à l'Histoire de Paris*). Partial lists of the private undertakings of this class may be found in the admirable volume by Edme Champion, *La France d'après les Cahiers de 1789* (1897), pp. 7-8, and in the *Cambridge Modern History*, VIII. 802-803.

⁵ *Recueil de Documents relatifs à la Convocation des États Généraux en 1789* (1894-1904), 3 vols., with a fourth volume in preparation.

⁶ *Atlas des Bailliages ou Juridictions Assimilées ayant formé Unité Electorale en 1789* (Paris, 1904 fol.). This like the *Recueil* forms a part of the great series of *Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*.

⁷ *La Révolution Française*, vol. XLVIII. (1905), pp. 353ff. These directions were supplemented by the circular of June 13, 1907, *ibid.*, LV. 73ff.

of the volumes which have thus far been issued under the auspices of the central commission are printed by the National Printing Office at Paris; most are issued from Orleans, Lyons, Nancy, Épernay. While there is a strong family resemblance and they are of the same size—large octavo, with a page somewhat shorter than that of this journal—the various members of the series differ in print, headings, even in the size of the page, differences which are of slight moment but which plainly indicate the decentralizing policy of the commission which has doubtless very wisely apportioned the divisions of their laborious enterprise among the numerous departmental committees. The successive issues are unfortunately not even serially numbered, so that a librarian may well be somewhat uncertain whether he has a complete set to date.

The introductions to the volumes are devoted not only to the technical questions relating to the number and nature of the documents at the editor's disposal but to the economic conditions prevailing in the region under consideration. Indeed M. Bloch furnishes a formal *Esquisse d'un Tableau de l'Etat Économique* of the bailliage of Orleans. In the brief introductions to the individual cahiers or in foot-notes more specific information is given—the number of hearths or of inhabitants in the village or town, the amount of the *taille* and tithe, the cost of labor, etc. Naturally the minutes of the assemblies which drafted the cahiers are given. These are commonly brief and formal and seemingly of minor importance except as establishing the authenticity of the cahier. MM. Bloch and Boissonnade have set the example of supplying very elaborate analytical tables at the end of their collections which enable the student to discover quickly in the maze of texts the references to the particular institution or abuse in which he may be interested. Repetition is avoided as far as possible. Where cahiers were copied from one another or from a common model only the variants are indicated. M. Bloch gives in his introduction to the cahiers of Orleans the various models and pamphlets which appear to have influenced the formulation of the people's grievances. It is a striking fact that a great many of the cahiers have disappeared, seemingly forever; but there is no reason to suppose that the "sensation", as Boissonnade calls it, of the economic life of the time which one may hope to experience upon reading the thousands of *gravamina* and suggestions for reform that are to be included in the present collection, would be essentially modified by the discovery of the thousands that are gone.

Among the matters discussed by the editors is that of the general value and reliability of the parish and town cahiers. A number of serious historians have felt that the data derived from this source was practically worthless. The most confident in his deprecation of the use of the cahiers as serious sources is the German writer Wahl who believes, with M. Héricault, that the Revolution was wholly gratuitous and that the cahiers were but the instrument of unscrupulous agitators

intent upon inciting the peasants to murder and pillage.⁸ This doctrine —by no means new—naturally rouses the republican ardor of those interested in the enterprise we have under consideration. Brette regards the cahiers as a sort of moral inventory of France at the close of the Ancien Régime and holds that by revealing the terrible disorder they constitute the most striking justification of the Revolution.⁹ The fairest and most comprehensive review of the whole matter is perhaps that of Sagnac.¹⁰ Allowing for all exaggerations of style he believes that the more carefully the cahiers are studied and compared with other sources of information the more does one's respect for them grow. Wahl, it may be remarked, based his conclusions on the few local cahiers included in the *Archives Parlementaires*. Boissonnade emerging from long intimate contact with the cahiers themselves says, "Si le bourgeois, le légiste, le lettré, ont tenu la plume, c'est l'artisan, c'est le paysan qui ont presque toujours dicté." As he ran through the cahiers, "au spectacle de leurs incorrections naïves, de leur gaucherie, de leur pittoresque orthographe, il n'est guère possible", he concludes, "de soutenir qu'ils ne sont pas, pour la majeure part, l'oeuvre réelle des assemblées populaires, qu'ils n'expriment pas à la fois les griefs particuliers de la bourgeoisie en même temps que ceux du peuple des villes et des campagnes."¹¹

Modern England: a Record of Opinion and Action from the Time of the French Revolution to the Present Day. In two volumes. By ALFRED WILLIAM BENN. (London: Watts and Company. 1908. Pp. xvi, 250; x, 251-519.)

It was by no means a slight task that Mr. Benn undertook when he began to write the history of opinion and action in England in the 118 years between 1789 and 1907. During the years while he was engaged on his *Modern England*, his work was complicated and made more difficult by the appearance of volume after volume of memoirs and biography, and of such able reviews of recent English history as that of Sir Spencer Walpole in his *History of Twenty-five Years* and that of Messrs. Low and Sanders in the twelfth volume of the *Political History of England*. Could Mr. Benn have recommenced his work after the publication of the biographies of Graham and Durham, Lytton and Lord Randolph Churchill, of the queen's *Letters* and Cromer's *Modern Egypt*, it is conceivable that he would very considerably have modified some

⁸ *Die Notabelnversammlung von 1787* (1899), and *Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Französischen Revolution* (1901).

⁹ *La Révolution Française*, XLVII. 6.

¹⁰ "Les Cahiers de 1789 et leur Valeur" in *La Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, vol. VIII. (1906-1907), pp. 329ff. Onou ("La Valeur des Cahiers de 1789", in *La Révolution Française*, vol. XLIX. (1905), pp. 385ff.) agrees with Sagnac that the cahiers are highly subjective and that the peasants' statistics where they cannot be controlled must be taken with caution.

¹¹ *Cahiers de Doléances de la Sénéchaussée d'Angoulême*, pp. 8, 12.

of the judgments he has passed on the actors in the English political field during the middle years of the nineteenth century. As it is, in the light of all these recent publications, much of his work strikes the reader as shallow, and lacking in accuracy and historical thoroughness; while his judgments do not seem to be sufficiently well-founded to command acquiescence or respect.

Mr. Benn writes openly from the rationalistic point of view of the seventies and eighties of the last century, and his bias against the churches must be taken into account. His aim is to give in short compass not a history of events or of political and social developments; but a record of opinion as illustrated in action—to unfold the history of the century from within, as due to human feeling, human reason and human will, rather than as a succession of more or less closely related happenings. It is only by a rigid narrowing of scope that Mr. Benn could have succeeded in compressing the story into 500 pages, and the effort to be brief has brought it about that Mr. Benn states many of his conclusions as *obiter dicta*, unsupported by sufficient information to enable the reader to judge of their accuracy.

To some extent Mr. Benn's book resembles Professor A. V. Dicey's *Law and Public Opinion in England*. Like Professor Dicey Mr. Benn brings out the influence of Bentham, Mill and Malthus in moulding the laws and institutions of Great Britain. He is concerned, however, with much more diverse developments than Professor Dicey. He follows many currents of opinion beside what may be called the main philosophical trend of the age. He tries to give a summary of the religious, political and scientific thought of the nineteenth century, with its effect on education, literature, legislation, and domestic and foreign policy. While it is impossible to expect from any man whose life has been contemporaneous with more than half of the period he reviews an absolutely unbiassed judgment, or a correct understanding of all the forms of thought and opinion that he sets out to describe, it must be conceded that Mr. Benn's work is both useful and valuable. He has woven together in a continuous story the inner life of England during the nineteenth century; and while his book as a history of the period cannot be compared for fullness or accuracy with such works as Sir Spencer Walpole's history or the last two volumes of the *Political History of England* or with special treatises on aspects of the subject such as Professor Dicey's *Law and Opinion in England*, Sir Leslie Stephen's *Utilitarians*, or Mr. G. R. Balleine's *History of the Evangelical Party*, it is an advantage to have gathered up in short space the many and varied lines of thought that underlay the vast expansion and development of the years between the Fall of the Bastille and the incoming of the present Liberal government in England. As is perhaps natural in such a work, the latter part is of least value. The record of the last twenty years, as presented by Mr. Benn, is bald and jejune, and to a younger generation it would seem that Mr. Benn scarcely does justice

to modern ideas and opinions. There is no bibliography, authorities being quoted only somewhat sparingly in foot-notes. While a freer use of the memoirs and letters which have recently appeared would probably have modified some of Mr. Benn's opinions, for example his admiration of Lord Palmerston, it would also have prevented him from continuing some old errors, such as the assertion that Charles Buller wrote the report of the Earl of Durham on Canada.

Modern Egypt. By the Earl of CROMER. In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. xviii, 594; xiv, 600.)

Books written by men who have played a great part in the world, recording what they have themselves seen and done, are so valuable a source for the historian that this REVIEW is glad to welcome another. The important ones that belong to this class are few. The *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar and those of the Emperor Baber are the most familiar instances. There are also, however, works in which some eminent person, generally at the close of his career, explains and justifies his policy. This was done by Napoleon Bonaparte indirectly and by Bismarck directly. A third class includes histories of their own time composed by men who have more or less influenced the events they describe. Under this head we may put the treatises of Thucydides, Procopius, Otto of Freysing, Philip of Commines, John Knox, Clarendon, Burnet. Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt* stands partly in one, partly in another, of these latter classes. Although to some extent a narrative of what the author did himself, it has also a wider scope, and covers the politics and administration of the Nile valley generally during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. For dealing with this theme, Lord Cromer had several conspicuous advantages. One is that of a thorough and exact knowledge. He took part in most of the important decisions of policy here recorded, and knows the grounds of them. He is himself a source as well as a historian.

It is a second advantage that the subject has a unity and simplicity which corresponds to the country. Egypt is of all the lands in the Eastern Hemisphere that which is most detached from other lands, least affected by what happens on its borders. In this narrative the influences of three foreign powers are of course constantly felt. But though Turkey (or rather the Sultan of Turkey), England and France are constant factors, their action can be described without much reference to the general politics of Europe and still less reference to the internal politics of those three countries. And, thirdly, Egypt is a land whose fortunes are of perpetual interest to all educated men. No country has had so long a history. Its records begin almost twice as far behind us as do the records of Greece or Rome. They set before us fortunes strangely varying from century to century; and it is a

singular fact that a country which nature might seem to have done her best to isolate should have not only been frequently (like Italy) conquered by invaders from without but have been, conversely, a centre of influence radiating forth upon other countries. In art and in religion she told powerfully on other Mediterranean lands.

These characteristics of his theme are, however, small in comparison with the advantages that are personal to the author. He has a vigorous mind which goes to the root of things which fasten on essentials, and which, though it recognizes the complexity of a question, does not fear to reach and pronounce a positive and definite conclusion. We find in him a solid judgment, not prejudiced in favor of any set of political dogmas, nor (so far as appears) of any particular person or party. His criticisms are by the nature of the case passed chiefly on his own countrymen; and they are passed, whether one agrees with them or not, with an evident freedom from partizan bias. The spirit of the book deserves the more praise because when one writes of contemporaries with whom or against whom a man has contended, it is hard to get rid of the impressions formed under the impulse of the moment.

This judicial temper is fitly reflected in a calm and weighty style. There is little rhetoric. Opportunities for literary effect which many a writer would have seized and overdone are either passed by with Thucydidean austerity or used with a restrained strength which leaves the reader to add the color and emotion for himself.

The book falls into seven divisions. The first traces the history of joint French and English intervention, then of English action in Egypt, from the establishment of financial control in 1876 in Ismail Pasha's days down to the English occupation in 1882. The second narrates the troubles in the Soudan which began with the destruction of Hicks's army by the Mahdi in 1883 and ended with the battle of Omdurman and reconquest of the Soudan in 1898 by General Kitchener. The third traces the administrative policy of Britain in Egypt from the occupation in 1882 down till the agreement with France in 1904 which settled many of the questions that had till then hindered the course of reform. The fourth describes the various elements of population in Egypt and the social classes which make up the country. The fifth sketches the several lines of British policy in Egypt. The sixth sets forth the reforms recently introduced; and the seventh contains some reflections on the future of the country.

Of these visions the first three are the more distinctly historical parts, though the others are at least equally valuable, because they contain an account not only of the institutions established by the British government but also of the motives which led to their establishment and the purposes they were meant to serve. To examine these and estimate their value would require so long a preliminary account of the conditions of Egypt that the few observations I propose to make must be confined to the narrative portions of the two volumes.

The most interesting episode is that in which General C. G. Gordon is the central figure. Few passages in recent history have been more frequently and passionately debated. Gordon's striking character, his adventures, his chivalric attitude, the loneliness of his position in the last months of his life had roused in an extraordinary measure the admiration and sympathy of the English people. The failure to relieve him in time was charged as a crime against the ministry of the day. Indeed this failure did much to hasten the fall of the cabinet and to damage the Liberal party at the momentous general election of 1885. Lord Cromer's account, which seems to leave comparatively little to be added by any later historian, would have greatly affected English opinion and mitigated English censure could it have been made public soon after the events and before judgment had been passed on them. He does not acquit the Liberal cabinet of a grave error in sending such a man as Gordon on such an errand. Neither does he fail to censure them for the delay in sending an expedition up the Nile after it had become plain that Gordon either could not or would not retire, and that British opinion demanded his relief. But he brings out the defects of Gordon's own character and his disobedience to the orders he had received with a clearness which if it does not relieve the ministry from blame sets Gordon's conduct in a light very different from that in which the English saw it in 1885. They would have condemned the ministry less if they had understood Gordon better. Gordon was a hero, but a hero who could not run in harness. Heroes seldom can. Lord Cromer's account of him is one of the best things in the book and a real contribution to the comprehension of one of the most romantic events of our times.

Next to his portrait of Gordon the best character studies which Lord Cromer gives us are those of Nubar and of Riaz. Nubar, whom I knew well, was a most remarkable man whose abilities would have brought him to the front in any country. He was Armenian by race and genuinely interested in trying to help his nation. With some of those faults which we call Oriental such as a certain shiftiness (though indeed these "Oriental defects" are to be found in every country), he had many intellectual gifts that are rare in the East; and one could talk to him just as one would have talked to a statesman of continental Europe. Riaz, with less brilliancy, had a firmness and an integrity which deserve Lord Cromer's praise. He is still living in Egypt, much respected and worthy of respect.

English politics and English opinion are but slightly referred to in these volumes. In a treatise describing things as they appeared from the point of view of the actors on the spot, this is natural and fitting. I may however add from my own recollection of those exciting times some remarks which it did not fall within Lord Cromer's province to make but which need to be made in order that the British position may be understood in all its aspects.

The attitude of the Liberal majority in the English House of Commons, which was the power ultimately controlling politics, from 1880-1885, was much affected by three factors scarcely referred to in these volumes. One was the repugnance which English Liberals felt to doing anything in the interest of the European holders of Egyptian bonds. The idea that British intervention was to help these bondholders to make gains was so distasteful to most of these Liberal members as to lead them to hang back and desire to minimize intervention. A second factor was their indignation at the character and tone of the party opposition against which Mr. Gladstone's cabinet had to defend itself. This opposition, though it perhaps did not go beyond the rules of the game as played in domestic matters, seemed to them so injurious where national interests abroad were involved that it made the Liberal majority rally to the ministry even when they distrusted the policy which the ministry was for the moment pursuing. Possibly they might have done better to follow their own opinions, even if the result had been to turn out the ministry. Upon this I express no opinion. But they recoiled from this course through their irritation at the tactics adopted by the opposition. The third factor was the position of the cabinet. Never had England seen an administration containing a larger number of able men. Never was an administration more unlucky. It was unlucky chiefly owing to its internal divisions. It lived by a series of compromises and hand-to-mouth expedients because it was never able to reconcile and bring into one consistent line the divergent views of its members. Perhaps also, occupied as it was by a long series of Parliamentary troubles, it never as a whole gave a thorough study to the Egyptian problem.

Here I must add a word as to the person on whom Lord Cromer seems to throw nearly all the blame for the delays and vacillation of the cabinet. Mr. Gladstone, being Prime Minister, may of course be in a certain sense treated as responsible for the faults of a ministry of which he was the head and whose existence he could have terminated by resignation. But he was only one in a cabinet of nearly twenty members, less directly responsible for foreign affairs than was the Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville, and for military affairs than was the War Secretary, Lord Hartington. It was surmised at the time, and has subsequently become better known, that some of the most important cabinet decisions on Egyptian questions were taken against his judgment. Ought he to have broken up the cabinet because he disagreed with those decisions? The vacillations and delays laid to his charge were largely due to the constant efforts made by the cabinet to hold together through a series of compromises and middle courses. Is Mr. Gladstone to be held solely to blame for what was as much (and in some instances more) the fault of his colleagues as his own, merely because he could have cut the knot by resigning? That question could not be determined without examining the whole political situation as it

stood in 1882-1885, a situation in which the fortunes of the cabinet involved many other grave issues. Lord Cromer's censure of Mr. Gladstone, possibly deserved as respects the delay in sending out the Nile expedition, ought in the four great errors of failing to recall Hicks, of sending out Gordon, of refusing to send Zobeir when Gordon asked for him, and of the Tokar expedition, to fall much less on Mr. Gladstone than on the cabinet as a whole.

I cannot do more than advert in the briefest way to the many morals for the student of political history which the book contains. One touches the difficulties with which the cabinet system of government surrounds the conduct of foreign policy. What these were to the British cabinet of 1880-1885 has already been indicated. In France Gambetta during his brief tenure of power brusquely changed the lines which his predecessor had followed in dealing with Egypt. Having led the British into a course which precipitated a crisis at Cairo, he presently lost office, and made way for a new cabinet which reversed his policy and became the cause of the ultimate supersession of the Dual Control by the sole control of England. An autocrat, or an oligarchy like the Roman senate, might have made mistakes as bad as those made by the French and English governments, but hardly the same mistakes of a frequently shifting or wavering action.

History shows few better instances than we find here of the law by which a strong state that begins to intervene in the affairs of a weak one is forced to go on intervening till it has taken over control. For a long time after 1882 the British government honestly desired to get out of Egypt. Few believed their assurances; but those assurances were made in all good faith. I had myself the best reason to know Mr. Gladstone's wishes in 1886; and still later Lord Salisbury actually conducted negotiations with the Turks for the retirement of the British which nothing but the amazing shortsightedness of the Turkish government prevented from being completed. As years went on, the difficulty of retiring became more obvious, yet hardly until the resolve taken in 1896 to reconquer the Soudan was the conviction forced upon statesmen that England could not quit the Nile valley.

That foreign nations must not expect affection and gratitude from a country which they rule, however beneficent and disinterested their rule may be, is a lesson which the experience of the English in Egypt enforces. They have done many things to improve its condition. The country is far richer, far more populous (if indeed that be an improvement); the people are more secure in life and property and the pursuit of happiness. British administration is more honest and lenient than Egypt has seen since the conquest of Cambyses in the sixth century B. C. But these benefits have not rendered British rule beloved. To the native population it is still foreign rule.

Whatever the future of Egypt may be, the twenty-six years of British control will remain memorable in the annals of the East. So

this account of the methods which Western administrators used in dealing with this ancient country will deserve to be long read, not only because it is a truthful contemporary record of facts but also because it sets forth the motives and the maxims of policy which directed the statesman chiefly responsible for the conduct of affairs. What should we not give for a similar account of his Caledonian campaign by Cn. Julius Agricola, or for such a description of his plans for ruling Mexico as Hernando Cortes might have dictated in the quiet days he spent in that beautiful palace which still stands to commemorate him in the valley of Cuernavaca!

JAMES BRYCE.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Letters of Cortes. In two volumes. Translated and Edited, with a Biographical Introduction and Notes compiled from Original Sources, by FRANCIS AUGUSTUS MACNUTT. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1908. Pp. xi, 354; vii, 374.)

A NEW English translation of the letters of Cortes is by no means superfluous especially when, as in the present instance, it is fairly commendable and adheres as closely to the text as possible, without becoming too literal. We would remark here that the Jesuit priest is never addressed or designated by the title of *Fray*, hence, Father Andres Cavo is not *Fray*. Neither was Luis Ponce de Leon who died with such suspicious swiftness at Mexico sent to Cortes merely to take his *residencia*, but properly as *visitador*. We shall refer to this point later on.

Mr. MacNutt gives us the second, third, fourth and fifth letters, the first which is lost being replaced in his book by the report of the municipality of Veracruz dated July 10, 1519, which as Mr. MacNutt observes, is not improbably a fair substitute for the lost report by the conqueror.

The bibliography given by Mr. MacNutt in the first volume is copious and reasonably complete. In the text of his introduction and of the notes to each letter translated he makes some critical comparisons of the relative value of authorities and several of these short dissertations can be recommended for their justness and impartiality, *e. g.*, references to the late Don Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta and to the Reverend Augustin Fischer, who, however, was not chaplain to Maximilian of Mexico but, towards the end of that unfortunate ruler's career, his private secretary.

Mr. MacNutt's introduction in four chapters (followed by a translation of Cortes's last will and testament) contains a partial summary of the principal events of the life of the conqueror. Several important occurrences are either omitted or barely touched upon and the tone is that of an almost unconditional eulogy of the hero. We are

far from taking the standpoint of most British writers who write with hostility, sometimes even with invective, concerning everything achieved by Spain and the Spaniards; but neither can we agree with the author of this book in his attempt to make of Cortes almost a saint. While we heartily indorse the observations upon the standard of historical criticism to be applied to the deeds in ages past, namely, the standard of the times, their prevalent ideas and degree of culture, his admiration for Hernando Cortes carries him, in our judgment, somewhat too far. There is no doubt that he was a very superior man, a great man mentally, but morally there are flaws upon his character that are, in view of his other brilliant qualities, most unfortunate. These flaws are treated as myths and Mr. MacNutt does not seem to be thoroughly informed on the questions. We allude to the relations of Cortes with the Spanish crown after the conquest of Mexico; the mysterious death of the *visitador* Ponce, and the equally mysterious decease of Cortes's first wife Catalina Xuarez. Beginning with the death of Catalina Xuarez, Mr. MacNutt overlooks the *Pesquisa Secreta* or secret investigation of the matter published in the *Documentos Inéditos de Indias* and which contains abundant testimony most damaging to Cortes. There can hardly be any doubt that he strangled his first wife while in bed. The death of Ponce occurred under such suspicious circumstances that it is difficult to attribute it to natural causes, and it took place before he could begin the *visita*. A *visita* was nearly always an ominous measure and quite distinct from the *residencia* which every functionary of importance had to give at the expiration of his term of office. A *visitador* was frequently clothed with discretionary powers and no viceroy even could escape the results of the *visitador's* action. The home-government in Spain had ample reasons to mistrust Cortes. He had given ample proof of his inclination to do as he pleased and not as he had been bidden. His letter to the emperor dated October 15, 1524, owned and published by Don, Joaquin García Icazbalceta, is not only a declaration of further disobedience but almost of independence, and could not fail to arouse the gravest apprehensions at the Spanish court. Still, the government was well-nigh helpless, since Cortes was all powerful in Mexico, as his followers had declared to the king. It became necessary to use much adroitness in slowly undermining the position of so dangerous a representative, and never to let him reassume that position again.

Portraits of Charles V. and of Cortes, and reproductions of ancient maps and plans, the coat of arms of Cortes (on cover) and a map of Yucatan from the middle of the past century illustrate the two handsomely printed volumes.

A History of the United States. By EDWARD CHANNING. Volume II. *A Century of Colonial History, 1660-1760.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. vii, 614.)

PROFESSOR CHANNING is making substantial progress with his history of the United States, for having completed in this generous volume of more than 600 pages his consideration of the colonial period he is now ready to pass on to the Revolutionary era. The years 1660-1760 belong in greater part to a time much neglected of historians, and present difficulties and problems that have never been met or solved or even understood by many of those who have written hitherto on colonial affairs. For that reason scholars have awaited with expectancy Professor Channing's version particularly of the period from 1689 to 1750. If, after a perusal of the volume, we find it measuring up to a higher standard than that attained by its predecessors, we may deem the praise well earned; if, on the other hand, we find it falling short of the ideal, we may discount our criticism by noting that the day has not come when the history of this troublesome eighteenth century can be written adequately. Patient labor must yet be spent, unexplored material must be brought to light, traditional viewpoints must be changed, patriotic prejudices must be eradicated, and the balance between the purposes that were British and the purposes that were American must be restored. Mr. Beer is teaching us in part how this balance can be obtained, and others following in his footsteps will in time teach us more. That Professor Channing should have grappled with the task single-handed with half his source material beyond his reach, bears witness to his courage; that he should have produced a book destined for some years to stand alone as the only competent history of the period is a certain proof of his ability and understanding.

From the standpoint of the ideal four criticisms may be made. In the first place the work is not free from prejudice. Professor Channing's view of the Restoration shows that he is still possessed of the old dislike of Charles II. and all his courtiers. To speak of Osmund Airy's life of Charles with approval is to set the clock back twenty years; to talk about the "hopeless incapacity" of the Council for Foreign Plantations of 1660 is to betray a sympathy with the prejudices of Massachusetts and unfamiliarity with the actual work of the council; to speak slightly of the colonial governors in general indicates an inherited dislike of the British government and all its works. In the second place, in spite of all its wealth of new information and the manifest labor that has been expended upon it, the work shows occasional omissions that are difficult to understand. Why is practically nothing said of the details of British control from 1660 to 1696? Why is no attempt made to search into the principles underlying the navigation acts or to connect them with England's traditional policy? Why has no attempt been made to deal with the offensive aspects of colonial action and inaction during

the Seven Years' War? Why is all mention of the postal-packet service limited to a brief analysis of the Act of 1710? Some of these omissions constitute serious defects, others that might be mentioned seem strange in view of Professor Channing's allotments of space—as of twelve pages to Fox and the Quakers in England. In the third place Professor Channing betrays a certain insularity in his frequent insistence on the impotence of the home-government and the futility of the system established for the control of the colonies. The efficacy of the royal veto cannot be tested by reference to an occasional act; the value of the plantation duty and other royal revenues cannot be determined except by recourse to sources of information that Professor Channing does not appear to have used; the general efficiency of the Board of Trade cannot be determined from the few scattered references here given to its operations. In fact the chapter on the Reconstructed Colonial System is marred throughout by a manifest lack of sympathy and by a proneness to find fault. In the last place Professor Channing has failed to give his treatment either unity, purpose or depth. He has substituted a topical arrangement for the old geographical distribution of data, and in avoiding Scylla has fallen into Charybdis. We cannot see that his narrative moves forward to any culmination. We should naturally expect to find ourselves at the end of the work ready to understand better the causes of the Revolution, but we cannot see that anywhere Professor Channing has sought to meet this expectation or has made any attempt to search for causes. Progress is noted here and there, but that general movement which marks the development of all the colonies taken together seems to lie altogether outside the author's interest.

Taking Professor Channing's treatment as we find it, we may note its leading features and conspicuous merits. Beginning with a discussion of the colonial policy of the Restoration the author deals with individual colonies, 1660-1689, devoting a special chapter to an admirable description of what he calls the "Gallic Peril, 1664-1689", and completing this phase of the subject with chapters on the Stuart domination in New England and the revolution of 1689-1690. With chapter VIII., on the reconstructed colonial system, he enters the "neglected" period and takes up the act of 1696, the constitutional controversies in the various colonies, the systems of labor, education, religion, and commerce, questions of race-origin and influence, closing with the struggle between England and France. That of the 400 pages given up to these subjects 100 should be devoted to British policy and 150 to labor, religion, education, and commerce is evidence that we have here no following of beaten paths, but a thoroughly new and independent exploring of the colonial field. Professor Channing knows his printed material *au fond*, and is fairly familiar with the manuscript material in Boston and Philadelphia. He does not appear, however, to have searched the *Calendars* very thoroughly or to have made exhaustive use of what he calls the "Phila-

delphia Transcripts". Of other manuscript-material his book shows no certain knowledge. He has analyzed in an admirable manner difficult financial, commercial and industrial situations, has written probably the ablest account of French policy that we have, and has dealt satisfactorily with the character and careers of such men as Dongan, Andros, Shirley and Nicholson. We doubt, however, if he really approves of any of the British representatives in America, and even when trying to be fair he seems to be pleased if the balance can be made to tilt in favor of the colonies. Apart from the first four chapters, where the treatment seems perfunctory and the originality less marked, the material has been handled with firmness and independence and space has been distributed with an admirable disregard for precedents. It requires courage to dismiss the whole history of Oglethorpe and Georgia in less than two and a half pages. The work is elaborately annotated with foot-notes and references, while bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter furnish the author with a further opportunity for expressions of opinions. The reproductions of contemporary maps are interesting, though in some instances they are on too small a scale and too faint to be of much value. The general map at the end, prepared especially for this volume and illustrating the territorial expansion of the colonies, is excellent. Professor Channing has set so high a standard of accuracy in his work that it is surprising to find a few errors of rather an unexpected character. He speaks of Methodists in 1671 (p. 16), of Professor Williston Walker as still at the Hartford Theological Seminary (p. 437), and twice of a "State Paper Office" in London (pp. 62, 477). He seems to take Berkeley's well-known statement about learning and printing in Virginia as if it were literally true, and he certainly implies that there were no executions for witchcraft in the colonies before 1688 (pp. 83, 458-459). His belief that the Bishop of London's jurisdiction originated in the bishop's membership in the Virginia Council under James I. seems to us wholly improbable, since the bishop's jurisdiction did not arise until after the Restoration.

We may not agree with all that Professor Channing has said or be entirely satisfied with his way of treating the history of this period, but we do acknowledge that he has produced a book of first importance for the study of the neglected period and in so doing has removed a reproach hitherto cast upon historical scholarship in America.

The Writings of Samuel Adams. Collected and edited by HARRY ALONZO CUSHING. Volume IV., 1778-1802. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1908. Pp. xvii, 431.)

WITH this volume the series of Adams's writings is complete. We now know what is to be known of the arch-conspirator and revolutionist. One can be reasonably sure that there is nothing of importance omitted from these volumes, because the editor has been industrious in hunting

material, and also because they contain so much that is of slight consequence. Surely no intelligent editor would give us some of the things we find here, if the space were needed for anything else. It must be confessed that the series is rather disappointing; we have gained so little additional knowledge about a man who for some twenty years was a great influence in American history. Justice to the editor and to the volumes compels one to say, however, that this disappointment arose from our expecting too much, from an eager anticipation of the sight of materials that apparently do not exist. We are thankful especially for the materials in the first two volumes without which it is difficult or impossible to understand the preliminaries of the Revolution.

The present volume covers the period from January, 1778, to the end, the first letter being to Richard Henry Lee, the last an eminently sane and wholesome epistle to Tom Paine. Thus it will be seen that we have here the correspondence of twenty-four years besides no small number of public papers. The letters during the war are to a surprising extent commonplace or devoid of real helpfulness. If Adams had one passion left him after his devoted attention to liberty and his wooing of that frigid spinster, civic virtue, whose beauties and worth he ceased not to proclaim, he wasted it on the Lees, especially on Arthur. His confidence in this restless son of Virginia, whom he appeared implicitly to have trusted long before he had ever looked into his face, is in truth one of the striking facts of the volume, meaning a good deal to the student of Revolutionary politics. On the whole, as one reads, one is impressed more and more with the feeling that he has come upon the letters of a very substantial second-rate man. How difficult it would be to find letters covering a period of twenty years written by Washington, Jefferson, Franklin or Madison so free from anything like real inspiration or genius!

There are a few telling letters in the period of the Confederation, one or two of which tell the old story that in the days before Shays's Rebellion, if there were poverty and misfortune, imprisonment for debt, and commercial depression, there were also extravagance and prodigal expenditure. "Our merchants", Adams writes, in July, 1785, "are complaining bitterly that Great Britain is ruining their Trade, and there is great Reason to complain, but I think much greater, to complain of too many of the Citizens thro' the Common wealth who are imitating the Britons in every idle Amusement and expensive Foppery which it is in their power to invent for the Destruction of a young Country. Can our people expect to indulge themselves in the unbounded Use of every unmeaning and fantastick Extravagance because they would follow the Lead of Europeans, and not spend all their Money? You would be surprizd to see the Equipage, the Furniture and expensive Living of too many, the Pride and Vanity of Dress which pervades thro' every Class, confounding every Distinction between the Poor and the Rich and evincing the want both of Example and Oeconomy." This is

interesting testimony not only concerning the industrial conditions during or immediately preceding the days of gloom, but also concerning the influence of the Revolution in erasing distinctions. The most significant letter in this period is the well-known one to Richard Henry Lee, in which Adams says after reading the Constitution, "I confess as I enter the Building I stumble at the Threshold." Several letters, written in the last decade of the century, interestingly disclose at once his old devotion to the Union and his essential Republican principles, which enable him to write to Jefferson in April in 1801 that he congratulated the country "on the arrival of the day of Glory which has called *you* to the first office in the administration of our Federal Government".

One the whole the collection will be useful. I am not sure that all the really good matter could not have been put in two-thirds of the space, but historical students are not apt to find fault with completeness.

John C. Calhoun. By GAILLARD HUNT. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1908. Pp. 335.)

JUDGED by the requirements of the series in which it appears Mr. Hunt's *Calhoun* must be pronounced highly successful. It shows a mellow scholarship on constitutional questions, a general knowledge of social and political conditions in the South, and a clear style controlled by a mild and even temper. Not especially profound nor original, except in minor matters, it avoids ponderous and commonplace historical judgments, and has a peculiarly instructive and interesting freshness.

Although it can hardly be called a complete biography, it is the first serious effort to describe the plain man Calhoun as well as his doctrines. In previous biographies and often in essays Calhoun has usually taken on some of the attributes of a god or of a monster, according to the writer's prejudice, mental condition or lack of information. The publication of Calhoun's correspondence nearly ten years ago made it possible to change all that. In fact and in Mr. Hunt's narrative Calhoun the nationalist and Calhoun the sectionalist are very natural products of very different political conditions. The Calhoun prior to 1820 and the Calhoun subsequent to 1830 were of course wholly inconsistent. But such inconsistencies are the rule wherever the circumstances so change as to make a corresponding change of attitude on the part of a public man a prerequisite of his continued supremacy. It is these facts that are important; and Mr. Hunt has made them very clear without elaborate argument or much concern about the reader's judgment.

Since Houston's *Critical Study of Nullification*—one of the most effective monographs in American history—there have been no mysteries about the South Carolina of that time. But Mr. Hunt has retold the story in a refreshing manner and has made contributions and correc-

tions of importance. It had been so often stated by historians, that Calhoun's *Exposition of 1828* was approved by the legislature that such careful scholars as Houston and Herman V. Ames accepted it as true. Mr. Hunt corrects the error (p. 108). Moreover, the manner in which he develops his chapters and proceeds with his narrative shows that he has unusual literary taste and skill, which are so often lacking in American scholars. His concise and sprightly chapter on South Carolina in 1830, not to mention others almost as good, demonstrates the value of these qualities. South Carolina's effervescence, Calhoun's leadership and dogmas are so lucidly and briefly described that dry-as-dusts will be likely to mistake an easy mastery for a graceful superficiality.

Mr. Hunt's best qualities are displayed prior to the end of the Nullification movement. That movement brought out the main features of the Calhoun of South Carolina history; but that Calhoun is to the Calhoun of United States history hardly more than the General Grant up to 1863 is to the Grant of the whole war. Without studying Calhoun in national affairs during the last fifteen years of his life we lose one of the most important examples in history as to how economic interests and subtle dogmas may lead even a high-minded people to destruction. Mr. Hunt has not failed to touch on the leading features of the period 1835 to 1850, but he has rarely done more than that. Here there is also a marked decline in the excellence of his style and in the substance and the skilful development of his chapters. The indications are so strong and numerous as to compel the inference that the author's studies of this period have not been extensive enough to enable him to trace and describe the full meaning of Calhoun in relation to the Confederacy and Reconstruction.

It would be unfair to emphasize this minor deficiency in a biography with many excellencies. What was most needed, Mr. Hunt has supplied—a description of Calhoun so clear and a judgment of him so sane that there is no room for disagreement as to the main features. And excepting a few such slips as the writing or printing of *Williston* instead of *Willington* (Waddell's famous school), and of Foote of *Alabama* instead of *Mississippi*, no positive errors have been noticed.

FREDERIC BANCROFT.

Stephen A. Douglas: a Study in American Politics. By ALLEN JOHNSON, Professor of History in Bowdoin College. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. x, 503.)

UNTIL recently the number of books about Stephen A. Douglas has been confined to the campaign lives of Sheahan, Flint and Warden, published in 1860, the *Treatise* issued by J. Madison Cutts in 1866, and two slight sketches of recent date. In the voluminous periodical literature of the last half-century, crowded with articles about Lincoln, there is practically nothing at all about Douglas. This neglect has been

due chiefly to widespread distrust of his sincerity, to the fact that, by taking middle ground in the great sectional controversy, he satisfied neither extreme, and to the destruction of his papers, which would have been the chief reliance of the biographer. There are now signs of a reviving interest in Douglas's career and a prospect that he will be given a place in American history commensurate with his influence.

Professor Johnson has had the use of some new material—an autobiographical sketch, lent by Judge Robert M. Douglas, which it is to be hoped may be published in full. He has rescued a few Douglas letters and has diligently utilized all references to Douglas in reminiscent books but his main reliance has necessarily been the *Congressional Globe*. As indicated by its subtitle, Professor Johnson's book is mainly confined to an analysis of Douglas's public life. He has evidently felt that the data for a personal life do not exist and has therefore preferred to limit himself to a task which he could accomplish completely and satisfactorily. Within these limits, there is little fault to be found. Points to be particularly noted are the presentation of the fact that Douglas consistently supported the principle of local self-government from the beginning of his political life, the analysis of the dual constituency in Illinois which necessitated compromise upon Douglas's part and involved him in the logical contradiction that ultimately proved his undoing, and finally the disproof of the commonly accepted belief that Douglas was guilty of truckling to the South. Professor Johnson shows, necessarily in less detail than Professor Ray has done, how the Nebraska Bill was the resultant of factional quarrels in Missouri and controversies over Pacific railroads, Indian titles and territorial government. Its regrettable aspect was Douglas's "attempt to nullify the Missouri Compromise by subtle indirection". The Lincoln-Douglas debates are carefully analyzed but without remark upon their merit. In the opinion of the reviewer, they have been overpraised by Lincoln's biographers and were scarcely worthy of the debaters and of the issues involved. Douglas's last years were little less than heroic and his biographer's enthusiasm increases as he reaches them. There is a discriminating chapter descriptive of his personality, which brings out the finest trait in Douglas's character—his magnanimity. The book ends abruptly with Douglas's death and we miss a final charge to the jury. As a whole the judgments expressed are sound and will command ultimate acceptance. If there is any criticism, it is that the fact is not sufficiently emphasized that non-intervention offered the only possible escape from civil war, that this was Douglas's reason for adopting it and is his best defense.

Some details call for comment. The literary style is good but lacks a certain definiteness which is needed to vivify the issues, the times and the man. In evident anxiety not to overload the pages with dates, Professor Johnson has gone to the other extreme so that it is difficult to fix chronologically many of the events and speeches discussed. The

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addition of dates to the *Globe* references in the notes would have rendered material assistance in this respect. Professor Johnson is in error in saying that "the submission of state constitutions to a popular vote had not then (1856) become a general practice", as may be readily ascertained by reference to the table in Judge Jameson's *Constitutional Convention*. The treatment of the Black controversy is somewhat inadequate and inaccurate. This pamphlet was attracted considerable attention at the time. Reprints of the *Harper* article were scattered broadcast throughout the country. Black replied in three pamphlets, Douglas in two, and the controversy was closed by an elaborate defense of Douglas attributed to Reverdy Johnson. Flint does not "give extracts from these pamphlets", but only from the least important—the last by Douglas.

F. H. HODDER.

A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860.

By ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of American History, University of Wisconsin. (New York: The Columbia University Press. 1908. Pp. xvii, 405.)

THIS is the latest contribution to an important phase of Southern history, which, until recent years, has received comparatively little attention from investigators.

Professor Phillips's point of view is indicated by the following extract from his preface: "Captains of industry and captains of transportation rank in substantial importance near the political leaders of similar merit and service; and the promotive campaigns for 'internal improvements' bear as much significance in the general development of the nation as do many of the campaigns of president-making."

In his introduction, the author divides the ante-bellum South into the following seven "great economic provinces, more or less distinguished by their staples and their natural facilities for transportation": (1) the tobacco region of lowland and Piedmont Virginia; (2) the rice and Sea Island cotton region of the Charleston-Savannah coast district; (3) the eastern cotton belt, extending from the southern edge of Virginia to central Alabama; (4) the western cotton belt, embracing the region from Alabama to Texas and extending as far north as the southern edge of Kentucky; (5) the region of Kentucky and middle Tennessee with its products of tobacco, live stock and grain; (6) the Tennessee-Shenandoah region with the same commodities as the Kentucky and middle Tennessee region but having different transportation problems; (7) the comparatively barren peninsula of Florida.

The volume traces the historical development of transportation in South Carolina and Georgia from colonial days to the War of Secession. Special emphasis is laid upon the last 35 years of the period, six chapters out of the nine in the book being devoted to them.

The author gives a satisfactory treatment of the numerous plans

for solving the important problems of transportation that confronted the different commercial centres and the moves and counter-moves which they made in order to procure trade advantages over their rivals. The plans of commercial campaigns with their objects and difficulties, as well as triumphs and defeats, are given an adequate treatment. The continuous and, at times, desperate efforts of Charleston to maintain her commercial supremacy by a system of internal improvements, independent of federal aid, and the conflicts which this aggressive policy engendered with Savannah and other aspiring cities make a story of absorbing interest.

Perhaps the most interesting chapters in the book are those devoted to the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad, which, at the time of its completion, "was the longest railway in the world" and to the Western and Atlantic Railroad, which is "the most important example in American history, thus far, of the State ownership and operation of railroads". The history of the latter enterprise is doubly interesting since it "made Georgia the keystone State of the South, and Atlanta the gate city from the northwest to the eastern cotton belt".

The work has been done in a scientific way. The sources consist mainly of rare manuscripts, newspapers, pamphlets and books, many of which are inaccessible to students who cannot investigate the subject on the ground.

Unfortunately Professor Phillips devotes practically all of his book to the history of transportation in South Carolina and Georgia instead of giving a history of transportation in the entire eastern cotton belt as promised by his title. He dismisses the subject of transportation in the cotton belt of eastern Alabama with a statement that it is "a story in itself which does not here need the telling", reference being made to Martin's *Internal Improvements in Alabama* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, series 20, no. 4). He also dismisses the subject of transportation in the cotton belt of North Carolina with a slight amplification of the statement that it is analogous "to the Savannah, both in natural conditions and the policy of the commonwealth regarding it" and with a reference to Weaver's *Internal Improvements in North Carolina previous to 1860* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, series 21, nos. 3-4). In the light of these facts it would seem that his title is rather pretentious.

The maps showing the Principal Products and Trade Centres for the Georgia Counties, 1835, and the Transportation Routes in the Antebellum South are helpful.

The United States as a World Power. By ARCEIBALD CARY COOLIDGE. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. vii, 385.)

"THIS book was originally prepared in the form of lectures, which were delivered at the Sorbonne in the winter of 1906-07 as the Harvard

lectures on the Hyde foundation." Although entirely recast since then, it "still retains traces of having been first addressed to a foreign audience" (see author's preface). But this must be accounted a distinct gain rather than a loss, inasmuch as the author has "striven to preserve a neutral, rather than a specifically American attitude." Yet the patriotic American reader need not be alarmed at this pronouncement, for both in respect to style and attitude this volume bears indubitable evidences of American authorship.

In the introduction (p. 7) the term "world powers" is defined as "powers which are directly interested in all parts of the world, and whose voices must be listened to everywhere". This definition, although "not scientifically exact", is sufficiently accurate and comprehensive for the purpose of the author, *viz.*—"a study of the part which the United States plays in the great drama of world politics". Such a definition of "world powers" would seem to exclude the United States before 1898. It also excludes present-day Austria, Italy, China and even Japan. The five powers admitted by Professor Coolidge to the inner circle of present-day World Powers are, in the order of their importance from the double points of view of area and population, the British Empire, Russia, France, the United States and Germany.

If grouped into sections or general divisions, the nineteen chapters of this volume would naturally fall into two parts. The first nine chapters attempt to explain how the United States came to be a World Power. They are devoted to topics or problems involved in a study of our national growth and territorial expansion, such as Nationality and Immigration, Race Questions, the Spanish War, the Philippine Question, etc. The author's views on immigration and the race question are more optimistic than are those of students like Professor Commons who have perhaps gone more deeply into the subject. On the negro question, our author's sympathies are plainly with the white men of the South; on the Oriental problem, with the labor unions and white inhabitants of the Pacific Coast. The exposition of the Monroe Doctrine is sound from the American standpoint, and should serve to convince German and other European critics that, whether mistaken or not, the people of the United States are thoroughly in earnest in regard to this matter.

The second half of the volume (chapters x. to xix., inclusive) deal successively with the relations between the United States and France, Germany, Russia, England, Canada, Latin America, China and Japan. The author finds our relations with France "friendly"; with Germany and Russia "excellent" in spite of recent causes of irritation; and that the relations between England and the United States have undergone a complete transformation since the Spanish-American and Boer wars. The only possible bone of contention imperilling our friendship with England is Canada, which is geographically and ethnically a part of the United States. Perhaps the most interesting chapters are those

devoted to our relations with China and Japan. With China, "the prospect for American relations, though clouded, is not disheartening" (p. 340). With Japan, "for the moment, at least, the danger of serious complications seems past" (p. 355). As a solution of the immigration problem, Professor Coolidge favors the imposition of a property qualification. To this might be added the physical test proposed, *e. g.*, by Professor Commons.

Of course there are particular statements scattered throughout the book, which the reviewer would like to challenge, did space permit. Such, *e. g.*, is the assertion (p. 24) that "the New England element has, on the whole, been the dominant one in the formation of the American character." This claim—to name but one element—ignores the importance of the Scotch-Irish in the development of the Middle-Western American type, of whom Abraham Lincoln is the most illustrious example. The statement (p. 64) that "the man of European blood . . . would reject with indignation the suggestion that a man of another race might marry a member of his family", is certainly too broad. Many readers will dissent from the characterization of Mr. McKinley (p. 80).

On the other hand there are many passages in this book which the reviewer would like to italicize, as, *e. g.*, the denunciation (pp. 368-369) of grandiloquent expressions like "dominion of the seas" and "mastery of the Pacific".

But the author asks in his preface that his book "may be judged as a whole, rather than praised or blamed on the strength of detached passages". Judged in this way, we should say that it is sane, honest, and at once scholarly and popular in the best sense. The style is clear and even racy, abounding in colloquialisms.

It is gratifying to learn from the publisher's announcement that this thoroughly American book was published simultaneously in French and German translations. According to a writer in the *North American Review* for September, 1908 (p. 467), the German press is greatly "impressed with its judicial aspect". Its reception in France, England and the United States can scarcely be less favorable.

Indeed, this attractive volume deserves a conspicuous place in our libraries by the side of such works as Latané's *America as a World Power*, Moore's *American Diplomacy*, Hart's *Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, Foster's *Century of American Diplomacy* and Reinsch's *World Politics*.

AMOS S. HERSHEY.

MINOR NOTICES

State and Family in Early Rome. By Charles W. L. Launspach, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. (London, George Bell and Sons, 1908, pp. xx, 288.) The introduction states that the central idea of this book is "that the early Roman State was a conscious imitation of the ancient Gens or ancient Family, that its theory of Government was founded upon the relations existing between kinsmen, and that these, again, were determined by religious notions which later became transformed through developments within the City and external influences". The titles of the chapters—the Religious Basis of Roman Society, the Gentes, the Reformed Constitution of Servius Tullius, the Revolt of the Aristocracy, Marriage, Patria, Potestas, etc.—indicate with sufficient clearness the scope of the book.

The author, a barrister-at-law, is evidently a good example of the cultivated Englishman whose interest in classical antiquity is keen and discriminating, and who has read rather widely. He has taken the traditional view of his subject and has produced a readable and generally interesting book for those with tastes similar to his own. As he appears, however, to be quite ignorant of the present state of discussion and criticism in the investigation of his subject, it must be said in all candor that his work has no value for the student, and therefore no criticism from the scientific point of view is in place. For the general reader it would have been much better if many of the technical legal terms and transferred Latin words had been omitted.

S. B. P.

Under the title *Helladian Vistas* (Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1908, pp. vii, 407) Dr. Daniel Quinn has brought together about twenty-five papers which have appeared in various periodicals. These essays are already familiar to students of Greek life, and were they not, Dr. Quinn's known enthusiasm for things Hellenic (or should we say in this instance "Helladic"?) would be a sufficient introduction to the book. The outsider must not suppose, however, that this is merely a bundle of dry classical studies; on the contrary the classical is in the minority. In effect it is rather a book of travel, a sort of personally-conducted tour. We are taken to the Acropolis of Athens, to an Athenian cemetery, to the regions about Mycenae (perhaps we should have said *Akropolis* and *Mykenae*, for Dr. Quinn clings somewhat closely to Greek forms, writing even "Zevs" and "Eleusinian"), and to the vale of Tempe. We are also shown the Olympic Games, and, so far as may be, the Mystic Rites of Eleusis are unfolded to us. But it is to those places to which our classical studies less often lead us that our author oftenest conducts us—to "The Land of the Klephts", to "Mega Spelaeon or the Monas-

tery of the Great Cave", to "The Phaeaks' Island", to Zakynthos ("The Flower of the East"), and to other localities, among which Arkadia and Mesolonghion are not to be forgotten. History, ancient, mediæval and modern, mingles with the description of natural scenery and characterizations of the people. The "tone" is a delightful one and even those who are not classical students will find the book full of interest.

Herculaneum, Past, Present and Future. By Charles Waldstein, Litt.D., Ph.D., L.H.D., Slade Professor of Fine Art in the University and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Leonard Shoobridge, M.A. (London, Macmillan and Company, 1908, pp. xxii, 324.) This is a sumptuous product of the book-maker's art, printed in large type, with wide margins, and illustrated with fifty-nine beautiful plates. In an elaborate introduction the history of Waldstein's propaganda for the international excavation of Herculaneum is set forth with the utmost fullness of detail. Part I. contains chapters on the Topography of Herculaneum, the Inhabitants of the District, the Earthquake of 63 A. D. and the Eruption of 79 A. D., and the History of the Site since the Eruption. Part II. consists of a chapter on Reform in Excavation, and a description of the author's plan for the organization and carrying out of the work. This he assumes would require the services of a resident force of upwards of fifty archaeologists, engineers, chemists and geologists, and would cost one hundred thousand dollars annually for an indefinite period. Five appendices contain the correspondence and documents relating to the scheme of excavation *in extenso*; the passages from the ancient writers that deal with Herculaneum, with translations; a list of the principal objects that have been found, certainly or probably, during previous excavations on this site; a guide to the Villa Suburbana; and finally a bibliography of Herculaneum.

The useful portion of the book comprises the appendices with the exception of the first, the plates, and part I., but unfortunately this last section which should have been made the best and most valuable of all is marred by so many signs of haste and of being a purely perfunctory performance, that it is unsatisfactory. It is the rest of the book, the introduction, the correspondence in appendix I., and the plan of excavation that furnishes the principal reason for its publication. This belongs of course to Waldstein alone, and it is in effect an *apologia*, interesting and amusing enough, but hardly for reasons that would appeal to the author himself. His plan for excavating Herculaneum under the direction of an international staff and with the support of funds collected in all parts of the world has been widely reported and commented on by the press of two continents during the past three years. It was an attractive programme but doomed to failure from the beginning. Crowned heads and ambassadors are useful in their way but not as archaeologists, and social prestige is not a sufficient guarantee of scientific authority. Moreover, under existing conditions, it is

utterly idle to expect to raise any such sum of money as that contemplated by this scheme.

Waldstein's sincerity and zeal cannot be questioned, and in some ways he made out an excellent case, but the obstacles in his path could not be overcome. It was certain that when the critical moment arrived, the Italian authorities with whom the final decision rested would never enter into any such arrangement. Their real attitude is most amusingly shown in the way that the Minister of Public Instruction dodged Waldstein on his last visit to Italy (p. 47).

The description of the organization of the staff and the methods of conducting the excavations supposes the work to be in progress. All the details of daily work and recreation are fully set forth, and the reader is introduced into an archaeological Utopia, but the effect of this is, unfortunately, to diminish any serious impression that other portions of the book may have made.

S. B. P.

Corso di Storia del Diritto Pubblico Germanico. Opera Postuma dal Professore Tullio de Sartori-Montecroce. Pubblicata dal Professore Andrea Galante. (Trento, Tip. G. B. Monauni; Venezia, Tip. Emiliana, 1908, pp. xvi, 443.) Professor Sartori-Montecroce, who died in 1905, held at the university of Innsbruck the "Italian chair of the history of law and German law", a chair founded in response to the demand among the Italian-speaking inhabitants of southern Austria for courses in the university in their own language. In the course of his teaching the history of German law he planned to write a book on this subject, since there existed no general work in Italian, but his premature death prevented this. He left, however, the notes and apparatus which had served as the basis of his lectures, and which he had planned to use in the projected work. The task of editing these notes was undertaken by Professor Galante who transcribed the manuscript notes and amplified them from such annotations as Professor Sartori had made, and from the lecture notes of his students.

The result is a manual of the history of German public law following pretty closely the general lines of the familiar works of Brunner and Schröder. After a general introduction of 19 pages (devoted to a discussion of general topics: content of the subject, sources, literature, auxiliary sciences, and arrangement of material), the work is divided into four periods, following the usual division: I. the Germanic Period; II. the Frankish Period; III. the Middle Age; IV. the Modern Age (to the dissolution of the empire in 1806). Two appendices treat (1) the constitutions of the Confederation of the Rhine, of the German Confederation of 1815, and of the North German Confederation, and (2) the status of jurisprudence in Germany and especially the legislation since the dissolution of the empire.

Within each period the material is treated under two heads, general

history and special history. The former section ("Storia Generale") is devoted to the description of political, social and economic conditions, and to a study of the sources of the laws; the second ("Storia Giuridica Speciale") to particular forms of law, as for instance in the Middle Age, feudalism, the king, the papacy and the empire, the court and the central government, the provincial officials, the diet, etc.

The work should prove of great value to Italian students in general because of the absence of any similar work in Italian. There is no reason to suppose, however, that it will in any way replace for other students the manual of Schröder or other German works of this sort.

E. H. McNEAL.

De Geschiedenis van de Leidsche Lakenindustrie. I. De Middeleeuwen (Veertiende tot Zestiende Eeuw). Door Dr. N. W. Posthumus. ('s-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1908, pp. xii, 452.) Before beginning the history proper of the cloth industry at Leiden as it may be read after an exhaustive examination of the records, Dr. Posthumus refutes to his own satisfaction certain accepted statements as to the antiquity of woollen manufactures in the eastern Netherlands. Such assertion as the one that Friesland cloth had a high reputation in the time of Charles the Great he dismisses as unfounded, while he points out that the garments wrought at the abbey of Werden (c. 1000 A. D.), mentioned as *pallia* were undoubtedly linen, the one *pallium laneum* being referred to as an exception, not the rule. During the thirteenth century cloth manufacture was confined to a very few localities, though the fabric was an important article of retail trade in various quarters of the Low Countries. Its production was a domestic manufacture, a home affair and little developed. Division of labor was not customary, the labor was hand-work and on a small scale and the independent *entrepreneur* (*ondernemer*) was unknown. In the fourteenth century conditions changed. Drapers as well as weavers and other craftsmen began to play an important part in the municipal affairs of Holland and Zeeland. New burghers were attracted into the cities and the industry caused the growth of the towns, and there was a distinct tendency on the part of the city corporations to foster industrial in preference to landed interest.

Information in regard to Leiden itself is very scanty before 1350. The names of the *Fullersgracht* (1316) and the Weavers Lane (1341), prove that cloth-making existed but there is no definite proof that the industry was sufficient to demand recognition in the civic organization at those dates. The oldest statute anent cloth existing in the Leiden archives is a regulation for government inspection before sale (1363). From that year on there is repeated legislation on the subject. Though the draper's craft was probably never as highly developed in Leiden as in Flanders there are two or three peculiarly interesting features that characterized its establishment and growth. From its inception, ap-

parently, division of labor was practiced to a marked degree as is shown by the lists of fleece-washers, combers, spinsters, weavers, fullers, etc., and, further, the master-workmen were not exploiting the industry for their own benefit but were dependent upon capitalistic *entrepreneurs*.

By the end of the fifteenth century Leiden turned out a good supply of cloth and the first twenty years of the sixteenth century saw no diminution in this prosperous activity. Then a decline began, owing to a variety of causes but chiefly to the imperial-French warfare and the first years of the Eighty Years' War prevented a revival. The story is interesting and well told and deserves consideration at the hands of an expert able to make critical comparisons of these conclusions with others for other Netherland cities. Dr. Posthumus intends to carry on his study of the Leiden manufacture to the end of the eighteenth century but he leaves the account of the revival after the siege (1574) for a second volume.

RUTH PUTNAM.

De Armezorg te Leiden tot het Einde van de 16^e Eeuw. Door Dr. Christina Ligtenberg. ('s-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1908, pp. 354.) This volume presents a careful and scholarly history of the care of the poor in the town of Leiden up to the end of the sixteenth century. It is based on a minute examination of the earliest existing records of the various charitable foundations and of the city archives, and contains a study of the relations between private and public measures. As a whole, it is far too valuable to be disposed of in a brief notice. The work should be translated and issued as a publication of some society devoted to the problem it touches.

The topics considered may be indicated by the table of contents—General Introduction, St. Catherine's Hospital, the Women's Hospital, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, the Lepers' House, the Holy Ghost and the Holy Ghost Hospital, Out-paupers, Free Dwellings, the Responsibility of the Authorities for the Care of Paupers. To these are added appendices with documents.

Passing over the history of each of these private foundations, it is interesting to note that the first point made by Dr. Ligtenberg in her résumé is that the manager of every shelter (*gasthuis*) and hospital (*ziekhuis*), the director of the so-called societies of the Holy Ghost—organizations found in nearly every Netherland city—and the overseers of the out-paupers (*huiszitten meesters*) were all alike appointed by the city government, and obliged to render account thereto, no matter what the origin of their funds. This feature differentiates Leiden from other cities where the private institutions were free to manage their affairs at their own sweet will.

A second conclusion is that the individual generosity lavished upon the unknown paupers was not based on a desire to lessen their numbers and remove the evils that made them prey upon society; the benefac-

tions were given for the sake of the givers, to secure for them peace and happiness in the hereafter. Not until the sixteenth century was the problem treated from the point of view of the community. The last benefaction of the old type in Leiden was the Bethany Almshouse, founded in October, 1563. After that date new notions in theology made strides, the attitude changed as to what personal benefit could be secured by the giver. A modern theory of duty to the poor had been outlined by one Vives, a friend of Erasmus. In 1577 in a council meeting of February 20, a certain young burgomaster of Leiden presented a report which showed, as our author put it, that "historic insight that so markedly differentiates the renaissance from the medieval man". He declared that Leiden was suffering from indiscriminate charity, that the numerous convents and foundations had attracted beggars with their alms, and that the rich peasants in the neighborhood had added to this evil by giving largely to rid themselves from the importunity of the army of tramps. He further declared that the capitalistic exploitation of manufacturers had gone hand in hand with pauperism. That was the beginning of new regulations, and their history is left for another volume, which can hardly be as interesting as this, though it will undoubtedly be a contribution to the literature of municipal philanthropy.

RUTH PUTNAM.

The English Factories in India, 1622-1623: a Calendar of Documents in the India Office and British Museum. By William Foster. (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. xl, 389.) This volume of 376 documents maintains the interest already stimulated by its predecessor (*cf.* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII. 879). The excellent introduction provided by the editor and the useful index are good guides to the topics here treated. These include English connections with Portuguese, Dutch, Persian and Indian affairs. First stands material for the history of the siege and capture of Ormus, the decisive event in Anglo-Portuguese rivalry. This achievement in 1622 by Anglo-Persian forces also suggests to the student a precedent for a diplomatic policy which has long regarded an Asiatic ally against a European rival as essential to English interests. In some respects the Anglo-Japanese alliance of our own day, therefore, finds an early historical analogy.

Though the Anglo-Dutch blockade of Goa in 1623 is also here recorded, the progress of Anglo-Dutch rivalry is equally to be noticed. Thus English factors complain that "we carry the name but the Dutch have the gaines" (p. 127) and the "Dutch ys insolent, and feare not to breake all contracts" (p. 128). Finally in 1623 is the mention of "the lamentable death of soe many our good freinds in Amboyna, performed on them by the Dutches crultie" (p. 260). Thus disputes in Connecticut, rivalry as to the fisheries of the Narrow Seas and the memory of the spice trade of Malaya, are all ultimately to promote popular justification for the renaming of New Netherland as New York.

The relations of the English with native authorities in India form another topic of importance. These are now no longer confined to Surat. At sea the English attempted reprisals on native craft for exactions hardly endured on land (*cf. passim* and pp. 283, 341). The result is a new grant of terms for trade at Surat made on November 15, 1623 (p. 322), a fact, which as Mr. Foster points out in his preface, has been "hitherto unnoticed by historians". Furthermore through Pulicat and Masulipatam, on the east coast, the English have already indicated the field of their second sphere of influence in India, which later is to centre at Madras. Here also is there reaction of native politics and wars on the company's commercial ventures.

The vexed problems of religion and race contact are further suggested in various ways. Thus (p. 313) the Persian alliance is criticized because Englishmen ought not to "dispossess Christianitie (although our enemies) to place in faithles Moores, which cannott but bee much displeasinge to Allmightye God". Also the English factors at Pulicat wrote that as the result of Dutch orders 38 mixed marriages have taken place in one day. "All those thatt soe marry heere to blackes are bound and tyde to everlastinge service in India and cannot returne to there cuntrye. Such is there [Dutch] pollicie in that kind, which hath taken effect; and to speake truly most parte of this base nacion desyer nott to see moore there owne cuntrye; yea, there carryadge and manners of lyving is more heathen licke then the people of the country themselves, whoe take much notice thereof; to which brutishnes we leave them" (p. 147).

Did space permit, much more on other matters would be noted, for with the exception of 31 documents more briefly calendared by Mr. Sainsbury (*C. S. P., East Indies, 1622-24*), this material is for the first time in print.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

A Scots Earl in Covenanting Times: Being the Life and Times of Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll (1629-1685). By John Willcock, B.D. (Edinburgh, Andrew Elliot, 1907, pp. xxi, 453.) Covenanting controversy dies hard. More than a hundred and twenty years after the execution of the ninth Earl of Argyll we have from the able pen of Mr. Willcock a biography of that nobleman as full of the zeal which inspired the Covenanters as if it had been written to accompany the Revolution of 1688. In spite of his strong prejudices, perhaps in some degree on account of them, Mr. Willcock has written a good book which is at once useful and readable. The feeling still shown in discussion of the great Covenanting movement gives us some measure of the fervent depth of that movement itself. And the Covenanters have this advantage. They are having the last word. There is not much said nowadays on the other side.

The present work is, as the author states, rather a history of Scotland during the Restoration than a biography of Argyll, though that history is in so far as possible centred about his career, and in the great tragedy of his failure history and biography coincide. None the less, at other times, the titular figure is often shadowy enough, for the ninth earl was in no sense, save at the end, the factor in affairs that his father was in the generation of the Civil Wars. In some ways it seems almost a pity that Mr. Willcock did not frankly take the history rather than the biography for his work. Moreover the book lacks something on the side of the broader setting and deeper background which a fuller account of English affairs in this period would have supplied. In its pages London and the Privy Council seem too far away, much further in fact than they were, from the point of view of English administration, even in the time of Argyll. One may observe, as an instance of this that the omission of the word "Cabal" from the index, itself an indication of omission in the text, shows that English affairs on which those of Scotland so largely depended find here too slight consideration. Thus the dismissal of Turner and Ballantyne (p. 158) hinged on a general policy far more comprehensive even than the pacification of Scotland, and one in no small measure outside the field of Scotch affairs which affected it far less than they were affected by it.

This must be the main criticism of the book. For the rest it is vivid and generally accurate, informed with the spirit of its time, alive with the passions of one of the most unhappy periods of Scotch history. Based as it is on contemporary evidence, its heroes and villains are exalted or convicted out of their own mouths or the less trustworthy accounts of their contemporaries. In many instances, notably the Argyll rebellion, its minuteness of detail is extraordinary. Nowhere is that story told in such detail. And nowhere, one may fairly add, is the whole period so vividly pictured as here. Something may be lacking of sobriety and moderation, something remains to be said on the other side, but it is none the less a book to be reckoned with by him who would understand Scotland, or even England in that time. Despite its evident bias, its display of recondite erudition, fortunately confined to foot-notes, its occasional quaint phraseology, it is an eminently interesting and important piece of work.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Le Mouvement Ouvrier au Début de la Monarchie de Juillet (1830-1834). Par Octave Festy. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne. Tome II., fascicule III.] (Paris, Edouard Cornély et Cie., 1908, pp. 359.) In the history of the labor movement in France, the period from the Revolution of July, 1830, to the adoption of the law concerning associations and insurrections in April, 1834, is of great importance, since within these years this movement first assumed, at least to any marked

degree, a social and even a political character. Economic conditions and the political situation prepared the laboring class to accept some of the social theories of the school of St. Simon, of Buchez, and of Fourier, whether presented to them immediately or through the mediation of certain Republicans; but the new feeling of class-solidarity, of class-importance and of the dignity of labor was chiefly due, not to the acceptance of social theories, but to a consciousness that it was the proletariat who had brought to a successful issue the Revolution of July. The increased sense of their own importance resulted in the formation by the working men of numerous labor associations and in various other efforts to better their own lot. When the monarchy of July turned a deaf ear to their demands it drove them into social and even into revolutionary action.

The above are some of the main conclusions reached by M. Festy in his excellent monograph, in which he describes in great detail the history of the numerous labor coalitions in various trades in different parts of France during his chosen period and carefully traces the modifications of the ideas of the proletariat class, and the development of a programme of social reform. The book is based partly on material from the national and local archives, and on official reports, but to a much greater extent on newspapers and other periodicals.

The Life of Sir Halliday Macartney, K. C. M. G. By Demetrius C. Boulger, with a foreword by Sir James Crichton-Browne, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. (London and New York, John Lane, 1908, pp. xxiii, 515.) Macartney's work in China began with that of Parkes and Wade and Hart and Gordon, all of whom appear to have entertained a sincere regard for him, yet with the same opportunity at the outset he cannot be said to have achieved a reputation equal to any one of theirs. While he kept his honor bright in spite of the continual assaults of temptation, long dealings with unscrupulous officials had the effect of dimming the ideals of his earlier years. Thus while he became what the world recognizes as a sane and safe man of affairs he lost the power of higher flight which is engendered by the spirit.

The abiding interest of this book lies in its admirable and detailed accounts of many important episodes in the contact of China and Europe through half a century. Macartney reached China as an assistant surgeon of a British regiment during the second part of the Arrow War in 1860, and shortly after the conclusion of peace left the service of his country to learn Chinese and make fame or fortune by guiding their affairs. His ambition, as he declared later, was to become an adviser to the throne, after the manner of the Jesuit Verbiest in the seventeenth century, with a vague idea, perhaps, that he might have the luck of a Phaulkon if things went his way. He must have been very ignorant then of the actual conditions in the capital; he learned them later. At the end of his life there was probably no one

in the West more familiar with the detail of Chinese politics. After a period of campaigning with the Ever-Victorious Force, during which Gordon picked him as his successor, Macartney became the superintendent of an arsenal under the immediate patronage of Li Hung Chang. His success in organizing and conducting a pretty effective manufactory of amunition and cannon at Nanking against adverse conditions was remarkable; but the removal of his patron to Tientsin rendered it impossible at last to make head against the jealousy of the officials, and in 1875 he resigned his position to be appointed foreign adviser and secretary to the first Chinese embassy to England. The remainder of his career was passed in the Chinese legation in London until his retirement in 1905 a few months before his death.

The author has assembled letters and documents concerning the negotiation of treaties with Russia (1881) and France (1885), as well as others covering the opium and Burma questions with England, which will render it a volume of permanent value to the student of Chinese history. A few errors and inconsistencies in the spelling of Chinese names are hardly of importance enough to mar an exceptionally good biography.

F. W. WILLIAMS.

The Two Hague Conferences and their Contributions to International Law. By William I. Hull, Ph.D., Professor of History in Swarthmore College, and Member of l'Association des Journalistes de la Haye de la Deuxième Conference de la Paix. (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1908, pp. xiv, 516.) It appears from the preface that "this book was written in the hope that it might be of service" in carrying out the recommendation of the National Educational Association that "the work of the Hague Conferences and of the peace associations be studied carefully, and the results given proper consideration in the work of instruction". Owing mainly to its length, uninteresting style, and amount of detail, it does not seem to be adapted for use as a text-book in colleges and universities, to say nothing of secondary schools.

Judged from another point of view, Professor Hull's book may be pronounced fairly successful. It is a good summary of the discussions and work of the two Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907; and will doubtless prove highly useful to students and teachers of international law as well as to peace advocates.

The arrangement of topics is such that large portions of the book can readily be omitted. For example, the reader solely interested in Arbitration may read the 222 pages devoted to that subject, and omit the 86 pages dealing with Warfare on the Sea, and the 98 pages devoted to Warfare on Land. He may also readily compare both Conferences on particular points; for the work of each is kept carefully distinct, not merely in respect to general subjects but even as to sub-topics. But the

reader who contents himself with the Summary of Results (pp. 449-503) will not obtain a very correct or adequate idea of the real value or significance of the Conferences.

The book is replete with facts which are fairly well organized, and, as a rule, correctly stated, but Professor Hull rigidly abstains from any criticism or interpretation of these facts. Some of the details furnished are alike uninteresting and unimportant. The style is extremely colorless and formal, and lacks warmth and animation or personality.

In his Summary of Results, the author is thoroughly uncritical and greatly overvalues some of the results achieved by the Hague Conference of 1907. He apparently fails to realize that most of the articles specifying neutral rights and duties, both on sea and land, are mere codifications of existing practice, and that the Conference took some steps backward rather than forward. This was notably the case in its regulations on submarine mines, which are characterized (p. 481) as "a very long step". A "long step" indeed, but in the wrong direction.

The work is fairly well proportioned. But the author devotes twenty pages (pp. 390-410) to the technical subject of Arbitral Procedure, and only seventeen pages (pp. 410-427) to the highly important project for a Court of Arbitral Justice, and twenty pages (pp. 370-390) to the Hague Tribunal or so-called Permanent Court of Arbitration. On the other hand, he fortunately devotes seventy-four pages (pp. 297-370) to the interesting subject of Obligatory Arbitration.

The work is almost exclusively based upon the official documents, of which it is indeed a mere summary. It has a good index, but contains no references to the literature of the subject with the exception of Holls's *Peace Conference* with which this volume will hardly bear comparison.

AMOS S. HERSHEY.

Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1601-1646. Edited by William T. Davis, formerly President of the Pilgrim Society. [Original Narratives of Early American History. Volume VI.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, pp. xv, 437.) This edition presents in a convenient and serviceable way one of the most important and interesting of the original narratives of early American history.

• The important details of Bradford's life and the interesting story of the loss, discovery and return to Massachusetts of the original manuscript, are well stated in the introduction. The fact that Bradford was the principal author of "*Mourt's Relation*", so called, is the reason assigned by Mr. Davis to justify the presentation of his argument in support of the theory, probably correct, that the initials "R. G." affixed to the letter to John Pierce which is printed in the *Relation* are the initials of Richard Gardner, a passenger of the *Mayflower*, and not, as has been generally believed by the leading authorities and writers of Pilgrim history, a misprint for R. C., the initials of Robert Cushman.

The notes are helpful but might well have been more extended and more numerous. The editor has used with great freedom the notes of Dr. Deane to the first edition of the *History* published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1856, and it would have been well to have recognized his indebtedness to Dr. Deane more fully and explicitly.

The note on the Compact, p. 106, suggests what is undoubtedly true, that "an undue significance has been given to this Compact". In addition to the logical reasons there given for the suggestion, it might have been well to note also that the words "body politick" in the Compact, upon which so much stress has been laid by many writers, were used by John Robinson in his letter to the Pilgrims at the time of their departure—"You are to become a body politick using amongst yourselves civil government." Not merely the idea and plan for a government by the majority can be found in the charter, patent and letter, but also many of the important phrases used in the Compact itself.

The omission noted on page 367 of the clerical opinions of the ministers, Reynor, Partridge and Chauncey, and the two pages following, seems to the writer not justifiable. Their letters were thought by Bradford important enough to minutely record. These omitted pages of the manuscript are significant of existing conditions in the colony, and the fact that the opinion of the ministers was taken on the question of what acts were to be punished with death is a material one to the student of early New England history, and their reasoning and conclusions have a curious interest. It would seem that the American Historical Association might properly publish in its collection of *Original Narratives of Early American History* the full text of the manuscript, when the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had printed it as a matter of course and without any criticism. If the plan adopted here of expurgating the original narratives to suit the delicacy of later days is generally followed, the value of these reprints will be materially diminished for students of early American history.¹

This edition of the Bradford manuscript fills a present need in view of the fact that the first edition with the excellent notes by Dr. Deane had been long out of print, and the State edition was published without any notes; it will be found of great convenience and value.

Defence of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. By James H. Moore. (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1908, pp. xvi, 157.) The writer of this note has little patience with the whole dispute over the authenticity of the Mecklenburg Declaration, except as an historical puzzle and as a useful exercise for a critical student. The whole controversy proceeds upon the assumption that a declaration like

¹ The point is worthy of discussion. The editor of the series is opposed to expurgation of its texts in any but the most extreme cases. But he believes that, in books intended partly for use in school and college classes, it is justifiable to excise detailed discussions of unnatural sins.—Ed.

the supposed one of May 20 was a noble act, instead of being, as it then was, the rash act of some fanatical radicals who used no reason about the actual state of affairs at that time. Before such a resolution of independence could be greeted as an act of wisdom, all the course of events between May 20, 1775, and July 2, 1776, must have passed before the eyes of the men of the time. Moreover, the supporters of the Mecklenburg claims assume that the act of the Mecklenburgers was of the same class as that of the Continental Congress in 1776; whereas, in fact it has some of the ludicrous character of the act of that famous Abolitionist who seceded from the state of Massachusetts because its attitude toward slavery did not please him. It was not a courageous act because it was a silly, premature, inconsequential act. If the resolution of May 20 could be fully established the fact would not signify that North Carolina was the first colony to take up the idea of independence, for but one county and the radicals in it are concerned. Other colonies contained individuals who had that idea even earlier.

Mr. Moore's book is largely devoted to refuting the arguments of the much more scholarly book by William H. Hoyt, wherein the Declaration of May 20 is held to be a myth. Though Mr. Moore has little or no training in the methods of historical criticism now in vogue, yet he reasons well at times, and in some places—notably pp. 66–69—attacks Mr. Hoyt's conclusions very effectively. Both men have left the field of unbiased historical investigation and become special pleaders. Mr. Moore is scholastic, depending on tradition and the good character of those who carried it down to a later generation. He brings a host of Aristotles to his aid. Indeed, a large part of the book deals in biographical glorification meant to prepare the reader to believe anything that emanates from so saintly personages. His cloud of witnesses is of sufficient size to disturb one who would speak positively against his contention. In fact Hoyt and Moore succeed chiefly in showing us how easy it is to interpret in two different ways the little real testimony we have. Mr. Moore's book is valuable because it contains undoubtedly the best that has been said on his side of the question.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. Edited by I. Minis Hays. Volumes I.–V. [Record of the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Benjamin Franklin. Volumes II.–VI.] (Philadelphia, printed for the American Philosophical Society, 1908, pp. xx, 573; 526; 560; 510; 325.) The record proper of the Franklin bicentennial celebration held at Philadelphia in April, 1906, under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society was issued shortly after that event, as volume I. The calendar of the Franklin Papers, now published in five volumes, one of which is the index, completes the *Record*. Of the known Franklin material the American Philosophical Society possesses

78 per cent. or 13,800 pieces, the Library of Congress 2938 pieces, and the University of Pennsylvania 840 pieces. The history of these papers is given succinctly in the editor's preface. The Library of Congress issued in 1905 a calendar of those papers in its possession, and inasmuch as the present calendar includes, in an appendix, the papers possessed by the University of Pennsylvania, the entire mass of Franklin papers is now made available for historical research.

The letters are not calendared in one chronological order but are separated into four classes: letters to Franklin (occupying the first two volumes and the larger portion of the third, or 1533 pages); letters from Franklin (125 pages); letters to William Temple Franklin (167 pages); and miscellaneous letters (those not belonging in either of the other three classes, 229 pages). A similar classification is followed for the collection of the University of Pennsylvania. Naturally the larger portion of these letters and documents belong to the period of the Revolution, though the material for the ten or eleven years preceding 1774 is not small except by comparison, while there are also a good many papers belonging to the early eighteenth century and some to the seventeenth. For instance, of the 1533 pages devoted to the letters to Franklin (reference is here to the American Philosophical Society's collection only) 24 pages include all of an earlier date than 1763, 133 pages compass the years 1763 to 1773, both inclusive, the period from 1774 to 1790 occupying the remainder. Among the documents antedating the beginning of Franklin's own activities are several originals of historic value. The earliest of the letters to Franklin is of the year 1730 and the earliest from him is of the year 1733. (Just why the page of contents should make the initial date 1757 does not appear.)

A striking fact is the great number of persons who at one time or another wrote to Franklin. The names of many Frenchmen and some French women appear among his correspondents, some with considerable frequency. For instance, from Madame Brillion there are 119 letters. Physicians and scientists hold a particularly prominent place. From Lafayette there are 78. Of letters connected with Franklin's diplomatic mission, there are 222 from Dumas, secret agent in Holland; from John Bondfield (Bordeaux) 94; from John Paul Jones 85; from Arthur Lee 58; from John Adams 53; from William Lee 30. The greatest number of letters from any one individual is 352, from Jonathan Williams (counting only his letters) to Benjamin Franklin. It is noticeable that Americans in public life are hardly at all represented, except for a few men connected with the business of foreign affairs during the war. One series of letters, however, deserves mention, the letters, 99 in number, of James Parker, comptroller of the post-office. These are principally of the years 1764-1770.

The letters from Franklin are for the most part drafts and the more important of them have been printed. Throughout the calendar when a printed text is known to exist the location is noted. The index is

copious, containing numerous subject-references as well as names. In the case of the more important persons a brief statement of identification is appended. The calendar and index are both well done.

The Works of James Buchanan, comprising his Speeches, State Papers and Private Correspondence. Collected and edited by John Bassett Moore. Volume IV., 1838-1841. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1908, pp. viii, 512.) The years covered by this fourth volume of Buchanan's writings, including as they do the larger part of Van Buren's administration and the transition from Democratic to Whig control, constitute a period of especial interest and importance in American politics. Buchanan, still a leading member of the Senate, had an influential hand in most of the business of note which came before that body, and while apparently not courting controversy did not hesitate to declare his opinions. As a whole, therefore, the papers in this volume are of more general significance than those which have preceded them. On the subject of the Northeastern Boundary Buchanan spoke several times, and at length, strongly upholding the claims of the United States at the same time that he was urging moderation and peace. The conservatism which caused him always to respect the established order of things led him, in January, 1839, to oppose a repeal of the salt duty, on the ground that the compromise of 1833 ought to be observed. A few days later he framed a long constitutional argument against a bill to prevent and punish political activity on the part of Federal office-holders. He continued to be mentioned for the vice-presidency, an office for which he had no desire; and in December, 1839, declined the office of attorney-general, though subsequently irritated at the action of Van Buren in giving the place to Gilpin rather than to a Pennsylvanian. He had already expressed the fear that Van Buren, whose hope of renomination was well known, had lost New York, but he later, in the Senate, defended the administration against the charge of extravagance. In August, 1840, he vigorously attacked the Whigs in a speech before the Pennsylvania State Democratic Convention.

He championed the independent treasury project, speaking twice at considerable length, the second time in response to criticisms of him uttered in the House of Representatives; but he could not approve the plan of a "Fiscal Bank". Toward the Abolitionists and their methods his hostility continued strong. In August, 1838, at a Democratic mass-meeting at Lancaster, he denounced Abolition as directly responsible for slave insurrections and the fear of them, as a violation of constitutional compact, and as tending straight toward disunion; and later he rang the changes in much the same fashion, and in February, 1840, defended the recent practice of the Senate in refusing to receive Abolition petitions.

As regards Buchanan's unofficial life, the volume affords little light.

Of the ninety-two pieces here collected, only nineteen are letters, and all of these relate to politics. Evidently politics was becoming the whole of his career, as in our own day it became the career of John Sherman.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

The Justice of the Mexican War: a Review of the Causes and Results of the War, with a view of distinguishing Evidence from Opinion and Inference. By Charles H. Owen. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908, pp. viii, 291.) The subtitle of this book is strikingly like that of Jay's *Review*, which, though published at the end of the Mexican War as an antislavery document, has been extensively used as a basis for the treatment of the war, its causes and results. The idea that a pro-slavery conspiracy for the annexation of Texas and the despoilment of Mexico was in existence as early as the Austin settlement in Texas has had wide currency. The present book is an attempt to disprove it by "distinguishing evidence and opinion". The result is not altogether successful for the reason, first, that no new evidence is produced to maintain the general thesis, and, second, that the author seems unable to rid himself of the idea that the Mexican War was an immediate and necessary result of annexation. Included as causes of the war are the topics of Texan history: colonization, revolution, independence and its recognition by the United States, claims against Mexico, and annexation. The author's principal dependence seems to have been Niles's *History of South America and Mexico* (1838) and Yoakum's *Texas* (1856). These he opposes to those American historians, grouped somewhat amusingly, who have denied that "Uncle Sam is always a gentleman." Thus while opinion was to have been distinguished from evidence, personal opinion steps in and the book ends with a warning to "such authors as the labors of professorships hamper in the labor of independent historical investigation—not to be blinded by the glamour of great names and the opinions of great and noble men, and not to follow the multitude into the error of construing facts into conformity with somebody's preconceived theory". This praiseworthy warning might carry greater weight had it not been preceded by so many pages bearing serious inaccuracies of statement. That the majority of the American people favored annexation (p. 30); that they enthusiastically sustained the Mexican War (p. 30); that the British at Ghent attempted to seize Louisiana (p. 240); that Slidell was sent home August 1, 1846 (p. 264); that Taylor was ordered to the Rio Grande the same day (p. 266); that in 1846 war was unhesitatingly offered to Great Britain and France as well as to Mexico (p. 253), are some of the more or less novel suggestions, taken almost at random.

J. S. R.

Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, volume III.; Lincoln Series, volume I. *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*. Edited with introduction and notes by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph.D., President of the Pennsylvania State College. (Springfield, Illinois, State Historical Library, 1908, pp. xi, 627.) Students of American politics will be grateful for this newest edition of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. For many reasons it is likely to be the definitive edition. The circumstances under which the original edition appeared in 1860 were such as to cause, then and subsequently, many doubts as to the accuracy of the text; and not even the asseverations of Lincoln and the publishers, that he had made only verbal changes in editing his speeches, satisfied his opponents. President Sparks has performed the tedious task of comparing the reprinted speeches of both Lincoln and Douglas with the speeches as reported for, and printed in, their respective newspaper organs—the *Chicago Press and Tribune* and the *Chicago Times*. The result attests anew Lincoln's veracity and lays for all time the ghost of the old charge.

But the title of the book hardly suggests the wealth of other material which it contains. With rare discrimination the editor has selected from the contemporary press such references to, and comments upon, the campaign as give local color to the debates, weaving all together with deft editorial touches. That these excerpts are often bitterly partizan and vindictive does not, of course, detract from their historical value as a sort of atmospheric background. It is possible, however, that the editor would have done well to put the unwary reader on his guard by indicating the political persuasion of the newspaper from which each excerpt was made. Yet in most cases the bias is so obvious that comment is unnecessary. Additional newspaper material is grouped in chapters bearing such titles as Election Day and its Results, Humor of the Campaign, Campaign Poetry, etc. The volume contains also an account by the editor of the various editions of the debates, a bibliography of the debates, and an index.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

The Story of the New England Whalers. By John R. Spears. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908, pp. 418.) The first six chapters of this book relate to the early history of the whaling industry, especially at Nantucket. Then follow five chapters giving adventures of whalers and a description of the methods of capturing whales. The remaining chapters treat of Whaling as a Business Enterprise, the Mutineers and Slavers, Tales of Whalers in the Civil War, and In the Later Days. The personal element so predominates that the title ought to have been "Stories of the New England Whalers". The reader will find it interesting reading and will obtain a vivid impression of whaling life, but other and more important phases of the story are either lacking or inadequately treated. The work is based largely on sec-

ondary material, such as earlier accounts of the whale fishery and local histories. It accordingly adds very little to our knowledge of the subject. The classic treatise by Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery from its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876*, still gives the best account of the early history of this subject.

Slight attention is paid to the influence of the whalemens on the economic and social development of New England. For a treatment of this important topic and an interpretation of the story, not a mere chronicle nor a series of adventures and stories, one must turn to a recent monograph of high value, *A History of the American Whale Fishery*, by Walter S. Tower (Philadelphia, 1907). This is a scholarly and comprehensive account of the subject, with statistics and tables, showing capital invested, number of people engaged, number and tonnage of vessels at different whaling ports 1794-1906, annual imports and exports of whale products and the average annual price of oil and bone. Mr. Spears quotes many books but omits to mention this the most important for the period 1815 to 1860, well named "The Golden Era of Whaling".

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

The Niagara River. By Archer Butler Hulbert, Professor of American History, Marietta College. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908, pp. xiii, 319.) The author has treated of the Niagara in its geologic, scenic, historic, dynamic and picturesque aspects, and has succeeded in his apparent purpose of producing a "popular" volume, which many illustrations and good printing make attractive. Compiled from many sources, it lacks the literary distinction which the theme should inspire. The historical chapters derive value from the use of early and rare maps; but although many of the best authorities are cited and liberally quoted or paraphrased, no use appears to have been made of the principal collection of historical data on this subject—the *Publications* of the Buffalo Historical Society—by the aid of which these chapters might have been made far more complete, especially on the French period of control. Only in slight degree is Mr. Hulbert's work a contribution to history. The unquestioning spirit in which newspaper accounts of Niagara "cranks" and sundry phenomena have been accepted has filled some of the chapters with errors or dubious statements, e. g., the alleged passage over the falls of "Steve" Brodie. Even less excusable are errors dealing with important events of which authentic records are readily available. The Devil's Hole massacre did not occur as the victims were on their way "from Lewiston to the upper fort" (p. 214), but as they were returning from Schlosser's towards Fort Niagara. The "castle" at Fort Niagara was not begun in 1725 (p. 200), but in 1726. *De Nonville* should be de Denonville. The battle of Lundy's Lane, stated on page 46 to have occurred July 5, 1814, was fought July 25, as correctly given on page 281. The many errors of this sort, and the

inadequacy of the historical chapters, detract from its value, even for the use and entertainment of the unexacting "general reader".

The Making of Colorado: a Historical Sketch. By Eugene Parsons. (Chicago, A. Flanagan Company, 1908, pp. 324.) The making of Colorado is an interesting story which is by no means told in Mr. Parsons's little book bearing that title. It is a part of the Westward Movement, dealing with the significance of geography and the trails, the lure of gold, and the struggle, within the artificial bounds of a young state, of highly varied social and economic interests. The making was begun in the fifties; it is not yet done; and Mr. Parsons, in spite of his title, has scarcely heard of it.

There are two large works on Colorado history which, together, have made possible this little elementary digest. Frank Hall's four volume history, though journalistic and inaccurate, is still valuable as the work of an active pioneer. Jerome C. Smiley's *Denver* is exhaustive, well-illustrated and more scholarly than most local histories. These works have been used frankly and constantly here. Some other titles are mentioned by Mr. Parsons in his bibliography, but they have not served to improve the balance or coherence of his story. It is not alone the hand of man whose work is here described. The first section of the book deals with geography and geology, with "predatory reptilian monsters" and the "bird-footed Dinosaur". In later chapters are reviewed, disjointedly, the explorations of Pike and Long, of Fremont and Gunnison. The early territorial period receives ample treatment of its kind in chapters on Denver, the rush for gold, and the Indian troubles, upon the last of which Mr. Parsons has formed a judicial, scholarly opinion. But the real building of the state is dismissed with casual mention of its railways, mines and agriculture. The sources which Mr. Parsons followed gave him little light upon later Colorado, and he has made no independent study for himself. He concludes his book with chapters on constitution, public institutions, and education, with obvious desire to suit his work to the needs of elementary schools desiring history readers. History, biography, geology and archaeology all serve his purpose, not to mention his poetic introductory:

"Through vistas of the far-off years
I see the trains of pioneers.
Their schooners headed for Pike's Peak;
The shining grains of gold they seek."

Smiley and Hall are quite sufficient upon the general history of Colorado until someone shall exceed their learning and improve upon their skill.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Canadian Types of the Old Régime, 1608-1698. By Charles W. Colby, Professor of History in M'Gill University. (New York, Henry Holt

and Company, 1908, pp. ix, 366.) In this very attractive little volume Professor Colby has printed a series of lectures which he delivered to a popular audience in the Canadian capital a year or two ago. Each lecture has become a chapter, and each is intended to discuss, in a general way and without undue multiplication of details, some salient and outstanding feature of French colonization during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The men who came from France to found a Bourbon empire in the New World were the representatives of a versatile race; their tastes and capabilities led into fields which were far apart; their exploits covered the continent from the mouth of the Mississippi to the shores of Hudson Bay; and from among their leaders one might have little difficulty in choosing a score of the most picturesque types in American history. Dr. Colby has taken upon himself the pleasant task of ranging broadly through the history of New France, selecting with due discrimination from the list of eligibles eight striking figures around whose careers he weaves his story of how French dominion rose and fell. Thus the narrative of early discoveries and explorations ranges itself around the intrepid personality of Samuel Champlain; the life and martyrdom of Jean Brébeuf forms the main theme in a discussion of French missionary zeal and aspirations; while the unobtrusive career of Louis Hébert, first seigneur of the St. Lawrence valley, furnishes the guiding thread in a survey of what colonial agriculture was able to achieve during its swaddling days. Passing on to the heyday of French power and aggressiveness, the soldier Lemoyne d' Iberville and the trader Du Lhut afford the types wherewith one may measure the capabilities of colonial France in the arts of war and peace; while around the commanding figures of Laval, Talon and Frontenac the author ranges his lucid exposition of the merits and faults of that system under which New France essayed to administer her affairs of church and state.

Professor Colby asserts with emphatic frankness that his book contains no new material and that it uses only the work of others. Some readers may be lured into taking him at his word; but there are others who will know better. For in its general conception and method, in the facility and success with which the author is able to interpret the history of New France by reference to what was going on beyond the seas, and in his suggestive analysis of the motives which guided men and dictated movements the volume gives us much that is new, and gives it, moreover, in a form and style so attractive that it will undoubtedly prove both interesting and profitable to a wide circle of readers. In the field of Canadian history it is the most readable book that has appeared for many a day.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

TEXT-BOOKS

The Making of the English Constitution, 449-1485. By Albert Beebe White, Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908, pp. xxvii, 410.) This work by a professor in a Western state university is an excellent indication of the interest of American students in the history of the great institutional mother-land. The period of English constitutional history that Professor White deals with is the formative age from the coming of the English tribes to Britain to the accession of the first Tudor ruler. The first sixty pages of the text constitute part I., on the Anglo-Saxon Period, 449-1066. Here we have a brief and, on the whole, rather too general account of the institutional history of this important and fundamental period. Although the sources of information for Anglo-Saxon institutions are few they are sufficient in scope and reliability to justify a more definite and illuminating account of pre-Conquest government than Professor White seems able to give. It is evident, however, that the author takes a strongly favorable attitude towards Continental influence in English institutional development, and in part II. of the work there is an interesting and well-worked-out account of the Norman Conquest and its more immediate results as indicated in the mingling of Anglo-Saxon and Norman institutions.

The main portion of the work is contained in part III. where the making of the judiciary, the executive, and Parliament are dealt with. The first of these topics is treated at somewhat inordinate length as compared with the space given to the other two. Professor White's treatment of the executive is the least satisfactory of the three divisions, and he lays himself open to serious criticism in regard to the origin, development and character of the council by insisting on its continuity from the Norman *Curia Regis* and in failing to be definite and explicit as to its later character and development. The account of the making of Parliament is far more satisfactory but is less thorough and comprehensive than the chapter on the judiciary.

As Professor White has designed his work for text-book uses he does not make any really positive contribution to our knowledge of English institutions but seeks to give an interpretation of English constitutional and legal history based on the best secondary authorities. He shows himself a very faithful disciple of the late Professor Maitland and of Professor G. B. Adams and copious extracts from the well-known and easily obtainable works of these two writers take up space in both text and foot-notes. In view of the marked lack of critical and bibliographical foot-notes in connection with many controverted questions it would seemingly have been better to have omitted some of these long quotations and given the space to critical

and bibliographical notes. A select and annotated bibliography and lists of topical readings are prefaced to the work and will be of use to both teachers and students. Among the mistakes and printers' errors noted by the reviewer the following seem most important: *Litchfield* (p. 65) for Lichfield, *Stewarts* (p. 157) for Stuarts, *Cheney* (pp. 184, 186) for Cheyney. In general appearance and make-up the book is attractive, and is provided with a serviceable index.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1898. Edited with notes by William MacDonald, Professor of History in Brown University. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908, pp. xii, 616.) This volume, as indicated by the preface, has been prepared in order to meet the requests of teachers for documents suitable "for courses of instruction of an elementary or comprehensive character, or which cover both the colonial and the constitutional periods of American history in a single year". By condensation and the omission of certain provisions, the selections constitute about two-thirds of those to be found in *Select Charters*, *Select Documents* and *Select Statutes*. While it is probable that no two persons would agree upon what should be included in a single-volume "Documentary Source Book", it must be acknowledged that this one does contain, in general, the fundamental charters and statutes. The Constitution of the United States, however, is easily accessible and the space assigned it might well have been devoted to three documents included in *Select Charters* not so available for class use; namely, Albany Plan of Union; Virginia Resolutions of March 12, 1773; and Petition to the King, July 8, 1775.

The suggestive introductory notes of the earlier volumes have been retained with slight changes. Professor MacDonald has performed a real service for the teachers of history by bringing together in a single convenient volume this kind of supplementary material.

J. A. J.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

Achille Luchaire, professor of medieval history at the Sorbonne, died on November 13, at the age of sixty-two. Taking his doctor's degree at the École Normale in 1877 with a thesis on Alain le Grand, sieur d'Albret, he became in 1879 professor in the university of Bordeaux, devoting himself at first to medieval philology. In 1880 the academy offered a prize for a work on the growth of the royal power under the first six Capetians. Luchaire won it, and in 1883 brought out the first edition of his *Institutions Monarchiques de la France sous les premiers Capétiens*, followed in 1885 and 1890 by his catalogues of the acts of Louis VII. and Louis VI. In 1888 he became *professeur-suppléant*, in 1890 professor, at the Sorbonne. In 1892 he published his *Manuel des Institutions Féodales*, eight years later the portions of Lavissee's *Histoire de France* relating to the period 987-1226. Turning then to the history of the papacy, he spent in Rome many months of the years 1902-1907, and published in six small volumes a remarkable history of Innocent III. He was a foremost leader in that process of basing medieval history on solid documents rather than on chronicles and memoirs, which has in the last thirty years been so notably carried out in France.

Mr. Worthington C. Ford has resigned his position as Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress to accept the office of editor of publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Few readers of this journal, and certainly none who have visited the Division of Manuscripts, need to be told what invaluable service Mr. Ford has rendered to the library during the past six years, how extensive have been the acquisitions due to his activity, persuasiveness and knowledge of the field, nor how completely that knowledge and the resources of the Division have been placed at the service of historical scholars. A greater approach has been made toward creating in Washington an historical archive for scholars than in all the years preceding. Mr. Ford's successor in charge of this priceless collection is Mr. Gaillard Hunt, hitherto a chief of division in the Department of State, and known by several excellent historical publications.

Mr. Clarence S. Brigham of the Rhode Island Historical Society goes to Worcester to become, from January 1, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society. Mr. Howard M. Rice succeeds him as librarian of the society first named.

Mr. William O. Scroggs, hitherto of the editorial department of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, has been elected assistant professor of history and economics in the Louisiana State University. Professor Scroggs has nearly completed for the Carnegie Institution a financial history of Alabama and has well in progress a life of William Walker, the filibuster.

Professor Jesse Macy of Iowa College and James A. Woodburn of Indiana University are to teach at Stanford University during the second semester of the present academic year.

Professor Ernst Daenell of the University of Kiel is lecturing through the autumn and winter quarters at the University of Chicago.

Guglielmo Ferrero, the author of *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, is now in the United States and will lecture at the Lowell Institute and elsewhere during the winter.

Professor A. C. Coolidge of Harvard, Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia, and Dr. Hiram Bingham of Yale were among the delegates appointed by the Secretary of State to represent the United States at the first Pan-American Scientific Congress, held at Santiago de Chile in the concluding days of December.

When these pages appear the American Historical Association will have had its twenty-fourth annual meeting, occurring at Washington on December 28 and 29 and at Richmond on December 29-31. The meeting in Washington is made especially notable by the joint session with the American Political Science Association, at which the British Ambassador, the Right Honorable James Bryce, reads his inaugural address as president of that society, and by a reception offered by him and by Mrs. Bryce to the members of both societies at the British Embassy. The meeting at Richmond opens with the inaugural address of Professor George B. Adams, as president of the American Historical Association, an address printed in the present issue of this journal, and closes with a session devoted to the history of the Wilderness campaign, discussed by one of the last surviving generals of the Confederacy, and one of its most eminent military critics, General E. P. Alexander, by Colonel William R. Livermore, U. S. A. retired, and by Major Eben Swift of the General Staff, U. S. A. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association holds its semi-annual meeting in Richmond at the same time. After the close of the sessions there is an excursion to Charlottesville on New Year's day, upon invitation of the University of Virginia.

An extensive account of the International Congress for the Historical Sciences, held at Berlin in August, will be found in the weekly numbers of the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* from August 22 to October 3 inclusive. Another is in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XI. 3, Nachrichten und Notizen, II., and another by M. Gabriel Monod, in the *Revue Historique* for November-December. The address read by Dr. David J. Hill, American ambassador in Berlin, at the opening session of the Congress, which

was printed in English in the last number of this journal, appears in its German text in the *Neue Revue*, number 20, with the title "Der ethische Beruf des Geschichtsschreibers".

A report of the third International Congress for the History of Religions, held at Oxford from September 15 to 18, is published in the *Nation* of October 1. The official report of the Congress in two volumes has been published by the Clarendon Press.

The Library of Congress has acquired the private library of the late H. J. Hvitfeldt-Kaas, formerly the state archivist of Norway, a collection of over five thousand volumes. It has also received, as gifts, the papers of Judge Harry Innes, illustrating the early history of Kentucky, and those of the Washington banking firms of Riggs and Company and Corcoran and Riggs.

Macmillan has issued the second volume of Professor E. Westermarck's *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (1908, pp. xv, 852).

F. Heman's comprehensive *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes seit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Stuttgart, Vereinsbuchhandlung, pp. 600) contains many details regarding the Jews in the Orient and Occident in early and modern times, with separate chapters on their relations with Islam and their history in Spain, France, England, Italy, Germany and Poland.

An English translation of the *History of the Papacy*, by Professor Gustav Krüger, of Giessen, a comprehensive survey of the subject from St. Peter down to the present day, will be published by Mr. Fisher Unwin.

It is announced by the Hakluyt Society that Messrs. William Foster and Basil H. Soulsby are preparing an "Abstract of and Index to the First Series", volumes 1-100, of the publications of the society.

A lucid account of *The Law of Oresme, Copernicus, and Gresham* (Philadelphia, Allen, Lane and Scott, 1908, pp. 21) and of the circumstances under which each of these students independently discovered the law, is given in a paper read before the American Philosophical Society, April 23, 1908, by Thomas Willing Balch, and separately printed. The same author is publishing through the same house *L'Évolution de l'Arbitrage Internationale*, printed last summer in the *Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée*.

The *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. XXXV., part II., contains a valuable article on the historical connections between Buddhism and Christianity by Professor Arthur Lloyd, and an essay on Food and Wealth by a medieval Japanese author.

ANCIENT HISTORY

At the instance of the Committee for Anthropology six lectures were delivered at Oxford University in Michaelmas Term of this year by

A. J. Evans, Andrew Lang, Gilbert Murray, F. B. Jevons, J. L. Myres and W. W. Fowler, on the European Diffusion of Primitive Pictography and its Bearings on the Origin of Script; Homer and Anthropology; The Early Greek Epic; Graeco-Italian Magic; Herodotus and Anthropology; and Lustratio. The Clarendon Press has published these lectures under the title *Anthropology and the Classics* (1908, pp. 191).

Full lists with hieroglyphic characters of Egyptian royal names found on the monuments, with preliminary chapters on Egyptian royal names and Egyptian chronology and a list of papers bearing thereon, are given by Dr. A. E. Wallis Budge in *The Book of the Kings of Egypt* (Kegan Paul, 1908, pp. lxxxviii, 195, 281), vols. XXIII. and XXIV. of the series of "Books on Egypt and Chaldaea".

The first volume of *L'Ancienne Égypte d'après les Papyrus et les Monuments*, by M. Eugène Revillout of the Louvre, treats of the romance of chivalry and *chanson de geste* in ancient Egypt; historical romance; apologue; the middle age of Pharaonic Egypt in art and customs; religion and patriotism; and psychology in Egyptian art.

The Rev. Professor T. K. Cheyne has published through A. and C. Black a work on *The Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah*.

The second volume of Walter Otto's important work on *Priester und Tempel im Hellenistischen Ägypten* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1908, pp. vi, 417) contains chapters on Die Ausgaben der Tempel, Die Kultusverwaltung, Die Soziale Stellung der Priester, and Das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche.

Mrs. Harriet Boyd Hawes has published an account of the excavations of the Wells-Houston-Cramp expeditions in 1901, 1903 and 1904, under the title *Gournia, Vasiliki, and other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete*. The large folio volume also includes a catalogue *raisonné* of finds, monographs on Minoan civilization, and twenty-four photogravure plates. Only three hundred copies will be issued. Orders should be sent to Mrs. C. H. Hawes, Madison, Wisconsin.

Among the papers in the thirty-eighth volume of the *Transactions* of the American Philological Association are "The Theatre as a Factor in Roman Politics under the Republic", by Professor F. F. Abbott, and "The Distribution of Oriental Cults in the Gauls and the Germanies", by Professor C. H. Moore.

The first volume of an authorized translation of the seventh enlarged and revised edition of Ludwig Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte Roms* has been published by L. A. Magnus under the title *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (Dutton, 1908, pp. xxviii, 428).

The condition of the slave in private law from Augustus to Justinian is set forth in *The Roman Law of Slavery* (Cambridge University Press, 1908, pp. 735) by W. W. Buckland, fellow and tutor of Gonville and Caius College.

Mr. E. G. Hardy's second series of *Studies in Roman History*, treating of the Armies and Frontier Relations of the German Provinces, the Four Emperors' Year, and a Military Game of Chess, will be published early in the year by Sonnenschein.

Claudian as an Historical Authority, by Dr. J. H. E. Crees, the Thirlwall prize essay of 1906 with an additional chapter coming down to the death of Stilicho in 408, is being published by the Cambridge University Press.

The second and concluding part of *Le Siam Ancien* (Paris, Leroux, forty-eight plates), a work of archaeology, epigraphy and historical geography, by M. L. Fournereau, has been published by the Musée Guimet.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. H. Howorth, *The Germans of Caesar*, II. (English Historical Review, October).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

A posthumous work by Professor Charles Bigg on *The Origin of Christianity* is being seen through the Oxford University Press by Dr. T. B. Strong, Dean of Christ Church, and will, it is hoped, be published early in this year.

A collection of papers on early Christian history, *Lukan and Pauline Studies*, by Sir W. M. Ramsay, is being published through Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.

The *Expositor* for November contains an article by W. M. Calder entitled "A Fourth-Century Lycaonian Bishop", which contains the text of a long Greek inscription recently discovered by Mr. Calder at Laodiceia Combusta, which Sir W. M. Ramsay describes as "one of the outstanding and exceptional historical documents that the soil of Anatolia has preserved to modern times".

Two works were published last year on the economic and social philosophy of St. Augustine in their relation to Christian ethics. In *Das Wirtschaftsprogramm der Kirche des Mittelalters* Professor Theodor Sommerlad argues that Augustine's economic and social theories differed widely from those of the Gospel, while Professor Ignaz Seipel takes a different view in his volume on *Die Wirtschaftsethischen Lehren der Kirchenväter* (Vienna, Mayer).

Professor W. K. Prentice of Princeton University has published through the Century Company the third part of the *Publications* of the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, a volume of *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, with translations, which in many instances throw light on the life and thought of early Christian communities in Syria.

Documentary publications: C. Schmidt, *Der Erste Clemensbrief in Altägyptischer Uebersetzung* [Texte und Untersuchungen, XXXII. 1]. (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1908, pp. 160.)

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Under the title *Jordanes: the Origin and Deeds of the Goths* (Princeton, 1908, pp. ix, 100) Dr. C. C. Mierow has printed, as part of his doctoral thesis, the first English version that has appeared of the *Getica* of Jordanes.

The English Correspondence of Saint Boniface, translated and edited, with an introductory sketch of the life of St. Boniface, by E. J. Kylie, is a recent addition to the series of King's Classics (Chatto and Windus).

Die Datierung in der Geschichtsschreibung des 10. Jahrhunderts (Griefswald, 1908, pp. 92), a scholarly dissertation by Paul Hildebrand, a pupil of Professor Ernst Bernheim, supplements the similar studies by H. Hinrichs (1907) and E. Moll (1898), which relate to the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively.

A document of great importance to historians of the Crusades and of the Moslem East in the eleventh and twelfth centuries has been edited by M. H. F. Amedroz under the title *Ibn al Qalanisi: History of Damascus* (Leyden, Brill, 1908, pp. 48, 397). Besides the Arabic text of the history the book contains important unpublished fragments of other authors, and, in the introduction, a résumé of the work.

The Clarendon Press has recently published an important treatise of the celebrated Abbot of Clairvaux under the title *Saint Bernard on Consideration* (1908, pp. 169). The work is now first translated into English by G. Lewis.

A recent publication of the Görres-Gesellschaft is Dr. Paul Maria Baumgarten's work entitled *Von der Apostolischen Kanzlei: Untersuchungen über die Päpstlichen Tabellionen und die Vizekanzler der Heiligen Römischen Kirche im XIII., XIV., und XV. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, Bachem, 1908, pp. 186).

The first volume published by the British Society of Franciscan Studies, is a *Liber Exemplorum ad Usus Praedicatorum* (Aberdeen, 1908, pp. 177), a manual for the use of preachers, preserved in manuscript in the Library of Durham Cathedral. The book was compiled between 1270 and 1279 by an English Franciscan for some time resident in Ireland, and is the earliest work of its kind by a Franciscan that has been printed. It reveals the standard of taste and morals and the mental attitude of the writer and of those for whom he wrote, but it contains no allusion to Franciscan ideas or legends and adds extremely little to our knowledge of events. The editor is Dr. A. G. Little.

In the *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1908, 4, W. Meyer prints two thirteenth-century poems on the history of the Cistercians, and the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* for May-August, contains a fourteenth-century defense of the same order, printed by N. Valois.

An important article entitled *Die Heilige Elisabeth und Papst Gregor IX.*, published by Karl Wenck, in the review *Hochland* for November, 1907, has been separately issued through the house of Jos. Kösel, Munich.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. La Mantia, *Capitoli Angioini sul Diritto di Sigillo della Cancelleria Regia per la Sicilia posteriori al 1272* [Extract from the Archivio Storico Siciliano, XXXII. (1907)] (Palermo, pp. 26); E. Göller, *Zur Geschichte des Päpstlichen Sekretariats* (Quellen und Forschungen, XI. 2); A. Fierens, *La Question Franciscaine: Le Manuscrit II. 2326 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, con. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October); H. Grauert, *Aus der Kirchenpolitischen Traktatenliteratur des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXIX. 3); A. Bayot, *Un Traité Inconnu sur le Grand Schisme dans la Bibliothèque des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

An *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, by Eduard Fuchs (Munich, Langen), which is being published in parts, will be completed in three volumes, each containing four hundred and fifty text illustrations and from fifty to sixty double-page illustrations.

The second volume of Dr. J. E. Sandys's *History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge University Press, 1908) extends from the revival of learning to the end of the eighteenth century in Italy, France, England and the Netherlands. Volume three treats of the eighteenth century in Germany and the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States.

In the Görres-Gesellschaft series of *Studien und Darstellungen*, Dr. O. Hartig has edited a posthumous work of Dr. R. Stauber, a study of *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1908, pp. xvi, 277), which is a contribution to the history of the spread of the Italian Renaissance, of humanism, and of medical literature.

The contents of the first volume of *Die Renaissance in Briefen von Dichtern, Künstlern, Staatsmännern, Gelehrten und Frauen*, edited by Dr. Lothar Schmidt (Leipzig, Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1908), are: Einleitung; Der Briefstil; Der Brief der Humanisten der Italienischen Frührenaissance; Der Brief bei den Humanisten des 15. Jahrhunderts; Der Religiöse Brief in Siena; Der Bürgerliche Brief in Florenz.

In the October number of this REVIEW (p. 198) we referred to Father E. Palandri's dissertation on *Les Négociations Politiques et Religieuses entre la Toscane et la France à l'Époque de Cosme I^{er} et de Catherine de Médicis (1544-1580), d'après les Documents des Archives de l'État à Florence et à Paris*. This work has now been issued through Picard, with an appendix of documents occupying fifty pages.

A *Missionsatlas der Brüdergemeinde*, published through the Moravian Brethren's Missions-Buchhandlung, Herrnhut, contains eighteen charts with explanatory texts, and valuable geographical and historical data.

An *Allgemeine Geschichte des Zeitungswesens* has been issued in the Sammlung Götschen (Leipzig, Götschen, pp. 180) by Ludwig Salomon, the author of an excellent *Geschichte des Deutschen Zeitungswesens*, in three volumes.

Modern Constitutions (University of Chicago Press, 1908), by Dr. W. F. Dodd, contains the English text of the constitutions or fundamental laws of the Argentine Nation, Australia, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States.

Geschichte der Neuzeit: Das Nationale und Soziale Zeitalter seit 1815 (Berlin, Ullstein, 1908, pp. xix, 648) forms the sixth volume in Professor J. von Pflugk-Harttung's *Weltgeschichte*.

M. de Martens is about to publish the fifteenth volume of his great work on the diplomatic relations of Russia with foreign powers, *Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances Étrangères*. Besides the texts of the diplomatic documents it includes a survey of Russia's diplomatic relations with France from 1823 to 1857.

The Bernstorff Papers: the Life of Count Albrecht von Bernstorff, by Dr. Karl Ringhoffer, has been translated by Mrs. C. E. Barrett-Lennard and M. W. Hoper, with an introduction by Sir Rowland Blennerhassett (Longmans, 1908, 2 vols.). Count Bernstorff was the Prussian representative at the English court for many years, notably during the Crimean War and the Franco-German War.

The first volume of Adolphe de Circourt's *Souvenirs d'une Mission à Berlin en 1848* (Paris, Picard) has been edited by M. Georges Bourgin, archivist at the Archives Nationales, for the Society of Contemporary History.

An Austrian Diplomatist in the Fifties (Cambridge University Press, 1908), the Rede Lecture of 1908, by Sir Ernest Satow, treats of Hübner, whose journals of his residence in Paris as Austrian representative from 1849 to 1859 were published in 1904.

M. Austin Tardieu's *France and the Alliances* (Macmillan, 1908, pp. x, 314) is the outcome of lectures delivered by him in 1907 before the French Circle of Harvard University. The book describes the political relation of France to the other powers, including the United States, since the Franco-Prussian War, presenting an outline history of European diplomacy during this period.

The second part of the British *Official History of the Russo-Japanese War* (Wyman) begins after the battle of the Yalu and goes up to, but does not include, the battle of Liao-Yang. While the first part was issued in 1906 by the General Staff, this second part has been prepared by the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence. *The*

Russo-Japanese War: the Ya-lu, prepared in the Historical Section of the German General Staff, has been translated by Lieutenant Karl von Donat and published by Messrs. Hugh Rees.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Willaert, *Négoçiations Politico-Religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas Catholiques (1598-1625): Intervention des Souverains Anglais en Faveur du Protestantisme aux Pays-Bas*, concl. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, October); P. Hiltebrandt, *Preussen und die Römische Kurie in der Zweiten Hälfte des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (*Quellen und Forschungen*, XI. 2); L. André, *La Candidature de Christine de Suède au Trône de Pologne (1668)* (*Revue Historique*, November-December); J. H. Rose, *The Franco-British Commercial Treaty of 1786* (*English Historical Review*, October); C. Mirbt, *Die Geschichtsschreibung des Vatikanischen Konzils* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CI. 3); L. Renault, *L'Oeuvre de La Haye, 1899 et 1907* (*Annales des Sciences Politiques*, July).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

A Royal Commission has been appointed to inventory the monuments and constructions connected with, or illustrative of, the culture, civilization and conditions of life of the people in England from the earliest times to the year 1700, and to specify those that seem most worthy of preservation. The Commission consists of Lord Burghclere, the Earl of Plymouth, Viscount Dillon, Lord Balcarres, Sir H. H. Howorth, Sir John F. F. Horner, Mr. E. J. Horniman, Professor F. J. Haverfield, Mr. L. Stokes, vice-president of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Mr. J. Fitzgerald, assistant secretary to H. M. Office of Works, and Mr. J. G. N. Clift, honorary secretary to the British Archaeological Association.

In W. Johnson's volume entitled *Folk-Memory, or the Continuity of British Archaeology* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. 416), the author aims at "a co-ordination and recombination of scattered facts selected from the great storehouse". He treats of the Stone and Bronze Ages at length, agriculture and marling, deneholes, old roads, etc. A chapter of references and bibliography fills 32 pages.

Mr. Hubert Hall's *Studies in English Official Historical Documents* (Cambridge, University Press, 1908, pp. xv, 404) will be of inestimable aid to the student and record-worker. Part I. treats of the history, classification and analysis of archives and of the bibliography of English official historical documents with numerous illustrative appendices. "The Diplomatic of Official Historical Documents", and "The Palaeography of Official Documents" are the subjects of the second and third parts. From the same press and edited by Mr. Hall comes *A Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents*, part I., *Diplomatic Documents, 704-1837* (1908; pp. xvi, 170), selected and transcribed by a seminar of the London School of Economics, and containing concrete examples of

diplomatic composition, based on the classification adopted in the *Studies*, with a diplomatic description of the several documents and indications of their *provenance* and bibliographical relations.

Asser's Life of King Alfred (Chatto and Windus, 1908, pp. lviii, 163), translated with introduction and notes by L. C. Jane, has been issued in the series of the King's Classics. There are at least four other English translations of this work of which the last, by Professor Cook of Yale, was published in 1906.

Students of social and economic history will welcome Mr. George Unwin's volume on *The Gilds and Companies of London* (Methuen, 1908, pp. 397), published in the series of "The Antiquary's Books". The author traces the continuous organic development of these bodies from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, and emphasizes their significance for the constitutional history of the city and for the social and economic development of the nation. The book contains an interesting chapter on the Place of the Gild in the History of Western Europe, and numerous illustrations.

E. V. Vaughn, instructor in history in the University of Missouri, has published a study of *The Origin and Early Development of the English Universities to the Close of the Thirteenth Century* (University of Missouri Studies, Social Science Series, II. 2, 1908, pp. 147) which attempts "to trace the corporate development of these two English universities during the thirteenth century and to outline the steps by which they gradually approached an independent position in the polity of the Middle Ages".

Dr. James Gairdner, whose knowledge of the sources of Henry VIII's reign is probably unrivalled, has published an historical survey of *Lollardy and the Reformation in England* (Longmans, 1908), the two volumes of which extend from the time of Wyclif to the end of the reign of Henry VIII.

Dr. Karl Stählin of Heidelberg has undertaken to fill a gap in English biographical literature by a two-volume work on *Sir Francis Walsingham und seine Zeit* (Heidelberg, Winter). The first volume (1908, pp. xiv, 662) comes down to 1573. The second volume will continue the history to 1590 and will include a survey of the printed and of the abundant manuscript material in English and foreign archives on which the work is based.

Professor Foster Watson's volume on *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1908) is a history of the curriculum and practice of the schools in distinction from the history of the theories of educational reformers. The attempt has been to describe representative documents and school text-books.

Messrs. Billing and Sons of Guildford, Surrey, have issued proposals for the publication of "Original Records of Early Nonconformity under

Persecution and Indulgence", by Professor G. Lyon Turner, in two volumes. These will present a transcript of the Episcopal Returns for 1665 and 1669 as contained in volume 639 of the manuscript department of the Lambeth Palace Library, and the documents connected with the issue of licenses under the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 as preserved in the Record Office. These are records of the greatest value, unknown or unavailable to the early historians of Nonconformity. Elaborate indexes will assist in making available the information which they contain.

J. B. Williams has published through Longmans *A History of English Journalism to the Foundation of the "Gazette"* (1908, pp. 306), the object of which is to show who the journalists during the Civil War were, what their work was, and what is its value. A catalogue of periodicals from 1641 to 1666 is included.

The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660, by George L. Beer, is now out (Macmillan, pp. viii, 438).

In his somewhat digressive *Early History of the Tories*, from the accession of Charles II. to the death of William III. (Smith Elder, 1908, pp. 498), Mr. C. B. Roylance Kent pays special attention to the doctrines of this party.

The bicentenary of Chatham's birth has been commemorated by special exhibitions of manuscripts at the Public Record Office and the British Museum, and by a meeting of the Royal Historical Society on November 16, at which Mr. Frederic Harrison delivered an address, and Dr. Hunt and Mr. Julian Corbett spoke. An account of the commemoration, with some remarks on the need of an historical bibliography of Chatham, is published in the *Athenaeum* of November 21.

A new "Life of William Pitt the Younger", by Dr. J. Holland Rose, including much new information from private sources and from the Foreign Office, is being published by Messrs. Bell.

The Panmure Papers (Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), a selection from the correspondence of Fox Maule, second Baron Panmure, afterwards eleventh Earl of Dalhousie, edited by Sir George Douglas and Sir George Dalhousie Ramsay, with a supplementary chapter by the late Rev. Principal Rainy, includes nearly 200 letters of Queen Victoria, almost all unpublished, and letters from the Prince Consort and Lord Palmerston, etc., and throws new light on the Crimean War.

Mr. Bernard Mallet's biography of *Thomas George, G. C. S. I., Earl of Northbrook* (Longmans, 1908) devotes special attention to Lord Northbrook's career as viceroy in India.

Longmans will publish early in this year the first and second volumes of *Ireland under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum*, by Dr. Richard Bagwell, author of *Ireland under the Tudors*.

British government publications: *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Edward I., vol. V., 1302-1307; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Henry VI., vol. IV., 1441-1446; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, of the Reign of Henry VIII., vol. XXI., part 1.; *List of War Office Records*, I.; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., preserved at Dropmore, vol. VI.

Other documentary publications: A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers* (Nutt, 1908) [from the earliest time to 1286]; Herbert Maxwell, *Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1280*, I. (Scottish Historical Review, October) [translation]; G. W. Forrest, *Selections from the Travels and Journals preserved in the Bombay Secretariat* (Bombay, Government Central Press) [the documents cover the period from 1826 to 1843 and relate to the region east and west of the Indus and to Southern Arabia and Abyssinia].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. G. Bayne, *The First House of Commons of Queen Elizabeth*, II. (English Historical Review, October); C. Brinkmann, *England and the Hanse under Charles II.* (English Historical Review, October); P. Mantoux, *Les Transformations Récentes de la Constitution Anglaise* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, August); D. Pasquet, *L'Évolution de l'Église Anglicane, principalement au XIX^e Siècle* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, August); Theodora Keith, *Scottish Trade with the Plantations before 1707* (Scottish Historical Review, October).

FRANCE

A valuable guide for workers in the field of French history has been compiled by M. Léon Vallée, librarian of the Bibliothèque Nationale, under the title *Catalogue des Plans de Paris et des Cartes de l'Île de France, de la Généralité, de l'Élection, de l'Archevêché, de la Viscomté, de l'Université, du Grenier à Sel et de la Cour des Aydes de Paris, conservés à la Section des Cartes et Plans* (Champion, 1908, pp. 576). The excellent subject-index (pp. 438-576) shows that the material described, which includes diagrams and charts as well as maps and plans, relates not only to the topography of Paris, but to all phases of the life of the community—commerce, industry, medicine, hygiene, etc.

La Commune de Soissons et le Groupe Communal Soissonnais, by G. Bourgin (Paris, Champion, 1908, pp. lxxi, 495), forms number 167 of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études.

Andrew Lang's *Maid of France: Being the Story of the Life and Death of Jeanne d'Arc* (Longmans, 1908, pp. 379) is based on a thorough study of the documents and is equipped with full references.

The committee on the diplomatic archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announces that volume II. (Baden to Danzig) of the *Inventaire Sommaire de la Correspondance Politique* is nearly finished, and that it is hoped that volume III. (Espagne to États-Unis) will appear in 1909.

It is proposed also to print the "état sommaire" of the Correspondance Politique ("inventaire vert"). Five new volumes of the *Recueil des Instructions aux Ambassadeurs*, relating respectively to England, the Germanic Diet, the Netherlands, Turkey and Venice, will also soon be sent to the press, leaving but two small volumes, relating to the minor states of Germany and Italy, to complete this series.

Miss Geraldine Hodgson's *Studies in French Education from Rabelais to Rousseau* (Cambridge University Press, 1908) fills a gap in educational literature in English.

The third and concluding volume of M. F. Strowski's *Histoire du Sentiment Religieux en France au XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, Plon) is entitled *Pascal et son Temps* and deals especially with the *Provinciales* and the *Pensées*.

M. Alfred Rébelliau, of the University of Paris, has issued an important documentary work, *La Compagnie Secrète du Saint-Sacrement* (Paris, Champion, 1908), containing the letters sent from the "companions" of Paris to those of Marseilles from 1639 to 1662.

The *Histoire de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à Bordeaux (1653-1715)*, by Paul Bert, is a complete documentary work on one diocese. Also based upon the sources but written from a Catholic standpoint is the third volume of the Abbé Rouquette's *Études sur la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes en Languedoc: Les Fugitifs (1685-1715)*.

A valuable contribution to the history of trade and French firms in India from 1664 to 1719 is made by Paul Kaepelin in *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et François Martin* (Paris, Challamel).

A. Gazier has written from unpublished documents *Une Suite à l'Histoire de Port-Royal* (Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1908) which deals with the years from 1750 to 1782.

G. Lenôtre's *Vieilles Maisons, Vieux Papiers* has been translated into English by F. Lees under the title *Romances of the French Revolution* (Heinemann, 1908, pp. 361, 336). A new work by the same author, *Le Tribunal Révolutionnaire* contains unpublished documents, plans and details of buildings, and many particulars illustrative of its subject.

F. M. Kircheisen's very elaborate *Bibliographie du Temps de Napoléon* (Paris, Champion) notices the political, economic, literary and military books of the Napoleonic era in Europe and in the United States. The first volume has appeared and the second is in press.

Gustave Davois has published the first volume of *Bibliographie Napoléonienne Française jusqu'en 1908* (Paris, L'Édition Bibliographique, 1908), which will be complete in three volume.

Ernest Daudet's *Récits des Temps Révolutionnaires* gives new information on the plot of 1800 against the First Consul.

Events of the past few years have turned the attention of many stu-

dents to the history of the church in France. A work that seems assured of the highest rank among such studies is P. Pisani's *L'Église de Paris et la Révolution* (Paris, Picard, 1908) of which the first volume deals with the years 1789 to 1792, down to the massacres of September. Its author is a canon of Nôtre Dame. With this may be compared *La Politique Religieuse de la Révolution Française* (Paris, Rousset) written from an opposing standpoint by Émile Lafond.

The second volume of *L'Église et l'État en France depuis le Concordat jusqu'à nos Jours (1801-1906)*, by Professor G. Desdevives du Désert, has been published by the Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie.

In Lieutenant E. L. Bucquoy's elaborate doctoral thesis on *Les Gardes d'Honneur du Premier Empire* (Nancy, Crépin-Leblond, 1908, pp. 487) the author treats of both kinds of *gardes d'honneur*, the local and non-military, and the national regiments, of the development in Napoleon's mind of the idea of a guard composed of the élite, and of his attempts to utilize the local *gardes d'honneur*.

Mr. F. Loraine Petre, whose valuable works on *Napoleon's Campaign in Poland*, *Napoleon's Conquest of Prussia*, etc., we have noticed (XII. 888, XIII. 140), has recently published a history of the Franco-Austrian campaign in the valley of the Danube in 1809, entitled *Napoleon and the Archduke Charles* (Lane, 1908, pp. 413).

Vers la Bérésina, 1812 (Paris, Plon, 1908), by Major-General B. R. F. Van Vlijmen, is a study of the campaign of Napoleon in Russia based on unpublished documents.

Commandant M. H. Weill is publishing through the house of Fontemoing, Paris, a work in five volumes on *Joachim Murat, Roi de Naples, la Dernière Année de Règne, Mai, 1814-Mai, 1815*.

F. H. Cheetham's *Louis Napoleon and the Genesis of the Second Empire* (Lane, 1908, pp. xx, 394) comes down to the election of Napoleon to the presidency in 1848. The book is illustrated from contemporary portraits, prints and lithographs.

Pierre Lehautcourt's authoritative *Histoire de la Guerre de 1870* is concluded with the issue of the seventh volume on the Capitulation of Metz, August 19 to October 29, 1870. The work has twice been awarded the second Grand Prix Gobert of the French Academy.

The governor-general of Algeria has decided upon the organization of the Algerian archives, and has appointed M. R. Busquet to direct the new service. He is to arrange the archives of the general government and inventory the departmental or communal dépôts. A commission will be appointed to publish an official collection of documents on the history of Algiers.

Documentary publications: Ph. Lauer and Ch. Samaran, *Diplômes Originaux des Mérovingiens; facsimilés photographiques avec notices et*

transcriptions (Paris, Leroux, 1908, pp. ix, 31; 48 plates); A. Chuquet, *Cent Lettres Inédites de Bonaparte, 1793-1796* (Annales Révolutionnaires, April-June); Baron de Vitrolles, *Souvenirs Autobiographiques d'un Émigré: La Duchesse de Courlande* (Revue Historique, November-December); Count Karl von Monts, *Tagebuch über Napoleons III. Gefangenschaft auf Wilhelms Höhe*, edited by Fräulein Tony von Held (Berlin, Mittler).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. F. Delaborde, *Les Archives Royales depuis la Mort de Saint Louis jusqu' à Pierre d'Étampes* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, May-August); P. Bernus, *Le Rôle Politique de Pierre de Brezé au Cours des Dix Dernières Années du Règne de Charles VII. (1451-1461)* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, May-August); A. Girard, *La Réorganisation de la Compagnie des Indes, 1719-1723*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October); L. Dutil, *L'Industrie de la Soie, à Nîmes jusqu'en 1789* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, June-July); P. Sagnac, *Le Crédit de l'État et les Banquiers à la Fin du XVII^e et au Commencement du XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, June-July); J. Letaconnoux, *Les Transports en France au XVIII^e Siècle*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, November); Ch. Bournisien, *La Vente des Biens Nationaux: la Législation* (Revue Historique, November-December).

ITALY AND SPAIN

In Italy much attention is being paid to the preservation of monuments. Gaetano Moretti, who for seventeen years has held the office of superintendent of the monuments of Lombardy, has recently published a work on *La Conservazione dei Monumenti della Lombardia* (Milan, Allegretti) which includes a detailed inventory of the historical monuments of that region. Corrado Ricci, the new director of antiquities, has initiated the preparation of an illustrated catalogue of all the works of art in Italy. One volume will be devoted to each commune and the whole series will comprise some 8000 volumes.

The second volume of Alfred Doren's *Studien aus der Florentiner Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1908, pp. xxii, 802) treats of the guilds of Florence from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.

A new series of documentary publications relating to the finance and public economy of the states of Savoy in the century preceding the French Revolution has been initiated by the issue of an introductory volume, *La Finanza Sabauda all' Aprirsi del Secolo XVIII. e durante la Guerra di Successione Spagnuola* (Turin, Soc. Tip.-Ed. Nazionale, pp. xxxii, 455) by L. Einaudi, who discusses the finances of the state in time of peace and of war.

The late General Stefano Türr bequeathed all of his documents, maps, autographs and memoirs relating to the Risorgimento to the Vittorio

Emanuele Library at Rome, which already possessed a large collection of documents on this period.

A valuable contribution to the history of the Risorgimento period has been made by Baron Helfert in his *Geschichte des Lombardo-Venezianischen Königreichs* (Vienna, Holder), which deals with the history of the kingdom after the fall of Napoleon.

The house of A. F. Formiggini, Modena, is publishing a history of *L'Istruzione Popolare nello Stato Pontificio (1824-1870)* by E. Formiggini-Santamaria, based on materials drawn from the archives and libraries of the former Pontifical State. The headings of the main divisions of the work are: The scholastic legislation of the Pontifical State; public opinion respecting instruction; organization of the schools.

In connection with the centenary of the birth of Garibaldi, the communal council of Bologna offers for international competition a prize of ten thousand francs for the best historical work on the Expedition of the Thousand. It may be written in Italian, French, English or German, should be well documented and definitive, and should be presented to the commune of Bologna before June 3, 1910.

Documentary publications: L. Schiaparelli, *I Diplomi dei Rei d'Italia: Ricerche Storico-Diplomatiche*, Parte III., *I Diplomi di Lodovico III.* (Bollettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano, 1908, vol. XXIX.); P. Kehr, *Nachträge zu den Papsturkunden Italiens*, II. [1065-1196] (Nachrichten von den Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1908, 2).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Schneider, *Toscanische Studien*, II. (Quellen und Forschungen, XI. 2).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

The second division of K. Rhamm's vast work, *Ethnographische Beiträge zur Germanisch-Slawischen Altertumskunde*, deals with *Urzeitliche Bauernhöfe im Germanisch-Slawisches Waldgebiet*. The first part of this division has been published in a large volume entitled *Altgermanische Bauernhöfe im Uebergange vom Saal zu Fletz und Stube* (Brunswick, Vieweg, 1908, pp. xxxii, 1117).

A contribution to medieval textual criticism and cosmography is made by Dr. P. W. Kohlmann in his study of the ecclesiastical historian *Adam von Bremen*, published in the series of *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen* edited by Professors Brandenburg, Seeliger and Wilcken (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer).

In celebration of Professor Gustav Schmoller's seventieth birthday, the Verein für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg has published a volume of *Beiträge zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1908, pp. viii, 493), to which the following historians have contributed: Fr. Holtze, F. Hirsch, W. Stolze,

F. Arnheim, G. Kuntzel, O. Krauske, M. Hass, Fr. Freiherr von Schroetter, P. Bailleu, O. Tschirch, Th. Schiemann (on Nicholas I. and Frederick William IV. respecting the plan to convoke a united Diet), R. Koser, A. von Ruville, P. Schwarz, M. Tangl and O. Hintze. Most of the papers treat of the seventeenth century or later, although M. Tangl deals with the documents of Otto I. for Brandenburg and Havelberg as models for the falsified documents of the Saxon bishoprics.

Professor Henry Simonsfeld has published in the *Sitzungsberichte* (Munich, Franz) of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Phil.-hist. Kl., the fourth installment of his contribution on *Urkunden Friedrich Rotbarts in Italien* (1908, pp. 48).

Germany in the later Middle Ages, 1200-1500 (Longmans, 1908, pp. 205), by the late Bishop Stubbs, completes the series of lectures on Germany of which the first volume was reviewed in our October number, pp. 167-168.

Under the general editorship of Professor C. G. Herbermann the Catholic Historical Society of New York City College has brought out a facsimile of Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiae Introductio*.

In the series of *Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte*, edited by Professors von Below, Finke and Meinecke (Berlin, Rothschild) Dr. Hans Goldschmidt has a volume on *Zentralbehörden und Beamtentum im Kurfürstentum Mainz vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (pp. xx, 209); and Dr. Erich Kober publishes a study of *Die Anfänge des Deutschen Wollgewerbes* (pp. vii, 113).

The second volume of the collection of biographies, *Unsere Religiösen Erzieher*, edited by Professor B. Bess (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer) contains the following studies: Luther, by Professor Th. Kolde; Zwingli, by A. Baur; Calvin, by the editor; Spener, by P. Grünberg; Goethe and Schiller, by K. Sell; Schleiermacher, by O. Kirn; Bismarck, by O. Baumgarten; and Die Religion der Erzieher, by Professor W. Herrmann.

In George Winter's two-volume biography of *Friedrich der Grosse* (Berlin, E. Hofman) the author pays special attention to Frederick's management of internal affairs.

An important study of the history of Catholicism in Germany from 1848 to 1870 is made by Georges Goyau in the third and fourth volumes of his work, *L'Allemagne Religieuse* (Paris, Perrin, 1908). The preceding volumes dealt with the years 1800 to 1848.

In the eighth number of the *Geschichte des Fürsten Bismarck in Einzeldarstellungen*, edited by J. Penzler (Berlin, Trewendt), Dr. K. Herrfürth treats of *Fürst Bismarck und die Kolonialpolitik* (1909, pp. xii, 439).

A collection of 670 letters of Calvin in German translation by R. Schwarz, with an introduction by Professor Paul Wernle, is being published by the house of Mohr, Tübingen. The attempt has been to select

the most significant of Calvin's letters from the 1400 printed in the *Corpus Reformatorum*.

Documentary publications: E. Graber, *Die Urkunden König Konrads III.* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1908, pp. viii, 130).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Schultze, *Über Gästerecht und Gastgerichte in den Deutschen Städten des Mittelalters* (Historische Zeitschrift, CI. 3); H. D. Foster, *Calvin's Programme for a Puritan State in Geneva* (Harvard Theological Review, October).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The State Commission on the preparation and edition of a descriptive inventory of the historical and artistic monuments in the Netherlands has published its fifth report, for the year 1907. The inventory for the province of Utrecht will soon be published and that of southern Holland is nearly completed. An index to the periodical literature relating to the monuments published from 1900 to 1906 inclusive, will be issued in the *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*.

The *Bulletin Bibliographique du Musée Belge* for July contains a résumé of an excellent discourse by Professor G. Kurth on the life and deeds of Notger, the first prince-bishop of Liège, delivered in commemoration of the ninth centenary of his death.

Georges Smets, a pupil of the late Professor L. Van der Kindere, has published a monograph on *Henri I., Duc de Brabant, 1190-1235* (Brussels, 1908, pp. xxii, 340), the first part of which sets forth in annalistic form all that is known of Henry I. from his birth in 1165 to his death in 1235, while the second part is a synthetic account of the history of his reign.

A Linschoten Society, patterned after the Hakluyt Society, has been organized by a number of Dutch scholars. The first of its series of publications, of which two volumes will be issued yearly, will be the *Itinerary* of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, edited by Professor Kern. This will be followed by Cornelis Houtman's first voyage to the East Indies, and *Verscheide Voyagiens* by David Pietersz de Vries. The address of the secretary of the society is 18 Nobelstraat, the Hague.

Dr. S. van Brakel has published a work of much value on *De Nederlandsche Handelscompagnieën der zeventiende Eeuw* (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1908).

The first volume of *Matériaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la Dentelle en Belgique* (Paris, Lamertin, 1908) is by E. Van Overloop and G. Des Marez.

Documentary publications: H. Reimers, *Friesische Papsturkunden aus dem Vatikanischen Archive zu Rom* (Leeuwarden, Meijer and Schaafsma, 1908, pp. viii, 126); F. J. L. Krämer, *Archives ou Corre-*

spondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, third series, II., 1697-1700 (Hague, Nijhoff, 1908, pp. xxxviii, 603).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Keutgen, *Zur Geschichte Belgiens im Mittelalter* (Historische Zeitschrift, CI. 3).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The first installment of an index to more than 4000 articles on Norwegian topography in seventy-five periodicals, arranged alphabetically under names of places, has been published by the Deichmanske Bibliothek in Christiania.

Under the title *Islandica, I.*, a bibliography of the Icelandic sagas and minor tales, by Halldor Hermansson, remarkably complete and extending down to 1264, has been issued by the Cornell University Library.

An English Bibliography on the Near Eastern Question, by Voyslav M. Yovanovitch, is being published by the Servian Royal Academy (Belgrade, Svetislav Tzviyanovich) as the forty-eighth part of the *Spomeniks*, second series. It consists of 1600 entries, from the year 1480 to 1906.

The second volume of Professor N. Jorga's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (1908, pp. viii, 380) comes down to the year 1538. The work, which is written from the sources, is issued in Professor Lamprecht's series *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten* (Gotha, Perthes).

A vast amount of information concerning the different races of the Balkan Provinces is contained in Signor Amadori-Virgili's first volume of nearly a thousand pages on *La Questione Rumeliota e la Politica Italiana* (Bitonto, Garofalo), which also contains sketches of the history of the various states. The second volume will deal more particularly with Italian policy towards this region.

K. Zdravomyslov has published a brochure entitled *Sviedienia o Konsistorskikh Arkhivakh i Tserkovnoarkheologhitcheskikh Utchrejdeniakh v Eparkhiakh* (Saint Petersburg, 1908), notices of the archives of the consistories and of the archaeological ecclesiastical institutions in Russia. Historical information is given concerning sixty-four archives of the Russian eparchies, and concerning thirty-five committees or archaeological societies devoted to the study of ecclesiastical antiquities.

Professor Leopold Karl Goetz has published through the house of Duncker, Berlin, a study of *Staat und Kirche in Altrussland* (1908, pp. viii, 214) treating of the Kiev period from 988 to 1240.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. J. Skattum, *Ofir-Studier: Historisk-geografiske Undersøgelser over det Salomoniske Guldlands Beliggenhed* (Skrifter udgivne af Videnskabs-Selskabet i Christiania, hist.-fil. Kl., 1907, 4).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government, appointed at the instance of the President by the Committee on Department Methods, held its third and final meeting in Washington on October 23 and 24. On that occasion and by subsequent correspondence it completed an elaborate report, which has been transmitted to the members of the Committee on Department Methods, has been approved by them, and is now in the press.

Writings on American History, 1907, the second issue in a series of annual bibliographies of which the volume for 1906 has lately appeared, is approaching completion under the editorial care of Miss Grace G. Griffin, and may be expected to be published in the spring.

The Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, etc., by Professor Andrews and Miss Davenport, will apparently be published in January.

Mr. James Schouler is publishing through Little, Brown and Company a volume entitled *Ideals of the Republic*, based on the author's lectures at Johns Hopkins University.

A work on *United States Constitutional History and Law*, by A. H. Putney, has been published by the Illinois Book Exchange, Chicago.

The *Monthly Catalogue of United States Public Documents* for September, 1908, issued by the Superintendent of Documents, has a useful note of several pages on the history of the publication of United States statutes by the government.

Mr. Asher C. Hinds's *Parliamentary Precedents of the House of Representatives*, in eight volumes, has been issued from the Government Printing Office.

The Century Company have published *The American Executive*, by President Finley of the College of the City of New York.

A reference book on tariff legislation and debates in Congress from 1846 to 1897, prepared by Mr. G. H. Boyd, superintendent of the Senate document room, has been presented by the chairman of the Finance Committee and referred to the Committee on Printing. It contains tariff acts in full together with the committee reports thereon, and full references to all debates.

A Study of Primary Elections, by Professor C. E. Merriam, has been issued by the University of Chicago Press. The development of legal regulation of primaries from 1866 to 1908 is traced and general tendencies are discussed.

Doubleday, Page and Company have brought out *Studies in the American Race Problem*, by Alfred H. Stone. Mr. Walter F. Willcox of Cornell University contributes to the volume an introduction and three papers.

Mr. Burton E. Stevenson has edited a large volume of *Poems of American History* which Houghton, Mifflin and Company will publish.

The November *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contains an extensive list of books relating to witchcraft in the United States.

As Others See Us is the title of a book to be published shortly by the Macmillan Company, in which Mr. John Graham Brooks has brought together the recorded opinions of America expressed by sundry critics from Tocqueville to Bryce. Upon these quoted opinions Mr. Brooks offers his own comparisons and criticisms.

The American Antiquarian Society will publish in its *Proceedings* for October a calendar of those miscellaneous manuscripts relating to the French and Indian War which are possessed by the Society. This will supplement the installments previously published relating especially to the papers of Sir William Johnson and of Colonel John Bradstreet. The same number will also contain note-books of Dr. Saugrain relating to a journey in the Ohio country in 1788, and an article on early South American newspapers, by Mr. George P. Winship.

Among the several articles in the July number of the *Magazine of History* may be mentioned "Blockading Memories of the Gulf Squadron", by the late Lieutenant S. W. Powell, and Mr. D. T. V. Huntoon's third paper on Major-General Richard Gridley. In the August number are brief articles on "The Camp on the Neshaminy", by C. H. Jones; "Florida County Names", by G. B. Utley; and Mr. H. E. Hamilton's second paper on Gurdon S. Hubbard. Among the original documents in these numbers are a letter from General Henry Dearborn to his son, November 25, 1807, and some letters of Washington and Lincoln. In the September issue is the first paper of a series by Leon Hühner entitled "Some Jewish Associates of John Brown". The same issue offers its readers a part of Mr. H. M. Baker's address "Why did Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford) become a Tory", and also a part of Mr. H. A. M. Smith's recent address on General Thomas Sumter.

The *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society begin in the June issue the publication of "Some Correspondence Relating to the Dioceses of New Orleans and St. Louis", with notes by the Abbé Lionel St. G. Lindsay. The letters are from the archiepiscopal archives at Quebec. In the same issue are printed some letters from the Baltimore archives, of the time of Bishop Carroll, with annotations by Rev. E. I. Devitt, S. J. The series of letters from the first Catholic Bishop of Charleston is concluded in this number.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

G. P. Putnam's Sons will soon publish *Bartholomew Las Casas: his Life, his Apostolate and his Writings*, by F. A. MacNutt.

A decree of Philip IV., signed at Madrid March 22, 1638, assuring

to the Duke of Veragua the American possessions of his ancestor Columbus, was recently found in New Orleans and is now in the possession of the Library of Congress.

It is announced that the next publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints, of Providence, will be "A Scheme for a Paper Currency together with Two Petitions written in Boston Gaol in 1739-1740", by Richard Fry. Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis contributes an introduction.

The Writings of George Washington, edited by Professor Lawrence B. Evans of Tufts College, the first volume in Messrs. Putnam's series of "Writings of American Statesmen", will shortly come from the press.

Several pages of the October issue of the *American Catholic Historical Researches* are devoted to Catholic Loyalists of the Revolution and Catholic Officers in the Revolution.

The University Library of Princeton has issued a volume by V. L. Collins entitled *The Continental Congress at Princeton (1783)*.

A discussion of the contributions of Charles Pinckney to the Constitution of the United States, by Hon. Charles C. Nott, former chief justice of the United States Court of Claims, has been published by the Century Company under the title *The Mystery of the Pinckney Draught*.

The September *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contains three letters written to James Monroe in 1812 and 1814, one of which, by George Hay, is of considerable interest.

Mr. William K. Bixby of St. Louis has published privately, from originals in his possession, a volume of *Letters of Zachary Taylor, from the Battlefields of the Mexican War*.

Books on Lincoln continue to multiply. From the Macmillan Company comes *Abraham Lincoln; the Boy and the Man*, by James Morgan; from the McClure Company, *The Boyhood of Lincoln*, by Eleanor Atkinson, and *The Death of Lincoln*, by Clara E. Laughlin; from A. Wessels Company, *The Wisdom of Lincoln*, extracts from Lincoln's letters, speeches and state papers, edited by Dr. M. M. Miller, and *Abraham Lincoln: a Tribute*, by George Bancroft.

Charles Scribner's Sons have published *Robert E. Lee, the Southerner*, by Thomas Nelson Page.

'Stonewall' Jackson, by H. A. White, is to appear shortly from the press of George W. Jacobs and Company. The volume is included in the *American Crisis* series.

Captain S. A. Forbes has reprinted from the *Transactions* of the Illinois Historical Society a careful and interesting paper on *Grierson's Cavalry Raid*.

The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, by Eliza F. Andrews, which has been appearing serially, has been issued as a volume by the firm of Appleton.

The third volume of the *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, prepared for the press by Dr. Frederic Bancroft and Professor William A. Dunning from material left by Mr. Schurz, is on the eve of publication by the McClure Company.

It is understood that President Finley of the College of the City of New York is engaged in writing a biography of President Grover Cleveland.

Recollections of a Varied Career, by Gen. William F. Draper of Massachusetts, formerly congressman and ambassador to Italy, is published by Little, Brown and Company.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Dr. Lois Kimball Mathews, instructor in history in Vassar College, has completed the manuscript and maps for her book "New England on the Frontier: a Study of the Spread of New England Sentiment and Institutions from 1620 to 1865". The book is to be brought out by the Houghton, Mifflin Company in the spring.

Mr. Albert Matthews is preparing a bibliography of New England magazines of the eighteenth century.

The *Manchester Historic Association Collections*, volume IV., part 1. (Manchester, N. H., 1908) includes two addresses delivered before the association upon the two-hundredth anniversary of the winter scout of Captain William Tyng and his snow-shoe men. The one is entitled "The Snow-Shoe Scouts", by G. W. Browne; the other is on "The Indian Wars in New Hampshire", by F. B. Sanborn. An interesting reprint is "A Discourse Utter'd in Part at Ammauskeeg-Falls, in the Fishing-Season, 1739", by Rev. Joseph Seccombe.

A life of Thomas Pownall, governor of Massachusetts, 1756-1760, has appeared in London from the press of Henry Stevens, Son, and Stiles, wherein the *Letters of Junius* are ascribed to Governor Pownall. The author is C. A. W. Pownall, and the full title of the work is, *Thomas Pownall, M. P., F. R. S., Governor of Massachusetts Bay, Author of the Letters of Junius*.

In the *Massachusetts Magazine* for July the article of chief historical interest is an account of Colonel William Prescott's regiment, by F. A. Gardner, concluded in October. In the "Pilgrims and Planters" department, conducted by Lucie M. Gardner, there is a sketch of Roger Conant. Brief accounts, accompanied by pictures, are given of some historical houses, among them the Paul Revere house and the old Royall house.

In the *Essex Antiquarian* of October is a paper on "Legal Qualifications of Voters in Massachusetts", treated historically.

The thirty-eighth volume of *Records relating to the Early History of Boston*, just published by the city registrar (pp. 378), contains the minutes of the meetings of the Selectmen from 1811 to September, 1818.

The *Essex Institute Historical Collections* continues in the October number the publication of Revolutionary letters written to Colonel Timothy Pickering. Beginning with the issue of January, 1909, it is announced that some Revolutionary letters from Salem, and journals and military rolls of the Revolution, will be printed.

Dr. Samuel A. Green, librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a devoted student of the history and antiquities of his native town of Groton, has brought together in a volume of 181 pages *Three Historical Addresses at Groton, Massachusetts* (Groton, 1908), formerly printed as separate pamphlets. One is upon occasion of the centennial of 1876 and the bicentennial of the burning of Groton by the Indians; the second was delivered at the dedication of three monuments, and relates chiefly to Indian wars; and the third commemorated in 1905 the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the town. All are entertaining and of historical value.

Among the numerous documentary series appearing in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, that of chief historical interest is "Colonial Records of Marlborough, Massachusetts", compiled by F. P. Rice.

The *Mayflower Descendants* is publishing Plymouth Colony deeds, and Plymouth Colony wills and inventories.

The Story of Roger Williams, by E. J. Carpenter, has been added to the *Grafton Historical* series.

The Connecticut Historical Society has recently received the manuscript diary of Rev. David Avery, covering the years 1771-1777, 1779-1786, 1789-1791. Mr. Avery was for one year of the period covered by the diary a missionary to the Oneida Indians, for three years a chaplain in the Revolution, and at other times held various pastorates.

A History of Otsego, New York, by S. B. Blakely, has been published in New York City by the author.

In the September and October issue of the *German-American Annals* is a brief article, by Mr. J. G. Rosengarten, on "The Palatines in New York and Pennsylvania".

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has received as a gift the papers of Thomas Wharton of Philadelphia, amounting to about 4600 pieces.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* prints as its leading article in the April issue an address, delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Hon. Hampton L. Carson, on the "Dramatic Features of Pennsylvania's History". About twenty-five pages of this issue are occupied by selections from the military papers of General John Cadwalader. Among these are several letters from Washington to Cadwalader, letters of Joseph Reed, Tench Tilghman,

and others. Of especial interest are General Cadwalader's address to the Council of Safety, January 15, 1777; Tilghman's letter to Cadwalader, January 18, 1778; and Washington's letter to Cadwalader, October 5, 1780. "Some Account of James Hutton's Visit to Franklin, in France, in December of 1777", is a paper, largely documentary, presenting the main facts in Hutton's endeavor as confidential agent of the king to bring about a reconciliation of the colonies to the mother-country. The chief feature of the July issue is a study of Anthony Wayne, by Governor S. W. Pennypacker.

The principal articles in the *Pennsylvania German* for September are: "The Ancestral Home of the Pennsylvania Germans", by Professor J. F. L. Raschen, and "The Pennsylvania German in the Revolutionary War", by H. M. M. Richards.

Vol. XXIX. of the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen* of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht (Amsterdam, Johannes Müller, 1908, pp. lxix, 442) is of the greatest interest to the student of Swedish colonization on the Delaware, containing 38 letters of Samuel Blommaert to the Swedish chancellor, Count Axel Oxenstjerna, 1635-1641, which cast invaluable light on the origins of New Sweden. The volume also contains 84 letters of Louis de Geer, further illustrating Dutch enterprise in Sweden. It is edited by Professor G. W. Kernkamp.

The principal article in the September issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is Dr. Bernard C. Steiner's paper on Benedict Leonard Calvert. The magazine reprints from the original in the British Museum *Babylon's Fall*, a very rare pamphlet dealing with the conflict between the Parliamentary and Proprietary forces in 1655. From the Calvert papers is printed "Proceedings of the Parochial Clergy" (1753). "The Case of the Good Intent" is continued.

The chief contents of volume II. of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (Washington, 1908, pp. 418) are a survey of the Federal Archives by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, an account of Old Georgetown by Mr. Hugh T. Taggart, and a reprint of a valuable series of annual accounts of the progress of material improvements in the city of Washington, which John Sessford, a clerk in the Treasury Department, contributed to the *National Intelligencer* from 1823 to 1860.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* prints in the issue for October several documents of interest and value. The most noteworthy items in the Randolph Manuscript are the commission to Sir William Jones and others to examine into the state of Virginia, May 9, 1624; the commission of Yeardley as governor during the absence of Wyatt, September 18, 1625; and the commission of Governor John Harvey and Council, March 26, 1627/8. The Journals of the Council of Virginia in Executive Sessions (March 4, 1760, to April 3, 1767) relate largely to Indian affairs. Of chief importance among the Virginia

Legislative Papers are a petition of the inhabitants of Kentucky to the Virginia Convention, June 7-15, 1776, and a petition of the Committee of West Fincastle, June 20, 1776. Of interest also are letters from Van Bibber and Harrison, commercial agents of the colonies at St. Eustatia in 1776, and a letter from Colonel William Christian to Brig.-Gen. Rutherford of North Carolina, August 18, 1776.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* reprints in its October issue (from *Some Prominent Virginia Families*, by Louise Pecquet du Bellet) the "Narrative of George Fisher", describing his voyage to America in 1750 and his residence in Virginia and Pennsylvania to 1755. In the same issue is printed a letter of James C. Jewett to General H. A. S. Dearborn, dated Washington, February 5, 1817, describing some speeches in Congress, particularly one by John Randolph.

Dr. John W. Wayland's useful book on *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia* has now been completed by the addition of an elaborate index. The book is published by Dr. Wayland, University Station, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Volume I. of the *Publications* of the Historical Commission of North Carolina bears the title *Literary and Historical Activities of North Carolina* (Raleigh, E. M. Uzzell and Company, 1907, pp. viii, 623). Much of the volume is devoted to descriptions of these activities as manifested in historical and literary organizations, schools, colleges and libraries. In this category may be included the pages of "North Carolina Bibliography" for the years 1902 to 1905 inclusive, prepared mainly by Professor D. H. Hill. A number of addresses on historic occasions are here printed, also several historical papers credited to the *North Carolina Booklet*. Among the addresses may be mentioned that of T. M. Pittman on Nathaniel Macon, that of J. P. Caldwell on Andrew Jackson, that of W. P. Bynum, jr., on Thomas Settle and that of R. H. Battle on Z. B. Vance. Of the several original papers in the volume attention may be called to the following: "Pampticoe and Bath, North Carolina", by Lida T. Rodman; "Sir Walter Raleigh and His Colonies", by W. J. Peele; "North Carolina in the War between the States", a group of articles on various war episodes, and "The Genesis of Wake Forest College", by E. W. Sikes. Of interest also is Dr. Stephen B. Weeks's account of his collection of Caroliniana.

The Census Bureau, in its publication of *Heads of Families at the First Census, 1790*, has just issued the volume for North Carolina (pp. 292).

Among the contents of the *Annual Publication of Historical Papers*, series VII., published by the Historical Society of Trinity College, is an article of interest by Earl R. Franklin on "The Instruction of United States Senators by North Carolina". In the "Selections from the Cor-

respondence of Bedford Brown (1859-1868)" are found letters of M. W. Ransom, D. S. Dickinson and Martin Van Buren.

The October number of the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* contains, besides further installments of Lafayette letters, etc., an interesting article on Commodore Alexander Gillon and the Frigate *South Carolina*, by Mr. D. E. Huger Smith.

Recent additions to the *Colonial Records of Georgia*, edited by Allen D. Candler and published by the state, are as follows: Vols. 8-12 contain the "Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council", 1754-1782. The great bulk of this material prior to 1774 is the record of land-granting on the basis of headrights. In 1775 the Liberty Boys figure prominently. From 1779 to 1782 the proceedings recorded are those of the royal administration in Savannah during the occupation of that city by the British army. Vols. 13 to 15 contain the "Journal of the Commons House of Assembly", 1755-1782. The journal is apparently complete to 1772, but fragmentary thereafter. Vol. 16 begins the "Journal of the Upper House of Assembly", carrying it from 1755 to 1762. The editor has provided each volume since the third with an index; but the paper and binding, as before, leave much to be desired.

The Mississippi Historical Society has just published the first of a new series of bulletins. This present issue contains the proceedings and papers of recent meetings of the Mississippi Association of History Teachers. It is expected that volume X. of the *Publications* of the society will be ready for distribution by the first of March.

The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, 1908, by Dr. Dunbar Rowland, Director of the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi, contains not only a large amount of information, statistical and other, in regard to the state of Mississippi and its various institutions (it is a volume of more than thirteen hundred pages), but also valuable historical matter. The most important sections, additional to the matter which appeared in the issue of the *Register* for 1904, are: Lists of officials of Mississippi Territory, 1798-1817, including those of the original counties, 1798-1802; biographies of the governors (both of the territory and of the state); a digest of legislation, 1904-1906; and a military history of Mississippi from 1803 to 1898 (563 pages). There are a number of maps showing the growth and development of the state, and many portraits and other illustrations.

Mention was made in our April number (XIII. 704) of a proposed calendar of the series of volumes of manuscripts in the archives of the Ministry of the Colonies at Paris, which is entitled "Correspondance Générale de la Louisiane", and attention was called to the high importance which that series has for the history of Louisiana and of the whole Mississippi Valley and to the value which such a calendar would therefore have for students of American history. It is a pleasure

to be able to report that the proposed volume is now announced for publication during the course of the year 1909, under the title *Inventaire Sommaire de la Correspondance Générale de la Louisiane, 1678-1819*. The volume, which is prepared by MM. P. Nicolas, *chef de Bureau*, and O. Wirth, attaché in the Colonial Archives, will be one of considerable size, with a full index. The price to early subscribers is fifteen francs, postpaid; after April 1 it will be advanced to twenty francs. Subscriptions may be sent to M. Augustin Challamel, Éditeur, 17 rue Jacob, Paris VI.

Volume IV. of the *Publications* of the Louisiana Historical Society (New Orleans, 1908, pp. 200) contains beside the record of the society's transactions a considerable body of French documents relating to the Mississippi Valley and extending in date from 1679 to 1769. Their place of origin is not indicated but they are of great intrinsic interest. The volume also contains a chronological statement, unfortunately not furnished with precise references, of a variety of documents relative to Louisiana to be found in the Archivo Historico Nacional in Madrid.

The *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association prints in its July issue the second part (1847-1869) of "The Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church", and the "Recollections of S. F. Sparks", a soldier in the war between Texas and Mexico.

The article of chief interest in *The "Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly* for July is "John Armstrong of Kittanning and his Sons", by J. E. Pilcher.

The Department of Archives and History in the Indiana State Library has recently acquired a valuable collection of historical material gathered during a period of more than half a century by the late Charles B. Lassel of Logansport. The collection embraces, besides many early newspapers, a valuable mass of manuscripts connected with the early history of Vincennes and with other portions of the territorial period of the state's history.

In the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for September appear three papers relating to Henry Clay's visit to Richmond, Indiana, in 1842, two of them reprinted from Indiana newspapers. The contributors are C. W. Osborn, C. F. Coffin and W. H. Coffin. Mention may also be made of "Pioneer Transportation on the Ohio River", by S. T. Covington, and an autobiographical sketch of Judge Isaac Naylor, 1790-1873. The *Quarterly* reprints the memorial of the inhabitants of what was then (1804) the northern portion of Indiana Territory petitioning Congress to create that region into a new territory.

The Macmillan Company have published *History and Civil Government of Indiana*, by E. L. Hendricks.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons announce for autumn publication *Historic Indiana*, by Julia H. Levering.

To the September issue of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society Col. J. Stoddard Johnston contributes a paper on the Kentucky-Tennessee Boundary Line, Mr. Z. F. Smith a sketch of Transylvania University, and Mr. L. J. Johnson a chapter in his "History of Franklin County" dealing with the period 1800 to 1810. "Chronicles of the Old Neighborhood", by Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, is presented as a supplement to Mr. Johnson's history.

A Financial and Administrative History of Milwaukee, by Laurence M. Larson, is *Bulletin No. 242 of the University of Wisconsin* (pp. 182). The work includes some study of administrative methods and changes as well as of municipal finance, and is of especial interest as showing the strivings and economic development of a city from very raw beginnings.

Volume XII. of the *Minnesota Historical Society Collections* (pp. 830) contains the papers and addresses presented in the society's meetings during the past three years. The society at the same time publishes volume XIII. (pp. 480), *The Lives of the Governors of Minnesota*, by General James H. Baker, who was secretary of the state of Minnesota from 1860 to 1862, has been personally acquainted with all of the eighteen governors of the territory and state and has taken an active part in its politics since 1857. *Minnesota in Three Centuries*, issued to subscribers during November, consists of four volumes: the first, by Dr. Warren Upham, secretary of the society, covers the history of explorations and events to the founding of Fort Snelling in 1820; the second, by Mr. Return I. Holcombe, extends to the end of the territorial period in 1858; the third, by General Lucius F. Hubbard and Mr. Holcombe, proceeds to 1870, and relates chiefly to the Sioux outbreak and to the period of the Civil War; while the fourth volume, by Mr. Frederick R. Holmes, includes the remaining period and the general index.

Houghton, Mifflin and Company have published *Minnesota: the North Star State*, by W. W. Folwell, in the *American Commonwealth* series.

The Missouri Historical Society has recently acquired an interesting and valuable collection of French and Spanish papers, containing marriage contracts, sales, wills, etc., filed at the town of St. Charles when it was a Spanish post prior to the acquisition by the United States. The society has also had placed with it for safe keeping volumes I.-VI., each containing 52 numbers of *The Brunswicker*, published at Brunswick, Missouri, 1847-1853. It also has volumes III. and IV., containing 52 numbers each, of the *Glasgow News*, published at Glasgow, Missouri, in 1845-1847.

The *Missouri Historical Society Collections* continues in the April issue the "Journal of Stephen Watts Kearney". The portion here printed begins with July 22, 1820, and closes with August 19, when the party reached St. Louis. Another document of interest is printed under the general title "The Beginning of Spanish Missouri". It is the instruc-

tions given by Ulloa to Captain Francisco Rui for an expedition from New Orleans to the Illinois country. The instructions (25 pages in extent) are dated Balize, March 14, 1767. In the next issue of the *Collections* will be printed a document describing the manner in which Rui carried out his instructions. Still another document is a list of the landowners of St. Louis in 1805, together with the valuations of their holdings.

In the *Missouri Historical Review* for October Mr. W. G. Bek of the University of Missouri gives the history of "A German Communistic Society in Missouri", a society which existed from 1844 to 1879 under the leadership of Dr. William Keil and had its seat near the present town of Bethel. A paper by Judge John L. Thomas entitled "Some Historical Lives in Missouri" is mainly a rehearsal of events centring about the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Thomas J. Bryant, writing of "Bryant's Station and its Founder, William Bryant", endeavors to correct some errors relative to this noted station and its founder.

The Story of a Border City during the Civil War, by Dr. Galusha Anderson (Little, Brown and Co.), is a war-time chronicle of St. Louis based upon Dr. Anderson's personal observations.

Volume II. of the *Publications of the Arkansas Historical Association* (pp. 600), edited by Mr. J. H. Reynolds of Fayetteville, has just appeared. It contains a chapter on the History of Taxation in Arkansas, by Professor D. Y. Thomas; one on the battle of Prairie Grove, by C. W. Walker; one on Confederate manufactures in southwest Arkansas, by H. B. McKenzie; and the official orders of Governor Flanagin, the war-governor of Arkansas. On the period of Reconstruction there is a history of the Brooks-Baxter war, by Benjamin S. Johnson; a history of Reconstruction in Arkansas County, by Judge W. H. Halliburton; and accounts of the "Pope County Militia War", and of the history of the Catholic, the Baptist and Presbyterian churches. In December the association brought before the legislature of Arkansas a bill providing for a permanent state history commission with a salaried secretary located at the capital whose duties will be to take charge of the archives of the state, to collect all possible historical material and to publish such original documents as are of historical value. The bill also provides for the continuation of the publications of the Arkansas Historical Association at the expense of the state.

The October issue of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a number of "Old Letters", edited by William Salter. Those by James W. Grimes and Henry Dodge, of the years 1857-1859, are of chief interest. The *Annals* prints also a diary kept by William Edmundson, of Oskaloosa, while crossing the Western plains in 1850.

Under the title *A Canyon Voyage* Messrs. Putnam have issued a narrative by F. S. Dellenbaugh of the second Powell expedition down

the Green-Colorado River from Wyoming, and of the explorations on land, in the years 1871 and 1872.

In the series of *Studien und Forschungen zur Menschen- und Völk-erkunde*, directed by G. Buschan (Stuttgart, Strecker and Schröder), Dr. H. Eickoff has published a monograph on *Die Kultur der Pueblos in Arizona und New Mexico* (1908, pp. viii, 78).

The principal article in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for September is by T. W. Davenport, on "The Slavery Question in Oregon". The "Free-State Letter" of Judge George H. Williams is reprinted from the *Oregon Statesman* of July 28, 1857.

The Champlain Society of Toronto has decided to undertake, with Mr. H. P. Biggar as editor, a translation of the complete works of Champlain, and at the same time to reprint the French text. The whole work will run to four considerable volumes. The publications of the society are in limited editions of 500 copies—250 for members and 250 for subscribing libraries.

The Macmillan Company have published *The Tercentenary History of Canada*, in three volumes, by Frank B. Tracy.

The *Quebec Daily Telegraph* will shortly publish *The Quebec Tercentenary Commemorative History*, compiled and edited by Frank Carrel and Louis Feiczewicz, revised by E. T. D. Chambers, with introduction by Dr. A. G. Doughty.

How Canada was Won, by Captain F. S. Brereton, primarily the story of Wolfe and Quebec, will shortly appear from the press of H. M. Caldwell Company.

The principal paper in the *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, volume XIII. (Halifax, 1908, pp. xi, 188), is "The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wiswall, M. A., a Loyalist Clergyman in New England and Nova Scotia, 1731-1821", by Rev. E. M. Saunders. George E. E. Nichols contributes "Notes on Nova Scotian Privateers", relating to the war periods from 1756 to 1815. "Recollections of Old Halifax" (his own and other people's) is contributed by W. M. Brown.

Señor V. Salado Álvarez, formerly a secretary of the Mexican embassy in Washington, has prepared from materials in the Washington archives and in those of Mexico a valuable pamphlet entitled *La Conjura de Aaron Burr y las Primeras Tentativas de Conquista de México por Americanos del Oeste* (Mexico, Museo Nacional, 1908, pp. 64). The pamphlet contains the text of several Spanish documents from the Spanish archives and a reproduction of Burr's Mexican map.

Porfirio Díaz, by Rafael de Zayas Enríquez, is written from the most part from the point of view of an admirer of Díaz. The work is translated by T. Quincy Browne, jr., and is published by D. Appleton and Co.

A recent number in the *Münchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien*, edited by L. Brentano and W. Lotz, is Dr. W. Hegemann's *Mexikos Übergang zur Goldwährung: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Mexicanischen Geldwesens, 1867-1906* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1908, pp. xii, 189).

Bibliografía de la Revolución de Yara: Folletos y Libros Impresos de 1868 á 1908, by Luis M. Pérez (Havana, Imprenta Avisador Comercial, 1908, pp. x, 73) is the initial publication of a comprehensive bibliography of the Cuban Revolution planned by the author, to cover articles in periodicals, fugitive publications and manuscripts as well as books and pamphlets. The present issue contains 368 items. The work abounds in descriptive notes and cross-references.

Saint Domingue (1629-1789) (Paris, Perrin, 1908), by Pierre de Vaissière, is an account of Creole life and society in that island during the Old Régime.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Griselle, *Lettre Inédite d'un Acadien à Richelieu en 1627* (*Études*, October 5) [the writer of the letter is De la Tour]; D. E. Mowry, *Political and Party Aspects of the National Judiciary*, II. (*American Historical Magazine*, September); J. W. Thompson, *Anti-Loyalist Legislation during the American Revolution* (*Illinois Law Review*, October); Max Farrand, *The Federal Constitution and the Defects of the Confederation* (*American Political Science Review*, November); W. F. Dodd, *The First State Constitutional Conventions, 1776-1783* (*ibid.*); R. S. Rodgers, *Closing Events of the War with Tripoli, 1804-1805* (*United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, September); H. L. Carson, *Pennsylvania's Defiance of the United States* (*Harper's Magazine*, October); Captain C. G. Calkins, U.S.N., *Decatur and Coleridge* (*United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, September); F. T. Hill, *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates: Fifty Years After* (*Century Magazine*, November); G. H. Putnam, *The London Times and the American Civil War* (*Putnam's*, November); E. R. Shaw, *The Assassination of Lincoln; the Hitherto Unpublished Account of an Eye-Witness* (*McClure's Magazine*, December); W. L. Fleming, *Jefferson Davis, the Negroes and the Negro Problem* (*Sewanee Review*, October); C. F. Smith, *Robert E. Lee Once More* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, October).

The

American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT WASHINGTON AND RICHMOND

IT has for some years been the practice of the American Historical Association to meet, by rotation, one year in some eastern city, the next in a western city, the third in Washington, where the Association has its official headquarters. Since it might be difficult to secure a meeting in Richmond as an eastern city the next year after meeting so near to it as Washington, it had been arranged, in response to the urgent invitation received from the Richmond members, that the twenty-fourth annual meeting, held on December 28, 29, 30 and 31, 1908, should be divided between Washington and Richmond. This year the American Economic Association met separately at Atlantic City. But the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association, it was determined, should meet first in Washington on the evening of Monday, December 28, and the forenoon of the next day, should then proceed to Richmond by special train on Tuesday afternoon, and should there resume their sessions and continue them through Thursday evening.

The testimony of all seems to be that the meeting was among the best the Association has ever had; that of many has declared it the most successful of all. It may seem too American to appeal to the test of numbers, yet when less palpable evidences of success point in the same direction, it is no harm to say that whereas the highest registration hitherto recorded showed 280 members present (at the Providence meeting in 1906), on this latest occasion the registration amounted to 330 names; it was a matter of regret that so few—less than twenty-five—were present from the region south of Richmond and the Ohio River.

The attractions and historic interest of Washington and Richmond, and their genial climate, doubtless had their part in bringing

together so large a number of the members, and in making the occasion one of pleasure. Much was gained from the fact that, in each city, nearly all the proceedings of both societies went on under one roof, that of a spacious and excellent hotel which afforded abundant opportunities for making acquaintance and for conversation. The special train from Washington to Richmond gave still further opportunities of the sort, more than offsetting whatever disadvantage there is in moving from one town to another in the midst of the sessions. Greater still was the social pleasure of the excursion to Charlottesville and Monticello which some seventy or eighty members made on the day following the sessions.

Besides the ordinary social opportunities which meetings in themselves always present and on which members count, several special occasions were afforded. His Excellency the British Ambassador (president this year of the American Political Science Association) and Mrs. Bryce welcomed the members of both organizations to the cordial and brilliant hospitality of the Embassy, on the first evening of the sessions, and a luncheon was provided the next day by the Washington members. At Richmond it may be said with literal truth that the whole city was hospitable; for, apart from the untiring thoughtfulness and kindness of many individuals, among whom we ought especially to mention Captain W. Gordon McCabe, the chairman of the local committee of arrangements, Mr. William G. Stanard, its secretary, and Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, the City Council made on behalf of the municipality a handsome appropriation for the entertainment and benefit of the visiting members. Clubs, as in Washington, threw open their doors; the Confederate Museum, the Virginia State Library, and the rooms of the Virginia Historical Society, were placed at the disposal of members and were extensively visited. The Woman's Club gave a most pleasing reception, and the Westmoreland Club invited the gentlemen to its celebration of New Year's Eve, a characteristic and unique occasion. Those who went to Charlottesville were entertained to luncheon by the University of Virginia.

Both at Richmond and at Charlottesville the true character of Virginian hospitality was manifested. This is no place in which to attempt to philosophize upon it. Yet it is of importance as a historic trait, and our magazine-writers, ministering to a public taste that would at all costs have colonial history invested with social brilliancy, have persistently mispraised it. Not splendor and conspicuous expense, but the inward graces of cordial feeling and the genial conduct that flows from it, were and are the best qualities

of Virginian hospitality. Their workings were well shown, to the attentive observer, in the informal reception which occurred in the parlors of the Jefferson on the first evening. There was no "receiving line"! That quaint mechanical device, by which a nation skilled in organization but inexpert in the pursuit of social pleasure has sought to ensure that there shall be at least "something doing" when one body entertains another, was not needed by a society which for generations had known how to invest human intercourse with pleasure, and whose universal spirit was that of vigilant care for the stranger's happiness.

But to return to Washington and the first session. In joint meeting with the American Political Science Association, the historical students listened to the inaugural address of Mr. Bryce as president of the latter body. The address, which has been printed in full elsewhere,¹ was entitled "The Relations of Political Science to History and to Practice". With apt illustrations drawn from wide historical reading and abundant experience of political life Mr. Bryce discussed the sense in which political science could properly be called a science, the need of keeping it concrete by frequent appeal to the facts of history, and the value it might have for the public life in abating the domination of phrases, reducing the fluctuations of public opinion, and checking the excesses of factiousness, of localism and of national vanity.

The programme of the separate sessions of the American Historical Association consisted, as usual, partly of formal papers read before general audiences, composed of members and of the public, partly of informal conferences of members interested in special portions of history or special aspects of historical work. In the former, the twenty-minute rule was administered by the presiding officer strictly, and greatly to the satisfaction of the audience; and the speakers, in general, submitted to its operation with the best of grace. The practical conferences, a growing feature of the association's meetings, would have been more interesting as a whole if participants had confined themselves less closely to the reading of set papers and if there had been freer range of informal discussion.

The one session in Washington which was devoted to historical addresses was opened by a suggestive paper from a federal official, Dr. Joseph A. Hill, chief of the Division of Revision and Results in the Census Bureau, on "The Use of Census Materials in American Economic and Social History". Dr. Hill confined himself to remarks on the schedules relating to population. The very first

¹ *American Political Science Review*, February, 1909.

census went somewhat beyond the mere constitutional requirement of a count of population, by introducing some details as to color and age, not essential to the purpose of congressional apportionment. The census of 1850 marks the introduction of the present method of recording the facts for each individual separately, and embraced a large variety of personal data. The Census Office is now publishing the names of the heads of families enumerated in the first census (1790). Classifying the population by origin, race or stock, on the basis furnished by these names, it hopes to contribute to our social history a better notion of the composition of the original population of the United States. For further instances, the original unpublished census schedules are capable of yielding much valuable information regarding the institution of slavery and regarding the American family; the nature of the data available was described in each case. The Census Office was established and made permanent in order to subserve the interests of statistical science, and indirectly the interests of history and sociology. It has in its archives a vast store of statistical data of probable value for purposes of historical and sociological investigation. The members of the American Historical Association, Dr. Hill observed, should be in a better position to judge of the historical value of these records than the Census Office itself. The achievements and personnel of the Association, he declared, warrant the statement that its influence is sufficient to secure any compilation of the earlier census data the historical value of which would justify the labor and expense. He was confident that any efforts on its part to promote the compilation of census data for historical purposes would meet with the most friendly co-operation on the part of the Census Office.

The remaining four papers of the morning were devoted to a consideration of the historical uses of American newspapers. Mr. William Nelson, corresponding secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, and author of the chief compilation on our early newspapers, spoke on "The American Newspapers of the Eighteenth Century as Sources of History". Mr. James Ford Rhodes spoke on "The Use of Newspapers for the History of the Period from 1850 to 1877", the period for which, in his *History of the United States*, he has shown so masterly an example of their use. Mr. Talcott Williams, of the *Philadelphia Press*, discussed "The Use for Historical Purposes of the Newspapers of the Last Thirty Years", and Mr. Melville E. Stone, general manager of the Associated Press, gave a description and estimate of "Associated Press Dispatches as Materials for History".

The news in the earlier papers, Mr. Nelson admitted, was of slight account. Down to Stamp Act times, it is their advertisements which give them their chief historical value. He showed how interestingly the social history of that time is lighted up by the data which one finds in the newspaper advertisements and often nowhere else, on such topics as the development of means of communication, the distribution and growth of commerce, the improvement of dwellings and farms and orchards and stock, the progress of manufactures, the operation of stay laws and of issues of paper money, the costumes, characteristics and status of runaway servants and slaves, the fortunes and vogue of lottery projects, and the character of the books provided by bookseller or printer for colonial reading. From the conclusion of the French and Indian War a note of increased self-reliance is apparent, from the time of the Stamp Act a stronger interest in politics. The great events can be followed as well or better in other sources, but nowhere else can we gain so clear a notion of the character and development of public sentiment, or of the local meetings and measures by which agitation was maintained and made successful. The former is evidenced by a continued outpouring of communications, the latter by detailed reports. In the period of the Revolutionary war, something is to be gained from the newspaper accounts of battles and skirmishes, much more from the details they give of partisan warfare, local forays and reprisals, and the work of marauders and spies. Without such data we cannot understand the mutual feeling of Whig and Tory, the character of the Revolution as a partisan struggle, or the anti-Tory legislation of the period. Similarly, the communications and advertisements in the newspapers cast light on the economic results of the war, on the agitation for a better federal Constitution, and on the economic expansion which resulted from the increased confidence inspired by its ratification. With Washington's second administration the American newspapers enter upon a new era, marked by party effort and by the beginning of influential editorial writing.

Mr. Rhodes pointed out that the attitude of society to the newspaper is unsympathetic and that this affects to some degree the feeling of American historians when they consider the use of newspapers as historical materials, leading them to adopt an apologetic tone in justifying their employment. Yet taking the newspaper for what it is, with its virtues and its limitations, it seemed to him curious that an apology should be necessary for its use as historical material. For it is contemporary, written without knowledge of the

end, and its aim is to print the news which is present politics. If its relation is colored by honest or dishonest partisanship, that may be easily detected. For the history of the decade of 1850-1860 newspapers are indispensable for securing all the facts, and portraying the changing public opinion which is a prominent feature of those ten years. "As I based statement after statement upon newspaper authority, knowing that I was subjecting myself to criticism, I could not help thinking of the cogency of the remark, so well attested by a variety of examples, 'A modern newspaper statement, though probably true, if quoted in a book as testimony would be laughed at; but the letter of a court gossip, if written some centuries ago, is thought good historical evidence'." When we test newspaper evidence as we do all other evidence, taking into account the general situation, the surrounding influences and the individual bias of the journalist, we shall find it excellent authority, contributing to a vivid narrative. This is especially so for the decade of 1850-1860, when it is well worth while to have the statements and opinions of such great journalists as Greeley, Dana, Bryant, Bigelow, Webb, Bowles, Thurlow Weed, Schouler and Medill. For the history of the Civil War the newspapers, so far as the Northern side is concerned, are less important. The story of campaigns and battles is better told in the *Official Records*. The Southern newspapers however give many useful political facts nowhere else to be found, and they reflect admirably Southern society, peculiar in that it was cut off from intercourse with the outer world owing to the efficient Federal blockade. In the history of Reconstruction, the historian may be to a large extent independent of the daily newspaper. Reconstruction was the work of Congress, and its debates, reports and acts are the essential things. To sum up, "The duty of the historian is not to decide if the newspapers are as good as they ought to be, but to measure their influence on the present and to recognize their importance as an ample and contemporary record of the past".²

Mr. Williams declared that while the daily newspaper of the past thirty years considered as historical material had become less valuable in its record of the formal acts, events and measures of society, it had become more valuable than ever in recording the public influences and environment which create these acts. Debates, laws, official reports, decisions, investigations, elections, primaries and much else of this character were given with relatively greater fulness in newspapers before 1880 than since. Class journals now

² The full text of Mr. Rhodes's paper is to be printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* for May, 1909.

give much that was once in the daily. For iron, the historian will go to the *Iron Age*. For railroad accidents before 1880, he has no record but the newspaper. For accidents since, he will turn to technical journalism and official reports. Strikes before 1878 appear in the newspapers and court decisions. Since, their fullest record is in labor journals, state and federal labor reports, investigations and court decisions. But while giving less space and a less exclusive record for these and their like, the newspaper is a better record than ever before of the antecedent conditions which decide elections and cause laws. Compare the war of 1812 and the Spanish war. The official records of the latter are far more complete. But in ascertaining the public opinion which brought on each war, the newspaper in 1898 mirrors the public far better than in 1812. Newspapers do not summarize as well as they once did. They give atmosphere and color better. But meanwhile the bulk of a newspaper has grown three-fold in thirty years and ten-fold in sixty years. The files of a newspaper for thirty years past would fill about five thousand octavo volumes heterogeneous and unindexed. This bulk renders their use impracticable without inordinate labor. Historical societies instead of merely preserving newspaper files, should preserve clippings arranged in envelopes by subjects, making the record of the day accessible for the future. This could be done for about \$600 a year, as was shown by the experience of the writer in a collection of 300,000 clippings.

Mr. Stone prefaced his discussion of the relation of the Associated Press dispatches to the history of our time with the reminder that more newspapers are published in this country than in all the rest of the world, and that the education provided by these journals, though far from being education of the best sort, is practically the sole education afforded to the great mass of our adults. He described the scope and mutual relations of the four great press agencies of the world—the Reuter, the Wolff, the Agence Havas and the Associated Press—and the special American bureaus which the latter maintains at all the great capitals of the world, and then proceeded to elucidate the system employed for the gathering of news within the United States by this great co-operative organization of eight hundred American newspapers.

At Richmond the first paper presented before the Association, and the only one listed upon the programme for Tuesday evening, was the presidential address of Professor George B. Adams, on "History and the Philosophy of History". This has already been printed, in the January number of this journal.

The next morning was occupied with two simultaneous conferences, the one consisting of those interested in the Relations of Geography to History, the other of those interested in the Teaching of History in Secondary Schools. The geographical conference took for its special theme the relations of the geography of the Southern Atlantic states to their history. Its chairman, President Edwin E. Sparks of Pennsylvania State College, opened the conference by remarks on the growth of interest in American geography as an element in the development of American historical writing. The progressive occupation of the Western continent by civilized man being the paramount theme of the first four centuries of American history, we find geography, and especially physiography, necessary at every step to its understanding, and must congratulate ourselves that these factors are being subjected to more and more thorough study.

Professor Charles H. Ambler of Randolph-Macon College exemplified the methods through which the history of sectionalism in Virginia might be pursued, by a special study of the geographical environment which helped to give direction to the early career of Patrick Henry, indicating particularly how his position in Hanover County, between the tidewater aristocracy and the frontiersmen, enabled him to take the lead of the latter in breaking down the control which the former had hitherto maintained over the colony. The next paper, by Professor John S. Bassett of Smith College, bore on "The Influences of Coast Line and Rivers on North Carolina". Commenting on some of the results which in all the Southern Atlantic states flowed from the imposition of boundaries unrelated to physical areas, he argued that the James River on the one hand and the Cape Fear River on the other were centres of natural states, with Albemarle Sound as the logical dividing line between them; that the area north of that line ought to have been made a part of Virginia, whose older society would have restrained its early rudeness; that in that case the Cape Fear region would probably have been settled in the seventeenth century and have given independent character to a strong colony; and that the result of the actual boundaries had been till the industrial developments of the last forty years, first to isolate North Carolina society and then to bind the state, through the Albemarle influence, to Virginia.

In the discussion which followed the reading of these papers, Professor Turner of Wisconsin pointed out that often the political history of a minor division of America is misunderstood or deemed erratic because that division consists of diverse and balanced sec-

tions and has not been analyzed. Now that a fair number of studies of sections had been carried out, he urged the importance of correlating them and of thinking in terms of economic areas rather than of states. Thus, by bringing together the results of studies of up-country and low-country in Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, we learn the existence of *two* Souths, the history of their struggles in respect to representation, transportation, the tariff, etc., and of the development of Southern society through the mutual interaction of areas and provinces. Professor Burr of Cornell emphasized some of the cautions needful in such studies as had just been presented, and the danger in regarding geography as anything more than a factor in human development.

The conference on History in Secondary Schools, with especial reference to the Report of the Committee of Seven, was presided over by Professor McLaughlin of the University of Chicago, who stated some of the chief problems in this field.

Professor Lee Bidgood, of the State Female Normal College at Farmville, Virginia, suggested that more attention might be paid in high schools to the history of Latin America, and to industrial history, and that civics should be a separate course. The most troublesome problems in method were connected with the use of the notebook, historical novel and topics for search. There was need of additional and more elementary text-books of ancient history, the simplification of courses in medieval and modern history, more stories and facts and fewer generalities. Mr. J. G. Crowell, of the Brearley School, also dwelt upon the need of story-telling, and proposed a three-year course in stories, followed by a three-year course with a simple text-book and a two-year course in rationalized professional history. Mr. Robert A. Maurer, head of the department of history of the high schools of Washington, believed that ancient history must be vitalized by teaching more of the life and civilization of the times, by making more of biography, and by using the vast supply of available illustrative material. Instead of one year of general European history, and one year of English history, there should be a two-year, one-book European history course, which would give opportunity for thoughtful study. Mr. E. S. Noyes of the Central High School of Washington pleaded for longer courses on shorter periods, and for more concrete treatment than is usual in text-books of ancient history. The course in ancient history should be shortened and given unity, by being confined either to the study of governmental and political development, or to that of civilization and mode of life. Mr. J. Herbert Low of the Manual

Training High School of Brooklyn urged the importance of teaching history so as to show the relation of the modern man to his environment. Especially in the large cities, where aliens are numerous, ample time should be given to American history and civics.

Professor MacDonald of Brown University spoke from the standpoint of one interested in history as a subject for examination for admission to college. He thought it a mistake to extend ancient history down to 800, believed that the field of medieval and modern history is too vast to be dealt with properly in an examination paper, and that the association of civics with American history has been disadvantageous. It is impracticable to examine collateral reading under present usage. The history text-book of today is vastly superior to that of ten years ago and much more respect is to be accorded to it.

Professor Lucy M. Salmon of Vassar College made an appeal for more knowledge of ancient history on the part of teachers both in colleges and secondary schools. Instead of shortening the course in ancient history, there should be a change in emphasis in teaching it. Ancient history should be connected with modern life. Origins should be studied, and perspective gained. Colleges have not taught ancient history properly and have made too much of the entrance examination.

Professor Morse Stephens of the University of California agreed with Miss Salmon. He thought that the course in medieval history should begin not with destruction but with construction. The children should learn in broad outline how antiquity came into existence and how it disappeared. Modern history should end in 1815 or at latest in 1848. American colonial history should be taught in the high schools as part of English history.

Professor C. H. Haskins of Harvard University remarked that the Committee of Seven had pointedly disapproved an inflexible régime, but that the College Examination Board seemed to favor it. It has been attempted to shorten ancient history at the end, but it might be shortened in the middle. Why not start with the Punic wars and avoid the hypothetical development of the early Roman Republic? By prolonging Roman history to 800 the pupil feels the continuity of Rome, as in the Church and in the East. The meaning of Greek and Roman history is shown.

A few words must be spared for the transactions of two allied societies which met on the forenoon and afternoon respectively of this same day. The programme of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, which proposes each year to hold one of its two semi-

annual meetings in conjunction with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, included four papers. That of Dr. Clarence E. Carter of Illinois College on "Trade Conditions in Illinois, 1765-1768", related to the vain efforts made by British officials to divert the trade of the newly-acquired territory from New Orleans and cause it to flow up the Ohio. That of Professor St. George L. Sioussat of the University of the South, on "The North Carolina Cession of 1784 in its Federal Aspects", aimed at showing how the action of that state in ceding to the Confederation a portion of its western lands and in speedily repealing that cession stood related to the adjustment of its claims against the Confederation for its Revolutionary expenses, to proposed amendments to the Articles of Confederation, and to Robert Morris's projects respecting federal taxation. Professor Harlow Lindley of Earlham College followed with a paper on the service of William Clark as Indian agent and superintendent of Indian affairs, 1807-1838, dwelling especially on his negotiations during the war of 1812, and on those relating to Indian lands and Indian trade, and commending highly the power, tact and success which marked his dealings. Finally, Professor Frank H. Garver of Morningside College discoursed on "The Story of Sergeant Charles Floyd", member of the Lewis and Clark expedition and author of the well-known journal. The meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America was marked by papers on the official publications of the Confederate States, by Dr. J. William Jones, secretary of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society, Dr. H. R. McIlwaine of the Virginia State Library and Mr. Hugh A. Morrison of the Library of Congress, and by a paper by Mr. J. H. Parr of the last named library, on early printing in Virginia.

The evening session of the Historical Association, attended by a large audience, was devoted to four papers of striking excellence in European history. The first, that of Professor Haskins of Harvard, on "Normandy under William the Conqueror", appears in an expanded form in the present number of the *REVIEW*. It is expected that at a later time we shall have the pleasure of printing, in some form, that which was read by Professor Ernst Daenell of Kiel, on "The Leading Ideas of the Hanseatic Commercial System". The third was by Professor Oliver H. Richardson of Yale, on "Religious Toleration in Brandenburg-Prussia under the Great Elector and its Material Rewards". He demonstrated that in the development of the Prussian state religious toleration was both a political and an economic necessity. Annexations of territory and their

assimilation would have been impossible without it; it alone rendered feasible that policy of inner colonization which became in such abundant measure the source of the material power of the state through increase of population and the development of agriculture, industry and commerce. The adoption of the Reformed creed by the electors is the decisive factor in this evolution, for it alone insured the employment and permanence of a tolerating policy. The Great Elector is the central figure, for he became the founder of the tolerating state, thereby securing for all time the possibility of the colonizing policy, and he gave the initial impetus to that great movement. After describing the fundamental principles of the Great Elector's ecclesiastical polity at home and abroad, with particular reference to the establishment of toleration and the introduction of the religiously oppressed as colonists, Mr. Richardson discussed the effect of inner colonization upon population and the development of political greatness. The contrast between the tolerant policy of Brandenburg and the intolerant policy of Catholic Austria and Lutheran Saxony led, through inner colonization, to a disproportionate increase of the power of their tolerant rival. Comparative statistics of population in Saxony, Hanover and Brandenburg-Prussia show this. The concluding portion of the paper, based upon unpublished manuscripts in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv in Berlin, dealt with a little-known and finally unsuccessful attempt to introduce colonists from England in 1684-1685. It was accompanied by an attempt to make inner colonization, through the agency of English "Interlopers", tributary to foreign colonization, by means of the establishment of a Brandenburg East India Company, and was connected with an intrigue with the partisans of Monmouth. The evening session was closed by a paper by Professor Charles W. Colby of McGill University, entitled "Chatham, 1708-1908", which we expect to be able to print in our next issue.

Of the exercises of the last morning of the session, the conference of those interested in the work of state and local historical societies took place in the hall of the House of Delegates, in the historic Capitol of Virginia, Professor Evarts B. Greene of the University of Illinois presiding. Professor Sioussat, secretary of the conference, read the customary review of the year's progress in legislation for the benefit of historical societies and departments, in building and endowment, in publication and research. Dr. Dunbar Rowland of Mississippi read the report of the committee of seven of which he is chairman, appointed a year before to consider co-operation among historical societies and departments, especially

in the exploiting of the French archives for purposes of Mississippi Valley history. There is certainly no field in which co-operation among historical agencies is more obviously the appropriate course to follow. Since these French documents relate to the region when it was undivided, the task of preliminary dealings with them is a task common to all the historical institutions of the region; separate search or listing by each state or society, each making more or less effort to confine itself to its special area, cannot fail to result in unevenness, duplication and waste of money. The committee, while advocating photography rather than copying as the ultimate procedure, recommended that both should whenever possible be deferred till an itemized list or brief calendar of all documents in the French archives relating to the Mississippi Valley has been prepared. It reported a plan whereby, if sufficient subventions are obtained from the organizations interested, such a calendar shall be prepared under general supervision given by Mr. Waldo G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution during the time of his next mission to Paris on behalf of that institution. Before the conference adjourned, provisional assurances of support were given in sufficient number to make success probable; the committee was continued, and charged with the completion of the preliminary arrangements.

Mr. W. G. Leland followed with a paper on the Applications of Photography to Archive and Historical Work. First describing some of these applications, such as the restoration of defaced documents, the preservation of those that have begun to disintegrate, the collection of specimens of handwriting, the detection of erasures, and the making of absolutely accurate copies, the last the most important, he devoted the remainder of his paper to the technical exposition of two distinct methods of securing photographic copies of documents at a moderate cost, in many cases not greater than that of handwritten copies. The one process, involving the use of a small camera and subsequent enlargement, was especially adapted to the needs of travelling scholars; the other, the white-black process of the Abbé Graffin, to the securing of working copies where only one copy is desired. The speaker urged that every depository of manuscript should be furnished with some sort of photographic installation.

The conference was concluded by a paper by Mr. Albert C. Myers on Historical Exhibitions. After some words on the history of such exhibitions in Europe and America, he spoke more in

detail of the historical exhibits maintained at the Jamestown Exposition of 1907, and especially of those prepared by Professor M. D. Learned and himself, as commissioners for Pennsylvania, and showed many photographs and four large maps prepared to indicate the development of population and its racial elements in Pennsylvania from 1660 to 1735. Mr. Myers urged that historical exhibits should always be arranged with definite purposes in mind; the most legitimate of these he believed to be the exposition of social and other conditions at stated periods.

Three other practical conferences took place at the same time, composed respectively of those interested in Research in English History, in American Colonial and Revolutionary History, and in that of the South. Of these the first seems the most likely to take effect in immediate practical results of great importance. In opening this conference its chairman, Professor Edward P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania, referred to three subjects as profitable for discussion: neglected fields of English historical research; a bibliography of modern English history; the need of closer union between the professed students of English history and students of the history of English literature, of English church history, of English economic history and still other phases of the subject. The conference was chiefly devoted to the second subject, but a topic in the field first mentioned was treated in a paper on the use of Old Norse Sources in English History, by Dr. Laurence M. Larson of the University of Illinois. A close connection existed for centuries between the Saxons and the Norse colonists in the British Isles, especially with those of the Danelaw. Our knowledge of the Danelaw is defective; a careful search in the Old Norse sources would clear up a number of disputed points. The Eddic poems, originating in the century when the Danelaw was founded, have direct significance for English history. Attention was also called to the possibilities of research in Scandinavian law, and to the value of the sagas relating to the Danish conquest and Cnut, in a period for which the English sources are incomplete or strongly partisan.

The remainder of the conference was devoted to discussion of the possibility and character of a bibliography of modern English history, continuing from 1485 that of Gross, and prepared by co-operation of scholars. Dr. Frances G. Davenport of the Carnegie Institution, dealing with the field of English diplomatic history and holding that any proper bibliography should in this field take account

of unprinted as well as of printed sources, described the chief classes of manuscript material for her subject in public and private repositories. She maintained that, for similar reasons, a brief description of the chief Continental archives and libraries should be included in a bibliography of modern English history.

Professor Ralph C. H. Catterall of Cornell University pursued the discussion with a comprehensive account of the need and plan of such a bibliography. He believed that it should be select and restricted to printed material, including pamphlets and articles, excluding the colonies except as their history directly concerned Great Britain, and treating almost as fully of economic and ecclesiastical history as of narrative, political and constitutional history. It should contain notes descriptive of the contents of books, and critical estimates with references to important reviews. The work should be produced by collaboration under the supervision of a general editor with specialists in charge of the various chronological periods.

Professor Roger B. Merriman of Harvard spoke of the probability of English co-operation in the proposed undertaking. The typewritten syllabus of the bibliographical lectures delivered by Professor Firth at Oxford afforded an admirable nucleus for further work in seventeenth-century bibliography. He felt sure that English historical scholars would be far more eager to help than to criticize any adequate scheme. Sentiment as well as practical expediency dictated the adoption of an arrangement similar to that of Professor Gross's *Sources and Literature*.

Professor Arthur L. Cross of the University of Michigan proposed as a supplementary project the preparation of detailed lists of the material on English history contained in the more important libraries in the United States, and possibly of Great Britain. Such lists should be prepared under the supervision of a committee of the American Historical Association and published, preferably by the Association or by the Bibliographical Society of America. Professor Ernest C. Richardson, librarian of Princeton University, pursued this suggestion. He showed how librarians were co-operating by check-lists indicating in what libraries books were and agreeing among themselves who should purchase those books not in any of the American libraries. Such a list is in preparation for collections of European historical sources. Co-operation with English workers has been entirely practicable in the Library Associations. For undertaking such a manual no agency is so appropriate as a special committee of the American Historical Association.

Mr. W. Dawson Johnston, librarian of the Bureau of Education, believed that an elementary work is more desirable than a comprehensive one, the publication of "it more practicable, and the organization of a staff for the preparation of it an essential step towards the preparation of the more comprehensive bibliography. He also spoke of the importance of recording the literature of different phases of national activity, *e. g.*, the history of education. Professor James F. Baldwin of Vassar College suggested that the bibliography be limited in the main to the period from 1485 to 1688, a proposal which was strongly supported by Professor Haskins.

The conference adopted a resolution, introduced by Mr. Richardson, that the Council of the American Historical Association be requested to appoint a committee to secure the preparation of a bibliographical introduction to modern English history in which at least the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should be treated on the same general lines as Professor Gross's work, and if practicable to secure the co-operation of English historians in this work.

The conference on research in American Colonial and Revolutionary History was opened by its chairman, Professor Herbert L. Osgood of Columbia University, who read a very comprehensive statement of the principal unsolved problems of the period of the French Wars. The first requisite is a comparative study of the development of the colonies as institutions of government during the early eighteenth century, *e. g.*, the relations between the assemblies and the executive. Among other problems are: the expansion of settlement and accompanying agrarian and religious developments; colonial systems of defence; Indian relations; the internal social history of Pennsylvania and New York; the origin and composition of political groups; the part borne by the British officials and boards in all branches of colonial administration; the spirit of British administration in general at this period; parliamentary activities; the whole policy of imperial defence; the means by which communication was maintained between the authorities in England and representatives of the crown in America; the work of colonial agents; royal instructions; and, of especial importance, the early history of American law.

The opportunity for research in the economic history of the colonies in the eighteenth century was discussed by Dr. George L. Beer, who after referring to the difficulties of investigating this field, and the slight extent of its cultivation, showed that it might be approached either as the beginning of a great industrial state,

or as part of an imperial system. Among the many subjects needing investigation are: the various provincial financial systems; the systems of land grants; the financial relations of the colonies to the mother country; the rise of manufactures; and many questions connected with the slave trade. More closely connected with imperial history are such questions as the relation between attempts to develop Scottish commerce and the Union of 1707; the effect of confining enumerated colonial exports to the mother country, in the light of the conditions actually prevailing in business life; the political history of the laws of trade and navigation; the English fiscal system in its relation to colonial commerce; and intra-imperial financial relations.

Professor Charles M. Andrews of Johns Hopkins University discussed the documentary records of British colonial administration. He took up first the material accumulated by the Privy Council, then the papers of the secretaries of state and the departmental records, and finally the various miscellaneous collections in the Public Record Office. He attempted to point out not only the significance of these records as helping to solve many of the problems mentioned by Professor Osgood and Dr. Beer, but also their importance in throwing light upon the actual working of the British machinery of control in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—a subject largely neglected by students of colonial history. He explained, as far as is possible at the present time, the nature of the changes now being made in the classification of the Home Office and Colonial Office papers, and showed the relation of these changes to the old system of reference. He also mentioned many undertakings, in the way of compiling series and lists, that might well gain the attention of American students.

Professor Charles H. Hull of Cornell University called attention to the fact that the same sort of governmental and commercial problems were presented in the West Indian colonies as in the American colonies. The West Indies should be intimately associated with the history of the American colonies in making any comprehensive study of the British colonial system. The islands were on the route of commerce between the colonies and the mother country, and such products as sugar, cotton and tobacco were a great source of revenue; they had a vigorous political life, and most of the controversies and questions which came up in the American colonies—such as the struggle between the governors

and the anti-royal party, and commercial difficulties—also came up in the West Indies.

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan discussed the work which the general historian would wish to have done in the field of the Revolutionary War. The military and personal history is the most completely done, though studies of the activities of a number of members of the Continental Congress are needed. The finances of states and the financial relations of Congress with them need much investigation, and the industrial history is almost untouched. Other worthy subjects of study are: the administration of governors and the factional politics within the states; the relations of the governors and legislatures of states with Congress; state constitutional conventions and the conflicting forces therein; interstate quarrels; the policy of Congress as to the use of Indians, and the work of a number of its committees. The social history of the Revolutionary period is an especially unworked field, wherein the religious changes, the results of the changes in land tenure, the amelioration of the criminal code, are much in need of study.

The conference on research in Southern History was presided over by President Lyon G. Tyler of the College of William and Mary. Mr. Douglas S. Freeman of the Southern Historical Manuscripts Commission spoke on the official materials for the history of the Confederacy, the destruction or recovery of records and documents, and the nature and scope of the collections now known. Professor C. H. Ambler read a paper on Political Conditions in Virginia on the Eve of Secession. After some discussion of the efforts made in educational, religious and economic matters, during the years immediately preceding secession, to unite all Virginia in the cause of slavery and of Southern solidarity, Mr. Ambler showed by a detailed description of the political contests of 1859 and 1860, the struggles of Henry A. Wise and R. M. T. Hunter, how the sectional interests of eastern and western Virginia made it impossible to hold the state permanently to united action.

Miss Julia A. Flisch of the University of Wisconsin, in a paper on the Common People of the Old South, deprecated the habit of magnifying unduly the influence of aristocracy in the South, and advocated a fuller attention to the influence and power of the democratic masses, a body of population having greater persistence and a stronger reserved force than the higher classes. It did not follow blindly the leadership of the latter but on the contrary deter-

mined in great measure the limits and conditions to which the leaders must conform.

In the discussion which followed the reading of these papers, Mr. Thomas M. Owen of Montgomery spoke of the work of Southern historical societies and departments, Professor Turner of the need of deeper study of the social, religious and industrial history of the Old South, President Tyler and Mr. C. G. Chamberlayne of the value of county and church records respectively.

Doubtless the most interesting session was that of the last evening, when, in the presence of a large audience, including many Confederate veterans of the Civil War, one of the great Virginia campaigns of that war was discussed from three different points of view—that of a Confederate brigadier-general, chief of ordnance in Longstreet's corps, that of a retired colonel in the United States Army, Westpointer of 1865, and that of a major in the present General Staff and lecturer in the Army War College. The arrangement was that Grant's Conduct of the Wilderness Campaign should be discussed by General Edward P. Alexander, C.S.A., Lee's Conduct of the Wilderness Campaign by Colonel William R. Livermore, U. S. A. retired, and the Wilderness Campaign from our Present Point of View by Major Eben Swift, U. S. A. The occasion was not without dramatic interest. When the American Historical Association was founded, few would have thought that in twenty-five years, and when the Wilderness Campaign was only forty-five years in the past, it would have been possible for an audience of Northern and Southern scholars, in the capital of the Confederacy, to join in listening to such a discussion without a trace of mutual embarrassment or even the sense of strangeness.

General Alexander opened his narrative at the time when Grant took the aggressive in his campaign against Lee. Commenting upon the division of Grant's army, a part of which, the Army of the Potomac, was under Meade, and a part, the Ninth Corps, under Burnside, and upon the familiar evils of division, General Alexander declared his belief that, but for the delays resulting from an organization thus defective, Grant would have gone beyond the fields both of the Wilderness and of Spottsylvania into the open country. In that case, there would have been no battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania but probably a battle on a line behind the North Anna. Grant virtually lost the first battle by his faulty organization; Lee won it by bringing Longstreet into the action just in the nick of time. It is a little surprising that Grant, having the initiative

and the greater force of artillery, did not make a greater effort to get himself clear of the Wilderness before he encountered Lee's army. Finding it where he did, he at once took the aggressive with such vigor that had he had sufficient daylight he would have made Lee regret his mistake in locating his supporting infantry under Longstreet behind his left flank instead of behind his right. General Alexander commented particularly on the fighting on the morning of May 12 in which the Union generals Cutler and Griffen reported their men to have been engaged for three or four hours. Comparison of some official reports that have been printed, and the strange absence of others, leads to the conjecture that the engagement was one of Union troops against Union troops.

Colonel Livermore, after a sketch of the general situation at the opening of the campaign, and a review of the combatants, Union and Confederate, whose force he estimated in the proportion of 100 to 60, entered upon a detailed account of the campaign, impossible to summarize briefly. The chief flaw which he found in Lee's brilliant strategy lay in the acceptance of the sharp salient at Spottsylvania Court House. That he fought chiefly behind intrenchments was indeed a great advantage, but it was an advantage due to his own superior skill. Lee's campaign was a most masterly one, and few campaigns of any commander afford a more profitable field of study for the military historian.

Major Swift illuminated his paper with many instructive comparisons. The battles of the present day are fought by soldiers who shoot five times faster, five times farther, and five times more often than the soldiers who fought in the Wilderness Campaign. Grant's line of battle may be estimated, in the battle of the Wilderness, at thirteen men to each yard of front, Lee's at nine, while at Liao Yang the Japanese attacked with a front of about three and a half men to the yard. In length of duration and in the percentage of men killed the comparison is more nearly equal. The speaker showed how a modern campaign in such a *terrain* would probably be conducted. Of Lee's generalship, he declared that Lee stood alone as a general of Napoleonic type, and that his originality was especially shown in this campaign, when he sought battle in a forest. "None of the great soldiers before him probably encountered as dangerous an adversary as Grant, and none of them, except Hannibal, and Napoleon in the last two years, were opposed to soldiers as good as their own. The odds of numbers were greater against Lee in the Wilderness Campaign than they were

against Napoleon in the Waterloo campaign. But Lee had his army at the end and Napoleon's disaster was complete."

It remains to speak of the business meeting of the Association, in which its various activities were reported upon. It having been already agreed that the annual meeting of December, 1909, shall be held in New York, in conjunction with the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association and the American Sociological Society, it was now voted, on recommendation of the Council, that the meeting of December, 1910, should be held in Indianapolis. Upon the retirement of Mr. A. Howard Clark from the office of secretary, resolutions were passed expressive of gratitude for his generous services as assistant secretary from 1889 to 1900 and as secretary from 1900 to 1908. The constitution was so amended that hereafter, instead of secretary and corresponding secretary, the two secretaries will be respectively entitled secretary and secretary of the council, the secretary being charged to care for the general correspondence and the roll of membership, to see the *Annual Reports* through the press and to distribute them to members, the secretary of the council to perform the functions implied in his title.

The policy of issuing at the cost of the Association, in a series of volumes outside the *Annual Reports*, the essays to which the Winsor and Adams prizes are awarded, was definitely adopted. Contestants are advised that the standing committees on those prizes will soon introduce into the rules of award some modifications appropriate to the new departure. The first volume to be issued will be Dr. Edward B. Krehbiel's essay on The Interdict under Innocent III., the second, that of Professor Clarence E. Carter of Illinois College on Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774. The latter was awarded the Justin Winsor prize at the present meeting; honorable mention was given to the essay of Dr. Charles H. Ambler of Randolph-Macon College, on Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861.

The acting secretary reported a total membership of 2052, exclusive of those delinquent in the payment of dues. The treasurer's report showed net receipts of \$8038, net expenditures of \$6878, an increase of \$1160 in the funds of the Association, and total assets of \$26,084.

Brief reports were made on behalf of the Pacific Coast Branch, the Historical Manuscripts Commission (on the diplomatic archives of the Republic of Texas), the Board of Editors of this journal, the

Committee on Bibliography, the Committee on Publications, the General Committee, the editor of the "Original Narratives of Early American History", and the Committee of Eight on History in Elementary Schools, whose report is now in the hands of the printer. The Public Archives Commission reported that it had in hand manuscript reports on the archives of Maine, Missouri, the state of Washington and the older counties of Virginia, and expected soon to receive others, on California, Illinois and West Virginia. It had also nearly ready a list of the council-journals, assembly-journals and statutes of the thirteen colonies. An important new activity has been added to those already undertaken by the Association, through the appointment by the Council of a committee on the preparation of a bibliography of modern English history, in pursuance of the recommendation made, as above mentioned, by one of the conferences. This committee is to consist of Professors E. P. Cheyney, chairman, R. B. Merriman, A. L. Cross, Williston Walker (it is hoped) and E. C. Richardson.

Complimentary resolutions of the usual character were presented by a committee of which Dr. Charles L. Wells of New Orleans was chairman. The committee on nominations, Professors Andrews, Cross and Mace, proposed a list of officers, all of whom were chosen by the Association. Professor Albert Bushnell Hart was elected president for the ensuing year, Professors Frederick J. Turner and William M. Sloane vice-presidents. Mr. Waldo G. Leland was elected secretary, Professor Charles H. Haskins secretary of the council, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen treasurer, and Mr. A. Howard Clark curator. In the place of Professors Andrews and Robinson, who had served three terms in the Executive Council, Professors Everts B. Greene and Charles H. Hull were chosen.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

<i>President,</i>	Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, Cambridge.
<i>First Vice-president,</i>	Professor Frederick J. Turner, Madison.
<i>Second Vice-president,</i>	Professor William M. Sloane, New York.
<i>Secretary,</i>	Waldo G. Leland, Esq., to be addressed at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
<i>Secretary of the Council,</i>	Professor Charles H. Haskins, 15 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass.

Treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen, Esq., 130 Fulton Street, New York.

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Henry C. Lea, Esq., ¹	Professor Evarts B. Greene,
Professor Goldwin Smith, ¹	Professor Charles H. Hull.

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting:

Professor James T. Shotwell, Columbia University, chairman; Max Farrand, Charles H. Haskins, Thomas W. Page and Frederic L. Paxson.

Local Committee of Arrangements for that Meeting:

Professor William M. Sloane, Columbia University, chairman; John Bigelow, Clarence W. Bowen, Nicholas Murray Butler, Mrs. Robert Abbe and Miss Ruth Putnam.

Editors of the American Historical Review:

Professor George B. Adams, Yale University, chairman; George L. Burr, Albert Bushnell Hart, J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin and William M. Sloane.

Historical Manuscripts Commission:

Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society, chairman; Herbert D. Foster, Gaillard Hunt, Thomas M. Owen, Ulrich B. Phillips and James A. Woodburn.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize:

Professor Charles H. Hull, Cornell University, chairman; John H. Latané, Theodore C. Smith, Claude H. Van Tyne and Williston Walker.

Public Archives Commission:

Professor Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Clarence S. Brigham, Carl P. Fish, Herbert L. Osgood, Victor H. Paltsits and Dunbar Rowland.

Committee on Bibliography: Professor Ernest C. Richardson,

¹ Ex-presidents.

- Princeton University, chairman; Appleton P. C. Griffin, William C. Lane, James T. Shotwell and Wilbur H. Siebert.
- Committee on Publications:* Professor William A. Dunning, chairman; Herman V. Ames, George L. Burr, Worthington C. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Charles H. Hull, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland and Ernest C. Richardson (all *ex officio*, except the chairman).
- Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize:* Professor George L. Burr, Cornell University, chairman; Guy S. Ford, Charles Gross, James W. Thompson and John M. Vincent.
- General Committee:* Professor St. George L. Sioussat, University of the South, chairman; Julian A. C. Chandler, William E. Dodd, Earle W. Dow, Walter L. Fleming, Miss Susan M. Kingsbury, Waldo G. Leland, Orin G. Libby, William E. Lingelbach, Franklin L. Riley, Miss Lucy M. Salmon, George C. Sellery, Frank H. Severance, Benjamin F. Shambaugh and Frederick G. Young.
- Committee on History in Secondary Schools:* Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago, chairman; Charles H. Haskins, Charles W. Mann, James H. Robinson and James Sullivan.
- Committee on a Bibliography of Modern English History:* Professor Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson and Williston Walker.

NORMANDY UNDER WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR¹

THE Anglo-Norman state of the twelfth century is one of the most interesting phenomena in the history of European institutions. Whether in the extent and cohesion of its territory, in the centralized authority of its rulers, or in the precocity and vigor of its administrative system, whose many-sided activity can still be traced in writ and roll and exchequer record, the Anglo-Norman kingdom finds no parallel in the western Europe of its time. Moreover, on its institutional side at least, it was no local or temporary affair. Themselves the product of a variety of elements—Anglo-Saxon, Danish, Frankish, not to mention the more immediate Norman and Angevin—the contemporary influence of Anglo-Norman institutions extended from Scotland to Sicily, while their later outgrowths are to be seen in the imitation of Norman practices by the kings of France, as well as in the whole fabric of English government.

Of the two sets of institutions which were suddenly brought together in 1066 and continued side by side under the same rulers for a century and a half, those of Normandy are much the more obscure. It is not, of course, implied that investigation of the Anglo-Saxon period has reached its limits: within a dozen years the labors of Maitland and Liebermann, of Round and Vinogradoff—to mention no others—have shown what can be done, and what remains to be done, by a more scientific study of the Domesday survey and the legal sources and by a wider view of the relations of England to the Continent, and the next few years are likely to see considerable additions to our knowledge in these directions. Still the mere mention of these scholars and the sources which are at their disposal shows the great advantage of England over Normandy, both before and after the Conquest. It is only natural that the history of Normandy should generally have been approached, as in the classic researches of M. Léopold Delisle, from the point of view of France rather than of England, and although it is forty years since Professor Brunner first showed the way to a broader study of Anglo-Norman legal history, little has been done to apply his method to new materials and other problems. The paucity of

¹ A summary of this article was read before the International Congress of the Historical Sciences at Berlin in August, 1908, and before the American Historical Association in December, 1908.

sources is, of course, the great obstacle. Normandy has no Domesday and no dooms. Its earliest law-book, the older part of the *Très-Ancien Coutumier*, dates from the very end of the twelfth century, and while there are indications of the existence of a distinctly Norman body of custom before 1066,² the only formulation of the law of the Conqueror's day is a brief statement of certain of the ducal rights drawn up four years after his death by order of his sons.³ There is almost no contemporary evidence for the tenth century, and although Dudo of St. Quentin is useful so far as he reflects the conditions of his own age, for the greater part of the eleventh century we have only narratives put together two or three generations later.⁴ Our main reliance must be upon the charters, and even here, such has been the destruction of Norman records, the body of materials is less than for contemporary England or for such adjacent regions as Anjou and Flanders, and is especially small for the earlier part of the Conqueror's reign.⁵ A large part of this documentary material is still unprinted and unsifted, but the systematic study of the diplomatic sources of Anglo-Norman history is now being attacked from three sides—by M. Ferdinand Lot for the early dukes, by Mr. H. W. C. Davis for the English charters from the Conquest to 1154, and by the author of this paper, with the assistance of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, for the Norman charters from the accession of William I. to the point where M. Delisle's great work on the acts of Henry II. is to begin.

² "Donavi apud Argentias leuam iuxta morem patriae nostrae." Charters of Robert I. for Fécamp, preserved in the original in the Musée de la Bénédictine at Fécamp, nos. 3 bis, 4 bis. "Consuetudines quoque et servicia omnia que de terra exeunt secundum morem Normannie." Charter of William I. for Mont St. Michel, 1054, in Delisle, *Histoire du Château et des Sires de Saint Sauveur-le-Vicomte* (Valognes, 1867), pièces, no. 24. In 1074 Roger, earl of Hereford, is tried "secundum leges Normannorum". Ordericus Vitalis, ed. Le Prévost, II. 264.

³ "Hee sunt consuetudines et iusticie quas habet dux Normannie in eadem provincia." Printed as part of the acts of council of Lillebonne by Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum* (Paris, 1717), IV. 117, and reprinted in Mansi, *Concilia*, XX. 575, and Migne, *Patrologia*, CXLIX. 1329. I have given a critical edition in the *English Historical Review* (1908), XXIII. 502-508.

⁴ The *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers is of course an exception, as is also the first redaction of the work of William of Jumièges, when a critical edition shall have restored it to us.

⁵ The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses (MS. Lat. n. a. 1243) a collection of copies of William's charters made by the late Achille Deville, which, though far from complete, is of considerable convenience. Round's *Calendar of Documents preserved in France* is serviceable, so far as it goes.

Where manuscripts are cited below without the mention of any library, they are in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Until the completion of these undertakings any treatment of Norman history must be provisional, and even then we cannot hope to study the interaction of Frankish and Scandinavian elements in the tenth century or the government of the first dukes. For lack of sufficient earlier evidence the study of Norman institutions must begin about half a century before the Conquest of England, with the chronicle of Dudo and the charters of the later years of Richard II. Even for this period we shall find the material too fragmentary to yield conclusions on many points, and we shall need to supplement it from the more abundant, but still meagre, records of the latter part of William the Conqueror's reign. Ideally what we should most wish is a picture of Normandy at the moment of the invasion of England, but as a practical problem we shall find it hard enough to piece out some account of the government of Normandy if we use all of the sources of the Conqueror's reign, defining wherever possible the points that can be established as prior to 1066.

First of all, it is plain that Norman society in 1066 was a feudal society. Feudalism, however, may mean a great many different things,⁶ and we must seek to determine what specifically feudal institutions existed, keeping in mind always those which are significant with reference to subsequent English developments. Vassalage and dependent tenure meet us on every hand, and while there are holdings for life⁷ and the word *alod* occurs,⁸ though not always with a very exact technical meaning, most land seems to be held by hereditary tenure of some lord. There are degrees of such tenure, and in some instances subinfeudation is well advanced,⁹ but it is impossible to say whether all land was supposed to be held ultimately of the duke. Some measure of the extent to which feudal ideas had gone in early Normandy may be got from the indications of their disintegrating influence upon the Church. Before 1046 a provincial council prohibits bishops from granting the lands and

⁶ Cf. Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, second edition, I. 67; Adams, "Anglo-Saxon Feudalism", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VII. 11-35. Pollock and Maitland's chapter on Norman Law, though brief, contains the best account of conditions before the Conquest, and it is not necessary to repeat what is there said of feudal tenure. Cf. Stenton, *William the Conqueror* (New York, 1908), pp. 31-43.

⁷ E. g., Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Moreau, XXI. 8, 9, 25, 30.

⁸ E. g., "Trado autem ipsum alodium S. Juliano . . . sicut Adam meus vassallus de me tenuit." Charter of William I. for St. Julien de Tours, MS. Lat. 5443, p. 49.

⁹ *English Historical Review*, XXII. 644, 647.

revenues of the clergy as benefices to laymen,¹⁰ and the need of such legislation appears from the case of Bishop Robert of Coutances, who gave cathedral prebends as fiefs to his relatives.¹¹ The feudal relation might be created out of other ecclesiastical rights besides land, as when the bishop of Bayeux granted in fee the episcopal *consuetudines* of several parishes¹² or the archbishop of Rouen turned an archdeaconry into an hereditary fief.¹³

In return for their lands the Norman barons rendered military service to the duke or to their immediate overlord, and by 1066 the amount of this service had been definitely fixed and had in many cases become attached to specific pieces of land, or knights' fees.¹⁴ Usually the service was reckoned in units of five or ten knights, a practice which the Normans seem to have carried to southern Italy¹⁵ as well as to England. The period of service, so far as it is indicated in documents of the Conqueror's reign, is regularly forty days.¹⁶ Castle-guard is mentioned, though rarely,¹⁷ and suit of court and *gîte* might be stipulated in making a grant.¹⁸ Of the

¹⁰ Council of Rouen (1037-46), c. 10, Mansi, *Concilia*, XIX. 753.

¹¹ Before 1048. *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 218. Cf. also in the cartulary of the chapter of Rouen (MS. Rouen 1193, ff. 31, 54v) the account "quomodo villa de Duverent de dominicatu archiepiscopatus exiit".

¹² *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 63, 335. Cf. also Ordericus, ed. Le Prévost, III. 473, V. 183; Imbart de la Tour, in *Revue Historique*, LXVIII. 49.

¹³ Ordericus, II. 132.

¹⁴ Haskins, "Knight-Service in Normandy in the Eleventh Century", *English Historical Review* (1907), XXII. 636-649. The conclusions there suggested as probable are made practically certain by a charter of 1066 (Archives Nationales, JJ. 71, no. 90; printed in Le Prévost, *Mémoires et Notes pour servir à l'Histoire du Département de l'Eure* (Evreux, 1862-1869), III. 183, where the date is incorrectly given as 1076) which shows the bishop of Avranches rendering the service of five knights for the honor of St. Philibert. As the bishop in 1172 also owed the service of five knights for his lands in the Avranchin, it is altogether likely that this obligation had been imposed upon him before he received the gift of St. Philibert in 1066; and as St. Philibert had been until that time a lay fief, of which half was then given to the bishopric, it is evident that the whole had been an honor of ten knights.

¹⁵ See the *Catalogus Baronum* of 1154 ff. in Del Re, *Cronisti e Scrittori Napoletani* (Naples, 1845), I. 571; and on its date and character cf. Capasso, in *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia* (1868), IV. 293-371; Chalandon, *Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile* (1907), I. vi-viii, II. 510-524; von Heckel, in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* (1908), I. 389 ff.

¹⁶ *English Historical Review*, XXII. 646-647.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; Ordericus, II. 74; Round, *Calendar*, no. 319; *Historiens de France*, XXIII. 701. On its appearance in England shortly after the Conquest, see Round, in *Archaeological Journal*, LIX. 144.

¹⁸ "Gausfredo clerico cognomento Masculo unum ortum dedi de prefato alodio ut inde serviret michi, et alium Evremaro xi^{elm} solidos reddentem per annum, pro quo idem Evremarus interesset meis placitis si necesse fuisset et quotiens venirem Baiocas per annum preberet michi de suo prima nocte vinum

feudal incidents relief, wardship, marriage, and the three aids appear, but the evidence is of a scattered sort and comes mainly from the latter part of the reign.¹⁹ In addition to the feudal service the duke in his charters was careful to retain the right of calling out the general levy of the country in case of invasion,²⁰ and from the care with which his vassals reserve this obligation as regards their dependents and even their townsmen,²¹ it would seem that the duke held the lords responsible for producing their men when occasion arose.²² Materials are lacking for any comparison of this system with the Anglo-Saxon *fyrð*, but it is highly probable that the familiarity of the Norman kings with the *arrière-ban* in the duchy made natural that preservation of the *fyrð* which is usually set down to deliberate desire to maintain Anglo-Saxon popular institutions. It should also be noted that the ordinance which, a century later, is generally said to have recreated and rearmed this ancient force of the *fyrð*,²³ the Assize of Arms of Henry II., is drawn on the same lines as an earlier assize for Henry's continental dominions.²⁴

Intimately connected with feudal tenure is the matter of feudal jurisdiction. First of all, there is the jurisdiction which is strictly feudal, the justice of the feudal lord over his tenants. Robert of Bellême has an important court of his barons.²⁵ The monks of St. Evroul have their court, in which they may declare the forfeiture of a fief.²⁶ The honor of Ralph Taisson has its barons, who can be summoned to record against encroachment the title of the

et cervisam et panem factitium per consuetudinem et victum equorum. Et hoc testimonio regine domine mee, et si opus haberem acederet michi usque ad centum solidos in civitatem." Notice of grants by Rainald, chaplain of King William, MS. Lat. n. a. 1243, f. 80v.

¹⁹ *English Historical Review*, XXII. 646-648; Ordericus, III. 42; Round, *Calendar*, no. 320 (relief). Cf. Pollock and Maitland, I. 71.

²⁰ Guilhaumez, *Essai sur l'Origine de la Noblesse* (Paris, 1902), pp. 289-292. It should be borne in mind that the Bayeux returns of 1133, where the name *arrière-ban* first appears in Normandy, represent the conditions of Bishop Odo's time (*English Historical Review*, XXII. 643). Wace (ed. Andresen, II. lines 5205 ff.) mentions the calling out of the peasants against the king of France in 1058.

²¹ See, besides the Bayeux returns, Ordericus, III. 36, 39.

²² Cf. the Worcestershire custom, Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 159. On the *fyrð* in general use see Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, p. 22 ff.

²³ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 154; *Constitutional History*, I. 632.

²⁴ Benedict of Peterborough, I. 269; Guilhaumez, *l. c.*, pp. 225-227.

²⁵ Archives of the Orne, H. 2150; Bry, *Histoire du Pays et Comté du Perche* (Paris, 1620), pp. 82, 103; Round, *Calendar*, no. 654.

²⁶ Ca. 1056, Ordericus, II. 60, 75. Cf. Round, *Calendar*, nos. 116 (Fécamp), 713 (Mont St. Michel).

abbey of their lord's foundation.²⁷ The honor which William Paine holds of the abbot of Mont St. Michel has a court of seven peers, who owe service according to the custom of their ancestors; and there are also separate courts for his manors.²⁸ Besides this feudal justice, there is the jurisdiction which is franchisal, arising from the grant of public rights by the sovereign, the justice which men will one day say has nothing in common with the fief. We cannot in the eleventh century draw the line separating these two sorts of jurisdiction with the sharpness which later feudal law permits;²⁹ the justice of the feudal lord may owe something to royal grant, and the holder of the franchise may not always be able to point to the act which created it, yet the distinction seems thus early justified by the facts.

We must at the outset give up any attempt to follow the Norman franchises back into Frankish days. Doubtless Norman churches enjoyed the immunity which all such bodies were supposed to possess under Louis the Pious,³⁰ and some had more specific privileges;³¹ but the nature and development of the immunity is obscure enough in those regions which have preserved an unbroken series of such grants,³² and in Normandy the coming of the invaders not only made a wide gap in our records, but produced important changes in the holders of land and probably in the rights exercised over it. The clearest case of continuity is furnished by Berneval-sur-Mer, which had been a dependency of St. Denis under the Frankish kings and was confirmed to the abbey by the first Norman dukes.³³ This confirmation was repeated by Richard I. in 968 in a charter which grants full immunity and all rights exercised in Berneval by count or viscount, *vicarius* or *centenarius*.³⁴ When we come to the charters of the eleventh century, the clause of immunity, though reminiscent of Frankish models, is shorter and more general. Richard II. grants

²⁷ *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 65 (ca. 1070).

²⁸ *English Historical Review*, XXII. 647-648 (1070-1081).

²⁹ Cf. Esmein, *Cours d'Histoire du Droit Français*, third edition, p. 251 ff.; Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 80.

³⁰ Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II. 291.

³¹ *Historiens de France*, VI. 482 (St. Wandrille), VIII. 650 (St. Ouen).

³² For the literature of the controversy see Brunner, *l. c.*, II. 287 ff.; Seeliger, *Die Soziale und Politische Bedeutung der Grundherrschaft im früheren Mittelalter*, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Leipzig Academy (1903), XXII.; *id.*, *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, VIII. 305 ff.

³³ Böhmer-Mühlbacher, *Regesten der Karolinger*, nos. 60 (58), 190 (186); Dudo of St. Quentin, ed. Lair, p. 171.

³⁴ *Historiens de France*, IX. 731.

to Fécamp³⁵ and Jumièges³⁶ the possession of their lands "without any disturbance of any secular or judicial authority as property belonging to the demesne fisc", and the same phrases appear, omitting the reference to the fisc, in his charters for Bernai³⁷ and St. Ouen.³⁸ The clause is not found in Richard's grant to Mont St. Michel, but appears in the charter of Robert I.,³⁹ who likewise made the sites of St. Amand and Mount St. Catherine's "immune from the judicial exaction" of his authority.⁴⁰ I have found no such clauses after Robert's time, though phrases are common which grant such protection as is enjoyed by the duke's demesne.⁴¹

How much, if any, actual authority these vague grants of immunity conveyed, it is impossible to say. Except in the very early instance of Berneval, they make no direct grant of fees or jurisdiction, and if they are more than a pious formula, it would seem that their primary purpose was to assure the duke's protection. It must be borne in mind, as one of the few points upon which there is fairly general agreement, that the Frankish immunity itself, what-

³⁵ "Haec omnia . . . concedo . . . ut habeant, teneant, et possideant absque ulla inquietudine cuiuslibet secularis vel iudicarie potestatis sicuti res ad fiscum dominicum pertinentes." Original in Musée de la Bénédicte at Fécamp, no. 2 *ter*; Du Monstier, *Neustria Pia* (Rouen, 1663), p. 217.

³⁶ Cartulary no. 22, f. 7, and *vidimus* of 1498 and 1529 in archives of the Seine-Inférieure.

³⁷ Le Prévost, *Eure*, I. 285; Du Monstier, *Neustria Pia*, p. 399.

³⁸ Pommeraye, *Histoire de S. Ouen* (Rouen, 1662), p. 405.

³⁹ *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, XII. 111 (Round, no. 705).

⁴⁰ *Cartulaire de la Trinité du Mont de Rouen*, no. 1; *Monasticon*, VII. 1101.

⁴¹ Brunner, *Schwurgerichte*, p. 238 ff. The clauses of immunity in the charters for Fécamp require further investigation in connection with a critical study of the documents in which they occur. One charter of Robert I., preserved in the Musée (no. 4 *bis*), has the following clause, which is not found in another charter of the same duke (no. 3 *bis*) which has the same witnesses and much the same contents: "Ista igitur bona et omnia alia que Fischannensi monasterio olim donata sunt sub solius abbatis potestate et iustitia constituimus ut nullius dignitatis homo aliquando manum intromittere presumat". A supposed charter of William I. (*ibid.*, no. 7) makes the monastery's possessions "quietas ab omni inquietudine vel diminutione cuiuslibet secularis vel iudicarie potestatis sicut res ad fiscum dominicum pertinentes". These may perhaps be explained by the special favor with which Fécamp was regarded by the dukes; but certain of the early charters for this monastery are not above suspicion, and one of them (Delisle, *Histoire de S. Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, pièces, no. 43) is a rank fabrication, purporting to be issued by the Conqueror, but repeating the witnesses of Robert's charters (nos. 3 *bis*, 4 *bis*). A moment's glance at the pretended original in the Musée shows the futility of Round's attempt (*Calendar*, no. 113, and p. xxvi) to establish its authenticity against the arguments which Delisle drew from the list of witnesses, arguments based upon a method of criticism which Round has recently gone so far as to call more "primitive" and "crude" than his own (*Archaeological Journal*, LXIV. 78). Round's treatment of this charter has misled Stenton, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 75-76, into using it as evidence for the early history of the reign.

ever its effects in establishing private jurisdictions, did not create exemption from the authority of the count,⁴² so that, apart from the question of any devolution of royal rights to the Norman dukes, they would still as counts⁴³ retain control of the great religious establishments. That the clauses of immunity in the charters of the Norman dukes were not intended as a general grant of the duke's judicial powers is shown by the practice, which appears as early as Richard II., of granting, sometimes in the very documents which contain the immunity clause, the ducal *consuetudines* in specified places. Thus Richard II.'s charter to Bernai conveys the duke's *consuetudines* in all the *villae* possessed by the monastery,⁴⁴ and his charter for Jumièges grants his customs, here styled *consuetudines comitatus*, in three places.⁴⁵ The term is, of course, a general one,⁴⁶ comprising tolls, market rights, and a great variety of rights of exploitation other than the profits of justice, but it specifically includes "laws and forfeitures" in Richard's grant of the customs of the Mount to Mont St. Michel,⁴⁷ and its jurisdictional content is more exactly defined in documents to which we shall come in a moment. We may say provisionally that when the duke wished to convey jurisdiction, he made a grant of the ducal *consuetudines*, but we can understand what this means only when we have examined what judicial rights the duke had to grant.

It is commonly asserted by modern writers⁴⁸ that the duke of Normandy was the only feudatory of the French crown who succeeded in retaining for himself the monopoly of *haute justice*

⁴² Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II. 166, 300, 302; Seeliger, *Bedeutung der Grundherrschaft*, p. 80 ff.

⁴³ On the use of count as the early title of the Norman dukes, see Lappenberg, *Geschichte Englands*, II. 18.

⁴⁴ Le Prévost, *Eure*, I. 285.

⁴⁵ "Ex quibus nostro tempore donavit per nostrum consensum Robertus archiepiscopus frater noster omnes consuetudines que ad comitatum pertinent quas ipse ex nostro iure possidebat. . . . In vado Fulmerii unum alodarium et omnes consuetudines quas iure comitatus in omnibus terris ipsius loci tenebam. . . . Pro quo et nos donavimus omnes consuetudines que ex ipsa terra pertinebant ad nos." Cartulary 22 in archives of the Seine-Inférieure, ff. 77-11; *vidimus* of 1498 and 1529 in same archives. Cf. *Neustria Pia*, p. 323; Le Prévost, *Eure*, II. 571.

⁴⁶ Cf. Flach, *Origines de l'Ancienne France*, I. 203; and notes 55, 68, below.

⁴⁷ *Neustria Pia*, p. 378; *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, XII, 110; Round, no. 702. On the other hand the Conqueror's charter for St. Désir mentions "consuetudinibus et forisfactis" (*Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 203). Undefined grants of *consuetudines* will be found in *Livre Noir de Bayeux*, no. 1; La Roque, *Histoire de la Maison d'Harcourt* (Paris, 1662), III. 26; *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, I. 86.

⁴⁸ Brussel, *Usage des Fiefs* (Paris, 1750), I. 253; Luchaire, *Manuel des Institutions Françaises*, pp. 245, 256.

throughout his dominions. Now if we mean by *haute justice* what the lawyers of the thirteenth century meant, jurisdiction by virtue of which the duel could be held and penalty of death or mutilation inflicted, this statement is far from correct, for so-called pleas of the sword are often held by the duke's vassals⁴⁹ and the duel is waged in their courts.⁵⁰ If, on the other hand, we mean that a baron could possess such pleas only by virtue of a ducal grant, and that certain of them were never granted, the statement will probably hold. For the pleas of the sword in the twelfth century we have a list drawn up under Henry II., which can be supplemented by certain chapters of the *Très Ancien Coutumier*.⁵¹ This list, however, expressly says that murder belongs "to the duke alone or to those to whom he or his ancestors have granted it", and it is plain that the same limitation is intended to qualify others of the pleas enumerated. The matter is clearer in the inquest of 1091, which gives a statement, including fewer pleas but professedly incomplete, of the customs and justice exercised by William the Conqueror in the duchy. Assault in the duke's court or on the way to and from it, offences committed in the host or within a week of its setting forth or its return, offences against pilgrims, and violations of the coinage—these place the offender in the duke's mercy and belong exclusively to his jurisdiction.⁵² On the other hand, it appears from the same inquest that there are other offences, such as attacks on houses (*hainfara*), arson, rape, and unwarranted seizure of sureties, jurisdiction over which belongs in some places to the duke and in others to his barons;⁵³ and we find arson, rape, and *hainfara* among the *consuetudines* which Duke William, in the year of his marriage, granted to the abbot of Préaux.⁵⁴ Similar pleas were doubtless included in the *consuetudines de sanguine* granted by the Conqueror to Bec, which possessed jurisdiction over murder and mayhem among the "royal liberties" it

⁴⁹ See *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XIII. 108-109; Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae* (London, 1840), I. xxxiii; and the texts cited below.

⁵⁰ See, for example, the duels held in the court of the abbot of Jumièges in 1056, Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, IV. 519; and in the court of Roger of Beaumont, *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 202.

⁵¹ Ed. Tardif, cc. 70 (inquest), 15, 16, 35, 53, 58, 59, 69, 70. Cf. Pollock and Maitland, II. 455.

⁵² *English Historical Review*, XXIII. 506, cc. 1-3, 12, 13. The protection of the plow by the duke, as we find it in the *Très Ancien Coutumier*, likewise goes far back into Norman, if not into Scandinavian, history. Dudo, ed. Lair, pp. 171-172; Wilda, *Strafrecht*, p. 245.

⁵³ Cc. 9, 10.

⁵⁴ *English Historical Review*, XXIII. 504.

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enjoyed under Henry I.,⁵⁵ and while there were probably local differences, as in Anglo-Saxon England, where Domesday shows curious parallels to the Norman forfeitures,⁵⁶ it is evidently jurisdiction over crimes of this sort which is conferred by the ducal grants of *consuetudines* to monasteries. The great lay lords might also have such customs; indeed the forfeiture of life and limb in baronial courts is presupposed in the inquest of 1091.⁵⁷ The counts of Evreux and Mortain have blood-justice;⁵⁸ the count of Eu has justice in the hundred of St. Pierre-sur-Dive over all forfeitures except the duke's army and coinage;⁵⁹ Robert, count of Meulan, gives the abbot of Préaux, in Salerne, his "forfeitures which according to human law are collected by ancient custom from homicides, thieves and such others as are capitally convicted", and in another district *hainfara*, arson, and *ullac*.⁶⁰

The maintenance of the duke's judicial supremacy is only one phase of the persistent assertion of his ultimate authority over his barons. Coinage was his, and everything relating thereto.⁶¹ Castles and strongholds could be built only by his license and must

⁵⁵ "Predicto monasterio tradidit idem comes Normannie omnes consuetudines de sanguine et theloneo quas habebat circa ipsum monasterium." Before 1066, MS. Lat. 12884, f. 177. The relevant portion of the charter of Henry I. for Bec (Round, *Calendar*, no. 375) is printed (note 5) in an article which will appear in the *English Historical Review* on "The Administration of Normandy under Henry I.", where (no. 1) will also be found a charter establishing the jurisdiction of Fécamp over homicide and arson by grant of Henry's predecessors. Cf. also the Conqueror's grant of "leugam cum sanguine" to the monks of St. Benoît (Prou and Vidier, *Recueil des Chartes de S. Benoît-sur-Loire*, no. 78), and Henry I.'s charter for St. Pierre-sur-Dive, where, however, pleas relating to the army and the coinage are expressly reserved (*Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 157). John, abbot of Fécamp (1028-1079), grants a piece of land "retenta publica iustitia in consilio nostro". Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Moreau, XXI. 25.

⁵⁶ Cf. Pollock and Maitland, II. 454; Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 87-88; Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, p. 111 ff.

⁵⁷ C. 8.

⁵⁸ Count Richard of Evreux (d. 1067) gives "Deo et sancto Taurino tres consuetudines quas habebat in terra sancti Taurini, videlicet sanguinem, septeragium (sesteragium?), et theloneum". "Little Cartulary" of St. Taurin (archives of the Eure, H. 793), f. 72v, no. 26. For Mortain see *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XIII. 108, n.

⁵⁹ *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 156-158; cf. col. 203.

⁶⁰ Cartulary of Préaux (archives of the Eure, H. 711), nos. 68, 347; MS. Lat. n. a. 1929, no. 250; Le Prévost, *Eure*, III. 97 (cf. on p. 96 the grant of Roger of Beaumont). Tithes of the baron's forfeitures are frequently granted to monasteries. E. g., Le Prévost, *Eure*, I. 408; *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 129.

Ullac, also known as *utlach* and *uthlach* (Cartulary of Préaux, no. 55), probably means the harboring of outlaws (*ulages*). Cf. *English Historical Review*, XXIII. 504, n. 16.

⁶¹ *Consuetudines et Iusticie*, c. 13. Cf. *English Historical Review*, XXIII. 505.

be handed over to him on demand, and he could also exact hostages as a guarantee of a baron's loyalty.⁶² Private war and the blood feud were not, it is true, entirely abolished in the Conqueror's time, but they were reduced within comparatively narrow limits;⁶³ and while the extermination of disorder and violence was doubtless not so complete as his panegyrists would have us believe,⁶⁴ it is plain that much was accomplished in this direction.

An authority such as the Conqueror wielded in church⁶⁵ and state required a considerable income for its maintenance, and while there are no fiscal records for Normandy earlier than 1180, it is possible to trace back to William's time most of the sources of revenue which appear in detail in the exchequer rolls a century later.⁶⁶ The duke had his domains and forests, scattered throughout the duchy and sometimes of considerable extent, which might yield a *vectigal* as well as a great variety of payments in kind. He had his mills, such as the eight "fiscal mills" on the Eau de Robec at Rouen, his salt-pans, his fishing-rights at certain points on the rivers and on the coast, and his monopoly of the taking of whales and other "great fish". Wreck and treasure-trove were his, as well as the profits of coinage. He had large possessions in certain towns—he could sell half of Coutances to its bishop⁶⁷—in addition to tolls, rights over markets and fairs, and other urban *consuetudines*.⁶⁸

⁶² *Consuetudines et Iusticie*, cc. 4, 5. Cf. Ordericus, III. 262, 263.

⁶³ *English Historical Review*, XXIII. 503; cf. council of Lisieux (1064), c. 7, *Journal des Savants*, 1901, p. 517. As early as the reign of Robert the Devil we see the duke's messenger separating combatants and putting them under oath to abide by the decision of his court. *Vita Herluini*, in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, VI. 2, 348.

⁶⁴ William of Poitiers, ed. Duchesne, p. 193; Wace, ed. Andresen, lines 5348–5352. Their repression of disorder and their rigorous administration of justice are the constant refrain of Dudo's eulogies of the first three Norman dukes. Ed. Lair, pp. 171, 183, 196, 200, 201, 205, 245, 248, 255, 259, 261–264, 266, 268, 269, 272, 280, 290–293.

⁶⁵ Owing to the limits of space set for this article, it has been found necessary to omit the portion relating to the church courts and the Conqueror's ecclesiastical supremacy. Some phases of this subject are discussed by Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie* (Leipzig, 1899).

⁶⁶ See the classical study of Delisle, *Des Revenus Publics en Normandie au Douzième Siècle*, in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, X. 173–210, 257–289, XI. 400–451, XIII. 97–135.

⁶⁷ *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 219.

⁶⁸ E. g., in an early charter for Troarn, "in Falesia totam terram Wesman et consuetudines eius ad regem pertinentes". MS. Lat. 10086, f. 3v. The following, relating to Bayeux, is more specific: "Et ille bene scit domos infra civitatem et terram extra civitatem positam semper fuisse quietas ab omni consuetudine Normannorum principis, scilicet theloneo, gildo, molta molendinorum, et custodia vigiliarum, et dominus predictæ terre si faceret adducere vinum suum de Argencis esset quietus suum carragium apud Cadomum et apud Baiocas". 1079–1083, MS. Lat. n. a. 1243, f. 81.

Bernagium for his hunting dogs was a burden on the land,⁶⁹ as was also an exaction called *gravaria*.⁷⁰ The fines and forfeitures of justice and the receipts from feudal dues were naturally important.

How the revenues of the Norman dukes were collected and administered is a question of great interest, particularly to the student of English institutions. Since the days of the *Dialogue on the Exchequer*⁷¹ there have not been wanting those who have maintained that the English exchequer was organized on the model of an earlier Norman institution; and while recent investigations have traced portions of the exchequer system back to Anglo-Saxon times⁷² and have suggested that an elaborate fiscal system is more likely to have grown out of the collection of a heavy tax like Danegeld than out of the more ordinary and miscellaneous set of revenues which we have just enumerated,⁷³ the possibility of Norman influence upon the English exchequer has by no means been eliminated from the discussion. The Norman evidence, it is true, is of the most meagre sort,⁷⁴ the absence of anything like the Domesday survey being the greatest gap, but the argument from silence is especially dangerous where the destruction of records has been so great as in Normandy, and it is well to bear in mind that, save for the accident which has preserved a single Pipe Roll of Henry I., the existence of the English exchequer is barely known before Henry II. A ducal treasury appears in Normandy as early as Richard II., who gives a hundred pounds from his *camera* to redeem lands of St. Benigne of Dijon,⁷⁵

⁶⁹ *English Historical Review*, XXIII. 504; Round, *Calendar*, no. 2; *Monasticon*, VII. 1074; *Liber Albus* of Le Mans, no. 1; charter of William I. for St. Étienne, archives of the Calvados, H. 1830, 2-2 ("quietum ab omni gravaria et bernagio"); charter of William Rufus for Bec, archives of the Eure, H. 91, f. 39v.

⁷⁰ DuCange, *Glossarium*, under "gravaria"; Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli*, I. lxxxvii, xcvi, cxxviii, clxxxi; Farcy, *Abbayes de l'Evêché de Bayeux*, pp. 81, 82 (before 1066); Round, *Calendar*, nos. 117, 1175.

⁷¹ I. iv, ed. Hughes, Crump, and Johnson, p. 66.

⁷² See especially Round, *Commune of London*, p. 62 ff.; and for a summary of the question, Petit-Dutaillis's translation of Stubbs, I. 804-809.

⁷³ Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, p. 140.

⁷⁴ The name exchequer appears in Normandy in a document of ca. 1130; Round, *English Historical Review*, XIV. 426. An exchequer roll of 1136 was cited in the eighteenth century, *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, XVI. xxx.

⁷⁵ "Tactus pater meus divina inspiratione dedit de camera sua predicto Attoni centum libras nummorum." Charter of Robert I., MS. 1656 of the Bibliothèque S. Geneviève at Paris, p. 46; printed, inaccurately, in Deville, *Analyse d'un Ancien Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de S. Etienne de Caen* (Evreux, 1905), p. 34. "Robertus de camera" is mentioned in a charter anterior to 1067, Round, *Calendar*, no. 87; Pommeraye, *Histoire de S. Amand*, p. 81.

and grants to Fécamp permanently the tithe of his *camera*.⁷⁶ The latter grant, which has come down in the original, is particularly interesting, for the duke goes on to define the *camera* as comprising everything "given to him by the service of anything", whether lands purchased or fines or gifts or any sort of transaction—in other words, any extraordinary or occasional addition to his treasure.⁷⁷ The profits of coinage are separately reckoned, and the *fiscalis census* and "what are anciently called customs" are expressly excluded. It would be rash to attempt to define too closely the content of the *census* and the customs, but the *census* must at least have covered the returns from the demesne and forests, and the customs would naturally include the profits of tolls and markets and justice—altogether much the sort of thing which was later comprised within the farm of the *vicomté* or *prévôté*. The duke plainly knows the difference between his ordinary and his extraordinary sources of income. So a century and a half later we find that returns from the mint and receipts of the *camera* are separately accounted for; the exchequer rolls record only the revenues collected by the local officers.

Can we discover in the eleventh century any indication of system in the collection of these fixed sources of revenue? We may dismiss at the outset, as the report of a later age, Wace's picture of Richard II. shut up in a tower with his *vicomtes* and *prévôts* and going over their accounts;⁷⁸ but it is nevertheless possible, by working back from documents of the twelfth century, to reach certain tentative conclusions with respect to the fiscal system of the Conqueror's reign. In the first place it is clear that the farm of the *vicomté* existed under William I., for we know from a charter of Henry I. that certain fixed items in the later rolls, to wit twelve pounds in the farm and twenty shillings in the toll of Argentan and sixty shillings and tenpence in the toll of Exmes, had been settled as alms to the canons of Séez by grant of his father and

⁷⁶ "Concedo etiam decimas monete nostrae ex integro et decimas nostre camere, videlicet de omnibus quaecumque michi alicuius rei servitio dabuntur, videlicet aut emptarum terrarum aut emendarum aut cuiuslibetcumque negotii sive dono muneris gratis dati excepto fiscali censu et exceptis his quae costumas antiquitus dicunt. Do et decimas telonei de burgo qui dicitur Cadumus." Charter of 1027 for Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédictine, no. 2 *ter*; *Neustria Pia*, p. 217. The grant of the toll of Caen shows that tolls are not included in the receipts of the *camera*.

⁷⁷ So when Nigel grants Céaux to Mont St. Michel a payment is made to William I.'s *camera*: "Pro cuius rei concessu dedit prefato Guillelmo centum et 1^{ta} libras quas accepit Radulfus camerarius". MS. Avranches 210, f. 107.

⁷⁸ Ed. Andresen, lines 2009–2012.

mother.⁷⁹ Permanent charges of this sort, either in the form of tithes or of definite amounts, are frequently recorded against the farms in the Norman rolls of the twelfth century, as in the English pipe rolls of the same period, but whereas in the English rolls such fixed alms are of recent creation, in Normandy they can often be traced back to the eleventh century. Thus St. Wandrille offered charters of Richard I. as its title to the tithes of the toll of Falaise, Exmes, Argentan,⁸⁰ and the Hiesmois, of the *vicomtés* and tolls of Dieppe and Arques, and of the fair of Caen.⁸¹ By grant of the same prince Fécamp received the tithe of the toll of Caen,⁸² and Jumièges the tithes of the *prévôtés* of Bayeux and the Bessin.⁸³ The abbey of Cerisy received its tithes, as granted by Robert the Devil and confirmed by the Conqueror in 1042, from the *vicomtés* of the Cotentin, Coutances and Gavray, and from a number of the ducal forests.⁸⁴ By authority of William I. the nuns of St. Amand had the tithe of Barfleur, of St. James and of the *modiatio* of Rouen;⁸⁵ those of La Trinité had two-thirds of the tithe of the *prévôté* of Caen; the bishop of Coutances had the tithe of the toll of Cherbourg, and the canons of Cherbourg the tithe of the ducal mills in Guernsey.⁸⁶ Specific grants make their appearance in the same reign;

⁷⁹ "Preterea duodecim libras in firma nostra de Argentomo et viginti et unum solidos in teloneo eiusdem ville et sexaginta solidos et decem denarios de teloneo nostro de Oximis, que dederunt pater meus et mater mea ecclesie Sagiensi ad victum canonicorum duorum, quod antiquitus in elemosina statutum fuerat." MS. Alençon 177, f. 98; MS. Lat. 11058, f. 8. I have printed further extracts from this charter in the paper on "The Administration of Normandy under Henry I." in the *English Historical Review*, above referred to. These items are duly charged in the roll of 1180. Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli*, I. lxxxviii, xcvi, cxxxii, 39, 50, 103.

⁸⁰ In the later rolls this has become a fixed rent of 15 pounds. *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, XVI. xii.

⁸¹ See the charges in Stapleton, I. xcvi, ci, cviii, cxxiii, cxxxii, 39, 50, 57, 68, 90, 103. The originals, or quasi-originals, of these charters for St. Wandrille are preserved in MS. Lat. 16738 and in the archives of the Seine-Inférieure; some of them are clearly not genuine in their present form. M. Ferdinand Lot is preparing a study of them.

⁸² See above, note 76; Stapleton, I. xxiv, c, 56. St. Taurin, later a dependency of Fécamp, received from Richard I. the tithe of the *vicomté* of Evreux, but this passed out of the duke's hands and does not appear in the rolls. "Little Cartulary" of St. Taurin (archives of the Eure, H. 793), ff. 57, 115v; *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 138; Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, I. 154. The tithe of Avranches, granted to the cathedral by Robert I. (Pigeon, *Le Diocèse d'Avranches*, II. 667), does not appear in the rolls, for similar reasons.

⁸³ *Neustria Pia*, p. 323; *Monasticon*, VII. 1087; Stapleton, I. 7, 40.

⁸⁴ *Neustria Pia*, p. 432; *Monasticon*, VII. 1073; Farcy, *Abbayes de l'Évêché de Bayeux*, p. 78.

⁸⁵ Before 1055, *Monasticon*, VII. 1101; Stapleton, I. 40.

⁸⁶ Stapleton, I. c, 56; lxxxiii, 30; lxxvii, 27.

besides the above-mentioned grant to Séez William gives, before 1066, to the nuns of Montivilliers a hundred shillings in the *prévôté* of Caen.⁸⁷ In none of these cases does the original grant use the word farm, although the duke's revenues at Barfleur and in the *vicomtés* of the Cotentin, Coutances and Gavray are expressly stated to be in money, but it is altogether likely in view of the charter to Séez that the *vicomtés* and *prévôtés* were farmed in the Conqueror's time. In any event, in order to make such grants, the duke must have been in the habit of dealing with these areas as fiscal wholes and not as mere aggregates of scattered sources of income; the unit was the *vicomté* or *prévôté*, and not the individual domain. One other point of interest deserves to be mentioned in connection with these entries of fixed alms, the fact, namely, that wherever the matter can be tested, the various fixed charges are entered under each account in chronological order.⁸⁸ This cannot be mere chance, nor is it likely that a later exchequer official would have sufficient historical interest to rearrange them chronologically; it is much more probable that when each grant was made it was entered, probably on a central record similar to the later exactory roll. If this is the correct explanation, it follows that where the list begins with the grants of Richard II. and continues with those of William,⁸⁹ the entries were made as early as the Conqueror's time. There would be nothing surprising in the existence of a record of amounts due and allowances to be made; such a roll is the natural part of the system of farms and fixed alms which we have found under the Conqueror, if not of the state of affairs existing under Richard II.⁹⁰

Whatever weight may be attached to such inferences as these, it seems fairly clear that in the matter of fiscal organization Normandy was in advance of neighboring lands such as the county of

⁸⁷ *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 328; Stapleton, I. c, 56. The Conqueror also assigned against this *prévôté* twelve prebends for his hospital at Caen, and similar charges were made against the *prévôté* of Bayeux. Stapleton, I. lxi, ci; cf. Henry II.'s charter for the lepers of Bayeux, MS. Rouen 1235, f. 5.

The duke's officers also pay tithes and fixed charges granted by his barons on tolls which have subsequently come into his hands. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, X. 178, 196; Stapleton, I. lxiv, cxviii, 8, 14, 17, 82. Cf. *Dialogus de Scaccario*, II. 10.

⁸⁸ Stapleton, I. 7, 30, 38, 39, 50, 56, 68, 70, 90, 97, 103, III; *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, XVI. 109.

⁸⁹ E. g., Stapleton, I. 39, 56.

⁹⁰ Compare the early development of a fiscal system in Flanders. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I. 109.

Anjou or the royal domain.⁹¹ The Capetian charters of the eleventh century, for example, indicate fairly primitive economic conditions. The kings are liberal in granting lands and exemptions and rights of exploitation, but fixed grants of money are rare and small in amount, and are nearly always charged against an individual domain or a specific source of revenue rather than, as in Normandy, against the receipts from a considerable district.⁹² Whereas the Conqueror's grants give evidence of a considerable money income, the *Naturalwirtschaft* of the Capetian kings is shown by the prevalence, well into the twelfth century, of fixed charges which are paid in kind—the tithe of the royal cellars and granaries at Auvers and Poissy,⁹³ fourteen *muids* of grain in the mills of Bourges, or twenty *muids* of wine from the vineyards of Vorges and Joui.⁹⁴ It is thoroughly characteristic of the condition of eleventh-century Normandy that the dukes should be sparing in conferring extensive franchises and rights of exploitation, while they were generous in permanent grants of money from the income which their own officers collected.

In local government the distinctive feature of the Norman system is the presence of a set of officers who are public officials, rather than mere domanial agents, and are in charge of administrative districts of considerable extent. As has been anticipated in the account of Norman finance, the chief local officer of the eleventh century was the *vicomte* and the principal local division the *vicomté*.

⁹¹ A comparative study of fiscal arrangements in the eleventh century is much needed. The charters of the Angevin counts are listed by Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou au XI^e Siècle* (Paris, 1906); those of Robert I. and Henry I. by Pfister, *Études sur le Règne de Robert le Pieux* (Paris, 1885), and Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri I^{er}* (Paris, 1907). The charters of Philip I. are now accessible in the admirable edition of Prou, *Recueil des Actes de Philippe I^{er}* (Paris, 1908).

⁹² The nearest parallels to the Norman grants are the gift by Robert I. to the church of Étampes of ten *sous* of "census de fisco regali Stampensi" (*Historiens de France*, XI. 579; Soehnée, no. 73), and the grant by Henry I. to St. Magloire of the tithe of the port of Montreuil, where however the tithe of the money had already been granted to another monastery and the tithe of beer to a third. Tardif, *Monuments Historiques*, no. 262; Soehnée, no. 33.

⁹³ Prou, *Philippe I.*, no. 63; Luchaire, *Louis VI.* (Paris, 1890), no. 350.

⁹⁴ Luchaire, *Louis VI.*, nos. 224, 621; cf. nos. 557, 628, 630. The Norman grants of wine from the *modiatio* of Rouen are different, being from the proceeds of a toll (levied on every hundred *modii*) instead of from an ordinary storehouse or vineyard. See particularly the Conqueror's charter of (before 1055), giving St. Amand "decimam mee modulationis de Rothomago" (*vidimus* in archives of the Seine-Inférieure); and cf. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XI. 424; Beuarepaire, *Le Vicomté de l'Eau de Rouen* (Rouen, 1856), p. 19.

The older Frankish areas, *pagus*,⁹⁵ *centena*,⁹⁶ and *vicaria*,⁹⁷ have not wholly disappeared, and in some cases the *vicaria* may have become the *vicecomitatus*;⁹⁸ but the *vicomte* is a far more important personage than the *voyer* of neighboring lands,⁹⁹ and the territory which he rules is considerably larger. Whether the Norman *vicecomes* contributed anything more than his name to the Anglo-Norman sheriff, is a question to which no satisfactory answer can be given until we know more of the functions of both officials before the Conquest.¹⁰⁰ The *vicomte* is a military leader, commanding the duke's troops and guarding his castles;¹⁰¹ he is charged with the maintenance of order, and may proclaim the duke's ban;¹⁰² he collects the ducal revenues for his district, including the customary dues from the demesne;¹⁰³ and he administers local justice in the duke's name,¹⁰⁴ assisting the bishop in the enforcement of the Truce of God¹⁰⁵ and doubtless exercising the jurisdiction comprised in the *consuetudines vicecomitatus*.¹⁰⁶ He is a frequent attendant at the duke's *curia*, witnessing charters and taking part in the decision of cases,¹⁰⁷ and he may be specially commissioned to hold a sworn inquest¹⁰⁸ or execute the decision of the court.¹⁰⁹ The office might

⁹⁵ See particularly Le Prévost, "Anciennes Divisions Territoriales de la Normandie", in *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, XI. 1-59, reprinted in his *Eure*, III. 485-548.

⁹⁶ *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, XXX. 668; *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 158.

⁹⁷ Stapleton, I. lxxx. "Extra vieriam Belismi", charter of Robert of Bellême, archives of the Orne, H. 2150.

⁹⁸ Mayer, *Deutsche und Französische Verfassungsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1899), I. 357. Their equivalence is implied in Ordericus, II. 470; and in the cartulary of St. Wandrille (in the archives of the Seine-Inférieure), T. iii. 34, where a *vicomte* pledges "*vicecomitatum et viariam suam*" and promises to give up "*supradictam viariam*" if not redeemed (1117).

⁹⁹ For Anjou see Halphen, *Moyen Age*, XV. 297-325.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, I. 292, note.

¹⁰¹ Delisle, *S. Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, pp. 2-3, and pièce 34, where Néel the elder holds the castle of Le Homme "*quia vicecomes erat eiusdem patrie*".

¹⁰² *Gallia Christiana*, XI. 34.

¹⁰³ Delisle, *S. Sauveur*, no. 35; Round, *Calendar*, nos. 1169, 1170.

¹⁰⁴ See the account in Ordericus of the *vicomte* of Orbec (III. 371) and particularly the cases at Neaufle "in curia Roberti Normannorum comitis castrum coram Guillelmo Crispino illius terre vicecomite" (Le Prévost, *Eure*, II. 506) and "in curia regis Anglorum apud castrum Nielfam" (*Bibliothèque Nationale*, MS. Baluze, 77, f. 61). William Crispin is also mentioned as *vicomte* of the Vexin in Migne, *Patrologia*, CL. 737; and in MS. Tours 1381, f. 25v.

¹⁰⁵ Council of Lillebonne, c. 1.

¹⁰⁶ See above, notes 45 and 54.

¹⁰⁷ See below, note 149.

¹⁰⁸ *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 65.

¹⁰⁹ MS. Rouen 1193, ff. 31v, 54v. See below, note 141.

become hereditary, as in the Bessin, and the Cotentin,¹¹⁰ but the annual farm was still due and the duke's control seems to have been maintained.¹¹¹ The evidence is not sufficient to enable us to define the relations between the *vicecomitatus* and the *prepositura* in the eleventh century, but it seems probable that they were "from the first convertible names for the same description of jurisdiction; however qualified in extent",¹¹² in somewhat the same way as the offices of *prévôt* and *voyer* in contemporary Anjou.¹¹³ The scattered *prepositi* who appear in the charters¹¹⁴ are plainly not men of importance, and, as in the case of the *thelonearii*¹¹⁵ and *gravarii*,¹¹⁶ the texts do not always make it possible to distinguish ducal from baronial agents. Beyond the names of various foresters,¹¹⁷ we get no light on the forest administration, but it is evident that the ducal forests are already extensive and important, and are subject to the special jurisdiction which goes back to the Frankish forest ban¹¹⁸ and will develop into the forest code of the Anglo-Norman kings. We hear of pleas of the forest,¹¹⁹ though we do not know by whom they were held; such assaults as are lawful elsewhere are forbidden in the forests,¹²⁰ and for offences against the forest law even priests cannot claim their exemption.¹²¹

The organization of the ducal household is a subject concerning which only provisional statements can be made until the whole body of charters has been collected and the witnesses carefully

¹¹⁰ Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli*, I. lvii; Lambert, "Les Anciens Vicomtes de Bayeux", *Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture de Bayeux*, VIII. 233 ff.; Delisle, *Histoire de S. Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, ch. 1.

¹¹¹ Ordericus implies the removability of the local officials when he says of the Conqueror, in 1067: "Optimosque iudices et rectores per provincias Neustrie constituit". II. 177.

¹¹² Stapleton, I. lxi; cf. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XI. 402.

¹¹³ Where the *prévôt* is the more important of the two but exercises the same functions as the *voyer*. *Moyen Age*, XV. 297 ff.

¹¹⁴ Le Prévost, *Eure*, I. 141, 460, II. 393; Round, *Calendar*, no. 713; *Cartulaire de la Trinité de Rouen*, nos. 24, 27, 42, 44, 51; MS. Lat. 5443, p. 51.

¹¹⁵ *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 66; Pommeraye, *Histoire de S. Amand*, p. 79; *Cartulaire de la Trinité*, no. 16.

¹¹⁶ *Cartulaire de la Trinité*, nos. 16, 73, 80; Round, no. 1175; *Revue Catholique de Normandie*, VII. 432.

¹¹⁷ Round, nos. 1169, 1175; *Cartulaire de la Trinité*, nos. 7, 28, 47, 49, 51, 64, 79; Le Prévost, *Eure*, I. 285, 286, 562.

¹¹⁸ Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. 2, 316, IV. 128 ff.; Liebermann, *Ueber Pseudo-Cnuts Constitutiones de Foresta*, pp. 17, 19; Thimme, in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* (1908), II. 114 ff.

¹¹⁹ Charters of Robert and William for Cerisy, *Neustria Pia*, pp. 431-432. The count of Mortain also had forest courts. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XI. 444.

¹²⁰ *Consuetudines et Iusticie*, c. 7.

¹²¹ Council of Lillebonne, c. 8.

sifted. Certain great officers are clearly distinguishable, particularly after the Conqueror's accession, but further study is needed to determine their number and relative importance and the succession of those who held them. Ralph of Tancarville the chamberlain, Gerold the seneschal, and Hugh of Ivry the butler are familiar figures at William's court,¹²² and others appear with the same titles but not always with equal rank. The office of constable, though found as early as Robert I., is apparently of less importance. The clerical element in the household naturally centred in the duke's chapel, which was the point of departure for the development of the secretarial and fiscal sides of the central administration; but while we have the names of several of William's early chaplains,¹²³ many of whom became bishops in Normandy or in England, very little is known of their secular duties. Certain churches seem to have been constituted chapelries for the chaplains' support,¹²⁴ so that the office had some degree of continuity, and the ducal clerks of these days show something of the skill in acquiring desirable houses and lands which is characteristic of their successors in the twelfth century.¹²⁵ So far as there was an organized chancery—and this is a question which must, at least for the present, remain open—it was doubtless closely connected with the chapel; but the absence,

¹²² The three together sign charters in *Cartulaire de la Trinité de Rouën*, no. 39 (1066); Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, V. 593 (1070). The growing importance of the household officers as compared with the *vicomtes* is evident by a comparison of the witnesses to William's charters with the witnesses of his predecessors'. The statements concerning the ducal household in Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward* (London, 1907), pp. 6-18, need a good deal of correction.

¹²³ Three witness an early charter in Round, *Calendar*, no. 1165.

¹²⁴ "Temporibus Ricardi comitis Normannie et Rotberti eius filii et Willelmi filii predicti Rotberti fuit quidam eorum capellanus Baiocis Ernaldus nomine, potens in prediis et domibus infra civitatem et extra civitatem que emerat suo auro atque suo argento. Quo mortuo tempore Willelmi Normannorum ducis Stephanus nepos predicti Ernaldi iure hereditario successit in hereditatem sui avunculi dono Willelmi Normannorum ducis." After Stephen's death and a suit in the king's court the king "accepit in suum dominium possessionem Stephani et dedit eam regine et regina dedit michi concessu regis domos et duodecim acras terre que iam predixi et ortos et omnia que habuerat Stephanus de suo alodio, nam alias res eiusdem Stephani que pertinebant ad ecclesiam sancti Iohannis que erat capella regis dederat iam rex Thome suo clerico nondum archiepiscopo". Notice of Rainaldus the chaplain, MS. Lat. n. a. 1243, f. 80; MS. Fr. 4899, p. 292. This *capellaria* was later held by Samson (*Livre Noir de Bayeux*, no. 4), probably the royal chaplain of that name who became bishop of Worcester in 1096. Both Samson and his brother Thomas were canons and treasurers of Bayeux.

¹²⁵ Cf. Round, "Bernard the King's Scribe", *English Historical Review*, XIV. 417-430.

except for two charters of Richard II.,¹²⁶ of any mention of a chancellor before 1066 does not preclude the existence of a chancery under the Conqueror. Chancery and chapel were not completely differentiated in Frankish days,¹²⁷ and both at the court of Philip I. and at William's English court the chancellor sometimes attested simply as chaplain.¹²⁸ It should be remembered that the Conqueror's first chancellor in England, Herfast, had long been his chaplain in Normandy,¹²⁹ where he is still called chaplain after his entrance upon the English chancellorship.¹³⁰

Of the *curia* in the wider sense before 1066 it is likewise impossible to speak with the definiteness which it deserves as an antecedent of the English *curia regis*. A comparison of the names of the witnesses to William's charters does not show any great degree of fixity in his *entourage*. The bishops, when present, sign after the members of the ducal family. Then comes a small group of counts and men of similar rank—the counts of Evreux and Mortain, Roger of Beaumont, Roger of Montgomery, William Fitz Osbern—followed by household officers, *vicomtes*, and others. These are the elements which constitute the *curia*, but their function is attestation rather than assent, and, except for the few cases where the charter is expressly declared to be issued in such a gathering,¹³¹ it is impossible

¹²⁶ "Hugo cancellarius scripsit et subscripsit." Charter of 1027 for Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédiction, no. 2 *ter*; *Neustria Pia*, p. 215. "Odo cancellarius scripsit et subscripsit." Charter for Dudo of St. Quentin, *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 284. The charter of 1011 for St. Ouen (Pommeraye, *Histoire de S. Ouen*, p. 422) which contains the words "Dudo capellanus composui et scripsi" is an evident forgery, but an authentic charter of 1006 for Fécamp (Musée, no. 1) has "Per Widonem notarium meo rogatu scriptum". "Ego frater Robertus scripsi et subscripsi" appears in a charter for St. Wandrille subscribed by the Conqueror before 1066 (original in MS. Lat. 16738, no. 4); this was probably the Robertus scriptor of a charter for St. Amand (Pommeraye, *Histoire de S. Amand*, p. 78) and the Robertus clericus of an early charter for Jumièges (Delisle, *S. Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, no. 16).

¹²⁷ On the whole subject of the Frankish chapel see now Lüders, "Capella", *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* (1908), II. 1-100.

¹²⁸ For France see Prou, *Actes de Philippe I.*, p. lv; and for England Eyton's note (British Museum, Add. MS. 31943, f. 27v) calling attention to the subscription of Herfast noted below and to that of Maurice as chaplain in 1083 (*Monasticon*, I. 238), two years after he had been made chancellor. Cf. the destructive criticism respecting the Anglo-Saxon chancery by Stevenson, *English Historical Review*, XI. 732 (p. 733, n. 5, throws doubt also on the Norman chancery); and by Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, p. 163 ff.

¹²⁹ Round, *Calendar*, no. 1165; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 150.

¹³⁰ Round, no. 77, dated 1069, whereas he is chancellor in 1068 (*Monasticon*, VIII. 1324).

¹³¹ Hariulf, ed. Lot, p. 185; Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, I. 252; Orde-ricus, II. 40.

to say when the *primates* or *proceres* have met as an assembly. Beyond the old custom of holding an assembly at Fécamp at Easter-tide,¹³² our knowledge of the duke's itinerary is too fragmentary to show any such regularity in the court's meetings as we find in England after the Conquest. The *curia* was brought together for purposes of counsel on matters which ranged from a transfer of relics¹³³ to the invasion of England,¹³⁴ and for judicial business. As a judicial body the charters reveal its activity chiefly in cases concerning a monastery's title to land¹³⁵—for the duke's protection naturally carried with it access to his court—but it plainly has wider functions growing out of the judicial supremacy of the duke. It may try barons for high crimes.¹³⁶ Disputes respecting the limits of ecclesiastical and baronial jurisdiction must be brought before it,¹³⁷ and it is the obvious place for the settlement of other difficulties between the greater tenants, so that it may even be agreed in advance that when a case reaches a certain stage it shall be respited until it can come before the duke.¹³⁸ The *curia* is a place of record for agreements,¹³⁹ and may itself order a sworn record to be made and attested.¹⁴⁰ It may send officers to partition land.¹⁴¹ Evidence

¹³² William of Jumièges, ed. Duchesne, p. 317; Lot, *Fidèles et Vassaux*, p. 262. We find an Easter court at Fécamp in 1032 (Ordericus, III. 223); 1028 or 1034 (Collection Moreau, XXI. 9); ca. 1056 (Round, no. 1109); 1066 (Le Prévost, *Eure*, I. 149); 1067 (Duchesne, *Scriptores*, p. 211); 1075 (Ordericus, II. 303); 1083 (MS. Rouen 1193, f. 30v). No place is mentioned in *Cartulaire de la Trinité de Rouen*, nos. 28, 82, both issued at Easter. The great privileges of Richard II. for the Norman monasteries were granted at a *curia* held at Fécamp in August (*Neustria Pia*, pp. 215, 398; Le Prévost, *Eure*, I. 285), and Robert I. held a *curia* there in January, 1035 (*Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 327).

¹³³ *Acta Sanctorum*, February, I. 193 (Richard I.).

¹³⁴ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, III. 290 ff.

¹³⁵ "Si per illam calumniam damnum aliquod ipsi monachi habuerint, duas reclamaciones in mea corte vel curia faciant." Robert I. for Fécamp, Collection Moreau, XXI. 9. See Delisle, *S. Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, nos. 35, 36, 42; Hariulf, ed. Lot, p. 224; *Cartulaire de la Trinité*, no. 82; Ordericus, II. 310; Deville, *Analyse d'un Cartulaire de S. Étienne de Caen*, p. 20; Round, *Calendar*, nos. 78, 116, 165, 711, 712, 1114, 1170–1172, 1190, 1212.

¹³⁶ Ordericus, II. 433. Cf. the case of the abbot of S. Evroul, *ibid.*, II. 81.

¹³⁷ Council of Lillebonne, end.

¹³⁸ "Dum venit in Monte Sancti Michaelis est in respectu donec coram rege." Agreement between the abbot of Mont St. Michel and William Painel, 1070–1081, *English Historical Review*, XXII. 647. The passage is somewhat obscure (cf. Round, *Calendar*, no. 714), but the meaning of *coram rege* is plain.

¹³⁹ Round, nos. 713, 1171, and the charter cited in the preceding note. Cf. the following, from a charter of William as duke: "Me petierunt canonici precepique ut coram Geraldo dapifero meo firmaretur eorum conventio, quod factum est". Deville, *Essai Historique sur S. Georges de Bocherville* (Rouen, 1827), p. 71.

¹⁴⁰ *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 65.

¹⁴¹ Le Prévost, *Eure*, III. 184. MS. Rouen 1193, ff. 31v, 54v: "Partes . . . quas adquisivit Robertus archiepiscopus iudicio Ricardi comitis et principum

is secured by oath,¹⁴² ordeal,¹⁴³ and the wager of battle,¹⁴⁴ and it is altogether probable that the sworn inquest was employed.¹⁴⁵ Where the account is at all explicit, we usually find certain members rendering the decision of the court, sometimes merely as *Urteil-finder* after the case has been heard before the whole *curia*,¹⁴⁶ sometimes as a separate body before which the proceedings are conducted.¹⁴⁷ This does not necessarily involve any stability of organization or specialization of function, but there are indications that more of a beginning had been made in this direction in Normandy than, for example, in the neighboring county of Anjou.¹⁴⁸ Among the men who act as judges we regularly find one or more bishops and a *vicomte*,¹⁴⁹ members of the two classes which had most occasion to become acquainted with the law, and while we do not yet hear of a body of justices and a chief justiciar, it is not impossible that something of the sort may have existed. At the very beginning of William's reign the bishop of Bayeux makes complaint before the archbishop of Rouen, Count Odo of Brittany, Neel the *vicomte*, *alii-que seniores justiciam regni obtinentes*;¹⁵⁰ and in three other cases the archbishop and Roger of Beaumont appear among the judges.¹⁵¹ Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances, described by his biographer as immersed in the business of the king and the *curia*,¹⁵² is found in three of the small number of charters where the names of the judges

eius in appendiciis Doverent ad quarum divisionem et saisionem misit Ricardus comes Goscelinum filium Hecdonis et Ricardum vicecomitem filium Tescelini et Radulfum filium episcopi et Osbertum de Augis".

¹⁴² *Livre Noir de Bayeux*, no. 21.

¹⁴³ Round, no. 1172; Ordericus, II. 433; *Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture de Bayeux* (1845), III. 125.

¹⁴⁴ *Neustria Pia*, p. 168 (Round, no. 165).

¹⁴⁵ Brunner, *Schwurgerichte*, p. 270; Pollock and Maitland, second edition, I. 143. The existence of the sworn inquest has mainly to be inferred from its appearance in England shortly after the Conquest and in Normandy in the twelfth century. Cf. Haskins, "The Early Norman Jury", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VIII. 613 ff.

¹⁴⁶ Round, no. 1190.

¹⁴⁷ Delisle, *S. Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, nos. 36, 42.

¹⁴⁸ For Anjou see Halphen, in *Revue Historique*, LXXVII. 282.

¹⁴⁹ Delisle, *S. Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, nos. 13, 35, 36, 42; Round, no. 1190. The bishops are prominent in Round, no. 78; in no. 1114 the bishops and abbots are the judges; in no. 116, two abbots and five laymen. The *curiae* in which the *vicomte* appears may in some cases have been local. Cf. note 104.

¹⁵⁰ *Livre Noir de Bayeux*, no. 21; Delisle, *S. Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, no. 13. Delisle, p. 3, considers these men to have been regents. Stapleton, I. xxiv, note o, calls them justiciars.

¹⁵¹ Round, nos. 78, 1190; MS. Lat. n. a. 1243, f. 80.

¹⁵² *Gallia Christiana*, XI. instr. 219.

are given,¹⁵³ and it would not be surprising if he served a Norman apprenticeship for his work as judge and Domesday commissioner in England.¹⁵⁴ It is clear that, contrary to Freeman's view of the exclusion of ecclesiastics from the Norman curia,¹⁵⁵ the bishops took an active part in its proceedings, and it is probably among them, rather than in the office of seneschal, that we should seek the origin of the English justiciarship.¹⁵⁶

If, in conclusion, we try to summarize the constitution of Normandy on the eve of the invasion of England, certain features stand out with reasonable clearness. The organization of Norman society is feudal, with the accompaniments of feudal tenure of land, feudal military organization and private justice, but it is a feudalism which is held in check by a strong ducal power. The military service owing to the duke has been systematically assessed and is regularly enforced. Castles can be built only by the duke's license and must be handed over to him on demand. Private war and the blood feud are carefully restricted, and private jurisdictions are restrained by the reserved jurisdiction of the duke and by the maintenance of a public local administration. The duke keeps a firm hand on the Norman Church, in the matter both of appointments and of jurisdiction. He holds the monopoly of coinage, and is able to collect a considerable part of his income in money. The administrative machinery, though in many respects still primitive, has kept pace with the duke's authority. His local representative, the *vicomte*, is a public officer and not a domanial agent; his revenues are regu-

¹⁵³ Delisle, nos. 36, 42; Round, no. 78. In the first two instances he is at the head of the body. The writ in Round, no. 464, evidently relates to England and not to Normandy, for an examination of the original in the archives of the Calvados shows that the archbishop's initial is not J but L (*i. e.*, Lanfranc).

¹⁵⁴ On his work in England see Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 133-134, 138, 460; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, I. 375.

¹⁵⁵ *Norman Conquest*, I. 172, III. 290.

¹⁵⁶ Stubbs's view of the derivation of the justiciarship from the seneschalship (*l. c.*, I. 375) has also been criticized by Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward*, pp. 11-18, but on the untenable ground that William Fitz-Osbern "was never dapifer to William". In addition to the statements of the chroniclers, which Harcourt seeks to explain away, Fitz-Osbern witnesses as dapifer, along with the dapifer Gerold, in a charter for St. Ouen (Collection Moreau, XXII. 110v, from the original; Cartulary of St. Ouen, in archives of the Seine-Inférieure, 28 bis, no. 338), and issues a charter for St. Denis in which he styles himself "*ego Willelmus Osberni filius consul et dapifer Willelmi Anglorum regis*" (Archives Nationales, LL. 1158, p. 590). The problem of interest as regards Fitz-Osbern is not so much his seneschalship as his title of *comes palatii* and *magister militum* (Ordericus, II. 265; *Cartulaire de la Trinité*, no. 67) and his father's position as *procurator principalis domus* (William of Jumièges, ed. Duchesne, p. 268).

larly collected; and something has been done toward creating organs of fiscal control and of judicial administration. The system shows strength, and it shows organizing power. In some directions, as in the fixing of military obligations, this organizing force may have been at work before the Conqueror's time, but much must have been due to his efforts. Stark and stern and wrathful, whether we read of him in the classic phrases of William of Poitiers or in the simple speech of the Old English chronicle, the personality of William the Conqueror stands out pre-eminent in the midst of a conquering race, but it does not stand alone. The Norman barons shared the high-handed and masterful character of their leader, and the history of Norman rule in southern Italy and Sicily shows that the Norman genius for political organization was not confined to the dukes of Rouen. For William and for his followers the conquest of England only gave a wider field for qualities of state-building which had already shown themselves in Normandy.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

THE FORMATION AND CONSTITUTION OF THE BURGUNDIAN STATE (FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES)¹

IN the Europe of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the state created in the Netherlands by the four dukes of Burgundy who succeeded one another from Philip the Bold (1384-1404) to Charles the Bold (1467-1477), and perfected later by Charles V., occupied a unique position, and presented special characteristics which differentiated it so completely from the other political organisms of the time, that it merits more attention from the historian than it has heretofore been accorded. The study both of its formation and of its governing institutions is, in fact, of a nature to throw new light upon the policy of princes at the beginning of modern times: upon the obstacles which this policy had to combat, the circumstances which favored it, and in short, its connection with the social and economic life of that epoch.

But, to begin with, what is meant by the expression, Burgundian state? It is a modern term, and did not make its appearance before the end of the nineteenth century. It was invented to provide an exact designation for the political union in which, between the end of the fourteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth, the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands were joined under the authority of a single princely house. Although for a long time this house possessed the duchy and county of Burgundy as well, these two territories formed no part of the state which it built up, the state we are undertaking to describe. The union between them was simply a personal one, and indeed, the Burgundian state of the North never had anything in common with the two Burgundies; it possessed its own life, entirely independent of theirs; and the institutions by which it was governed did not extend their action beyond its frontiers.

Although the name Burgundian state is modern, it is not arbitrary, but is based on historic fact and on tradition. The chroniclers and historians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

¹ This article reproduces, with certain alterations, a paper read before the International Congress of Historical Sciences at Berlin, August 10, 1908, by Professor Henri Pirenne of the University of Ghent.

regularly give the name Burgundians to the inhabitants of Belgo-Netherland provinces. The briquet of Burgundy² was at the same epoch the national emblem of these lands, where it is still to be seen carved on the fronts of their town halls and on the keystones of their churches. Circle of Burgundy is the name given under Maximilian and under Charles the Fifth to the circle of the Empire which embraced these lands. In the early part of the sixteenth century, it is true, the humanists gave up the old appellation and substituted that of *Belgica* or Belgium, which was supplied to them by antiquity, and which, reappearing after centuries, designates the kingdom of Belgium to-day. Nevertheless, even in the seventeenth century, curious traces of the early state of affairs are to be found. It will be sufficient to call to mind here that at the end of the Spanish régime the vessels of the Catholic Netherlands (the Belgium of to-day) still bore on their flags the arms of the house of Burgundy.

The name, indeed, is merely a detail. The essential thing is to prove the long duration of this Burgundian state, established at the dawn of modern times between France and Germany, and represented on the map of Europe to-day by the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland. From the fifteenth century until the great upheaval produced by the French conquest at the end of the eighteenth, Burgundian institutions remained at the basis of the institutions of these two countries whose political destinies were so different, and it can be said with absolute truth that both of them, the Republic of the United Provinces and the Catholic Netherlands, retained to the end the clearly defined marks of their common Burgundian origin.

In spite of appearances, then, and notwithstanding the great transformations which it underwent, first at the end of the sixteenth century, through the separation of the Calvinist provinces of the north from the Catholic provinces of the south, and later in the course of the seventeenth century through the conquests of Louis XIV. in Artois, Flanders and Hainaut, the Burgundian state had a very long existence. This length of life may at first sight appear remarkable, for it would seem that the characteristics which made it a thing unique in Europe, denied to it all the conditions indispensable to the maintenance of a political organism.

It must first be made clear, that although it belonged to the group of territorial states (*Territorialstaaten*) formed at the end of the Middle Ages, it differed from them in a very noteworthy

² The name *briquet de Bourgogne* is used to designate the links of the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

manner. Like those states, it was the work of a princely house, and not of a monarchy, and, again like them, it consisted of an agglomeration of lands originally independent of one another. But while the other territorial states were built up of districts subject to the same suzerainty, it united regions dependent on Germany (Brabant, Hainaut, Holland, Zeeland, Luxemburg, etc.) with regions dependent on France (Artois, Flanders). It included within its frontiers a fragment of each of the two great states between which it lay. Its princes, until the reign of Charles V., were at the same time vassals of the emperors and vassals of the Valois. In short, the Burgundian state appears to us as essentially a frontier state, or, to speak more exactly, as a state made up of the frontier provinces of two kingdoms. The Scheldt, the most important of its commercial routes, separated *Francia Occidentalis* from *Francia Orientalis*, from the time of the Treaty of Verdun (843).

Of a hybrid nature even from this first point of view, the Burgundian state was still more so if we consider the peoples who dwelt in it. It was crossed not only by a political, but also by a linguistic frontier. Lacking unity of feudal dependence, it lacked, in a manner still more striking, national unity. It united a group of Romanic with a group of Germanic population. Walloons occupied all the southern portions—Namur, Hainaut, Artois, Gallic Flanders and southern Brabant; while people of Netherland speech, of Frankish or Frisian origin, dwelt in the northern provinces. A frontier state between two kingdoms, it was still more a frontier state between two tongues. By a singular coincidence, it constituted at the same time the point of contact between the two great states of Western Europe, France and Germany, and the two great peoples that have formed European civilization, the Germanic and the Romanic.

Finally, in addition to these two peculiarities we must mention a third. For the Burgundian state had no more geographic than it had political or linguistic unity. Except in the southeast, where it was protected by the hills of the Ardennes, it was open on all sides. Outlined on the great plain of northern Europe, it presented no natural obstacles, either on the side of Germany or on that of France. Of the three rivers which crossed it, the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheldt, not one has its source on Burgundian soil.

Thus, from whatever side it is regarded, this state at first sight appears to have been the work of arbitrary will, and of chance.

It seems nothing more than a confused assemblage of heterogeneous territories and of people still more heterogeneous; a sort of defiance that grasping and ambitious princes, favored by circumstances, hurled in the face of nature and of history. And in fact, in the fifteenth century, Charles VII. and Louis XI. in France, and the Emperor Sigismund in Germany, regarded it as something illegal and monstrous, the hateful result of an abominable usurpation. In our days a large number of historians have passed a similar judgment upon it. The French are unanimous in considering it a work of usurpation and violence accomplished by traitorous princes who endeavored to ruin the house of Valois from which they sprang by raising against it a rival power. In the Netherlands themselves, there is no lack of writers who, taking into account solely the resistance raised by provincial particularism against the dukes of Burgundy, see in the latter nothing more than grasping and brutal tyrants, trampling underfoot the national liberties, and owing their success to violence alone.

It is not difficult to demonstrate that these opinions, inspired by national considerations or by an abstract liberalism which fails to take into account the conditions of existence in the society of the end of the Middle Ages, have no correspondence to historical fact. Far from having suddenly interrupted the course of destiny in the Netherlands, and from owing its birth merely to the caprice of bold adventurers, the Burgundian state appeared as the climax of a long historical evolution. It was the result of the co-operation of a number of political, social and economic forces, the action of which begins to be perceptible in the early Middle Ages, in those frontier territories which it brought together. In spite of appearances, its constitution, though at first sight strange, is perfectly natural. The special characteristics which it exhibits have their sources, in fact, in all the earlier history of the Netherlands. Undoubtedly a combination of favorable circumstances, or the chance, if such it may be called, which at a given moment extinguished dynasties, threw open successions, and caused the outbreak of military and diplomatic conflicts, contributed largely to the success of the work achieved by the dukes of Burgundy. But is it not the same with all human events, and is not the important thing in this case to distinguish, beneath the chance multiplicity of changing circumstances, the profound and permanent tendency, of which these circumstances have done no more than to hasten the final result?

After the end of the Carolingian period, the diplomacy which in modern times was so frequently to alter the map of Belgium had forced the lands destined to form at a later period the Burgundian state, to undergo a division which took absolutely no account of the nationality of their inhabitants. By the treaty of Verdun, later confirmed by other treaties which we need not consider here, the region lying on the left bank of the Scheldt had been assigned to *Francia Occidentalis*, that is, to France, while the region on the right bank, after having constituted for some time the kingdom of Lotharingia, was at the beginning of the tenth century again joined with *Francia Orientalis*, or Germany. Instead of following from east to west the boundary of language, the frontier thus established from north to south cut it through the centre and assigned alike to France and to Germany a group of Flemish and a group of Walloon population. The future bilingualism of the Burgundian state is thus to be found from the beginning in the countries where that state was to establish itself five hundred years later.

And it is exceedingly interesting to show that the state of things created by Carolingian diplomacy prevailed without bringing about the least attempt at revolt on the part of the population. In the course of the history of the Netherlands, in fact, no event is to be found which presents the appearance of a race-struggle. The Flemings made no attempt to separate from the Walloons, nor the Walloons to form a group apart from their compatriots of Germanic speech. Nor did the one people attempt to dominate the other and reduce it to a subordinate position. The linguistic frontier which in the ninth century might have become a political frontier, and in that case would undoubtedly have modified for all time the course of history in these lands, never became such a frontier. On the contrary, when, beginning from the tenth century, the territorial principalities were being formed, many of them presented this same bilingual character shown by the whole country. The county of Flanders, the duchy of Brabant, the duchy of Limburg, the duchy of Luxemburg, the principality of Liège, all included within their frontiers a group of Germanic and a group of Romanic people; they were at the same time Flemish⁸ and Walloon. The two regions of the Netherlands, given, under the above conditions, the one to France and the other to Germany, began immediately to detach themselves little by little from their suzerains. As long as the

⁸I use this expression for convenience, although it cannot be strictly applied to Luxemburg, whose Germanic-speaking inhabitants are not properly called Flemings.

power of the emperors remained vigorous, Lotharingia, under the government of the dukes and bishops appointed by the Saxon and Franconian monarchs, was one of the important provinces of the Empire. But after the upheaval caused by the War of Investitures, the power of Germany grew rapidly weaker in the regions between the Meuse and the Scheldt. Henry V. was the last emperor to appear there in person. After him, his successors—except during a period including the reign of Frederick Barbarossa—became less and less interested in the fate of this far-off land, situated at the extremity of the Empire. They abandoned it to itself, contenting themselves with preserving a supremacy which from day to day became more purely nominal. Thenceforth the Lotharingian princes became accustomed to no longer troubling their minds about their suzerain. There is no evidence of any hostility toward him, but, neglected by him, they insensibly formed the habit of having no more recourse to his authority. They assisted no longer at the elections of the kings of the Romans; they regulated their affairs according to their own good pleasure. Even under Frederick Barbarossa, Count Baldwin of Hainaut (1171-1195), though the most faithful of the emperor's vassals, regarded himself in reality as neutral between France and Germany.

The increasing power of the kings of France after the first half of the twelfth century contributed largely in its turn to cut off the Lotharingian provinces from the Empire. Not only did the Capetians, from Philip Augustus on, renew the ancient claims of the French Carolingians to that country, but the feudal princes, in their quarrels with one another, soon formed the habit of having recourse to the support of the king, who naturally asked nothing better than to mix more and more in their affairs and thus extend his influence over them. In the thirteenth century, the long war which set at odds the houses of Avesnes and of Dampierre presented a characteristic example of the constant growth of the French hegemony in the imperial portion of the Netherlands to the detriment of the German suzerainty. John of Avesnes appealed to Rudolph of Hapsburg, warning him, in the most pressing terms, that the absorption of Lotharingia by France was imminent, but his exhortations were vain. Rudolph went no further than to forbid it in useless decrees, while Louis IX. intervened actively on the side of the Dampierres and did not hesitate to send a French army into Hainaut, which was imperial soil. A little later, while the King of the Romans abstained from intervening in the conflict

which ended after the battle of Worringen in the annexation of the duchy of Limburg to the duchy of Brabant (1288), it was again France which offered arbitration to the belligerents and took a hand in their affairs as if it were a question of her own vassals.

But although the Lotharingian princes eagerly sought the aid of France, they did not mean to pass under its rule. They conveniently recalled that they owed allegiance to the Empire when they felt themselves too closely pressed by the Capetian, and in the fourteenth century a goodly number of them profited by the Hundred Years' War to attack his influence by a timely espousal of the cause of England. Louis of Bavaria did not know how to take advantage of this situation to win back to the Empire on its western frontier the prestige that it had lost. After him, Charles IV. of Luxemburg paid more active attention to the Netherlands. He succeeded in marrying his brother Wenzel to Joanna, the heiress of Brabant (1347). But his policy in this affair was purely dynastic. It had in view only the interests of the house of Luxemburg, not those of the Empire. Instead of assuming toward Joanna the attitude of a sovereign, he treated with her as equal with equal. He did so little toward restoring the German influence that the Duchess, to demonstrate her independence of the Empire, did not fear to declare that Brabant constituted an allod, which she held of God alone. How, moreover, could the imperial prestige have been re-established in the Netherlands, at the time when the intestine quarrel which in Germany was setting at odds the houses of Bavaria and Luxemburg, had extended to these countries? For about the same time that Wenzel of Luxemburg married Joanna of Brabant, Margaret of Bavaria inherited Hainaut and Holland (1345). This introduction of two German houses into the basins of the Scheldt and the Meuse might, it is true, have re-established between that region and Germany a certain community of political life and renewed between them the bonds which had so long been loosened. But nothing of the sort occurred, for, instead of depending on Germany, Wenzel as well as the Bavarian princes imitated the conduct of the Belgian princes whom they had succeeded, and it was toward France and England that they turned their attention. As a matter of fact, the introduction into Lotharingia of two dynasties of German origin in no wise retarded the evolution that we have briefly sketched above. Never before had the authority of the Empire over the Netherlands been so disregarded as it was at the end of the fourteenth century.

While Lotharingia was thus completing the centrifugal movement that detached it from the Empire, Flanders, on its side, was escaping from French suzerainty. It was escaping, it is true, under conditions and through vicissitudes very different from those just considered. And this is not at all strange. As a consequence of their intermediate position between the two great states of western Europe, to both of which the Netherlands owed allegiance for half their territory, they of necessity felt the rebound of their political fluctuations. Now at the same moment that the German power decreased the French power increased, and as a necessary result. Lotharingia, vassal of the former, naturally attained a practical independence which Flanders, vassal of the latter, could win only through the most painful efforts.

It had begun by enjoying an almost complete autonomy, from the end of the ninth century until the beginning of the twelfth. For in the early Middle Ages the kings of France, again in contrast to Germany, were as weak as the Saxon and Franconian monarchs were formidable. So at the period when Lotharingia obeyed its dukes and bishops, the counts of Flanders, regardless of their impotent suzerain, were establishing from the Scheldt to the Canche a compact principality where they exercised a quasi-royal power. But the scene changed when, beginning with the reign of Louis VI., the monarchy, having slowly augmented its strength, undertook to bring all the great vassals under the power of the crown. From that time until the end of the fourteenth century, the struggle between the Capetians and the county was almost uninterrupted. In this struggle, the Flemish princes would undoubtedly have succumbed, as did almost all the princes of the kingdom, if most of them had not been able to depend upon two powerful auxiliaries. For England, ancient rival of France, did not refuse its support, and thus just as territorial policy in Lotharingia is associated with the conflict of France and Germany, so in Flanders it is bound up with the conflict of Capetian and Plantagenet. Moreover, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, the great Flemish communes openly took sides against France, both because they saw in her the stay of the patrician régime which they had overthrown, and because the needs of their cloth industry necessarily ranged them on the side of England; for by suspending the exportation of her wool to the Continent—and in fact she did this several times—she could have ruined them. Nevertheless, in its heroic conflict with France, Flanders lost a considerable portion of its territory.

Under Philip Augustus, it was obliged to sacrifice the district which thenceforth formed the county of Artois. Under Philip the Fair, it saw itself robbed of the territory of Lille, Douay and Béthune. For one brief moment it was even annexed to the crown. But the glorious day of Courtrai (July 11, 1302) when the artisans of Bruges and the Flemings of the coast triumphed over the royal forces, restored to it an independence which its participation in the Hundred Years' War enabled it to maintain effectually in the midst of the social agitations of which it was almost constantly the scene in the fourteenth century. Moreover, the losses which it had undergone, and which had robbed it of all its Romanic region in the south, had made of it a purely Germanic land, and it thenceforth brought to its resistance to France an energy so much the greater in that it now rested on a national contrast. In the second half of the fourteenth century Count Louis de Male (1346-1384) dared openly to brave the King of France; he refused to do him homage for his fief, and united his policy closely to that of England. Thus at the same epoch and in spite of the difference in the causes that produced this result, both of the constituent parts of the Netherlands, Flanders and Lotharingia, won, if not a legal, at least an actual separation from the two states of which they formed, in the one case the extreme western point, in the other the extreme northern. In reality, thanks to the fluctuation of European politics, whose changing currents dashed themselves against this frontier land, they became, so to speak, *res nullius*.

But at the same time that the ties which bound Lotharingia to Germany and Flanders to France were thus giving way, other ties were slowly forming between these two fragments of states, and were tending to make of them a political community, in which we discover the distant origin of that new state which the dukes of Burgundy were to create in the fifteenth century. Flanders and Lotharingia, each bilingual, and in this way each, if the expression is permissible, a prolongation of the other, found no obstacle to the impulse toward concentration which was moving them to union, either in the linguistic frontier which crossed their territory without dividing it, or in the political frontier marked by the Scheldt, which was for both the principal highway of commerce. This impulse began to show itself in the eleventh century, in the history of the local dynasties. After 1051 the counts of Flanders became at the same time counts of Hainaut; then they lost this territory, whose princes became in their turn counts of Flanders in 1191, and re-

tained the title until in 1280 French policy succeeded in separating these two countries. In 1288, Brabant was joined to Limburg; in 1299 the counts of Hainaut obtained the succession in Holland and in Zeeland; in 1361 the county of Looz united with the principality of Liège; in 1357 Louis de Male added to Flanders the cities of Mechlin and Antwerp.

But without attempting to deny their importance, it is possible to hold that these relations established by princely dynasties between Flanders and Lotharingia would not have sufficed to unite these two countries had not their action been re-enforced by a motive much more powerful, since it answered a primordial need of these countries. For the work of unification was undertaken, not alone by the princes, but especially and much more energetically by the people of the towns.

It is well known that in no country of western Europe did cities spring up more thickly or develop more rapidly than in the basins of the Scheldt and the Meuse. The geographical situation which made of this country the point of junction of the two great commercial highways which, the one along the Rhine and the other through France, brought the shores of the North Sea into touch with Italy, encouraged at a very early period the commerce of the *portus*, which, in the course of the tenth century, appeared along the Belgian rivers. At the end of the following century, these *portus* became cities, and these cities, founded under the influence of commerce, were all essentially merchant towns. Far from constituting merely local markets patronized by the dwellers in the surrounding country, they all devoted themselves to foreign commerce. Their merchants, grouped in guilds or hanses, traversed with their caravans the neighboring countries: Northern France and Champagne, Rhenish Germany, above all, England. The cloth industry which developed with incredible vitality in Flanders, Brabant and Western Hainaut, the copper industry which rivalled it in activity in the valley of the Meuse, furnished these merchants with products of exchange in constantly increasing number, and clearly presented the character of export industries.

Equipped thus in very early times with a commerce and an industry greatly surpassing their local needs, it was indispensable that the towns should seek to come to an understanding and unite for the defense and protection of their merchants abroad. In spite of the scarcity of our information, we know enough to establish the fact that, in the course of the twelfth century, they were acting

in common accord; were uniting their guilds and were issuing from their municipal isolation to watch in common over their most powerful interests. It is in Flanders, the most advanced of the territories from the economic point of view, that we see most clearly, in the famous London Hansa, this curious movement of urban association, but there is no lack of indications of similar manifestations in Brabant and in the territory of Liège.

However, though the towns of the same principality were allying themselves more and more closely, we do not observe, before the thirteenth century, that the principalities themselves sought to conclude with one another any economic agreements. Indeed, as long as the commerce was carried on essentially overland, it is observable that the economic activity of the country tended in two different directions. Flanders carried on active relations especially with England and with France, where its merchants appeared by hundreds at the celebrated fairs of Champagne. On the contrary, it is rather toward Germany, and especially toward Cologne, that the commerce of Brabant and the Liège towns directed itself.

But the development of navigation was to put an end to this situation. The extraordinary development of the port of Bruges during the thirteenth century soon exercised such an attraction that the economic activity of Belgium, until then divided between two opposite tendencies, began to show a westward trend. The coast, where, besides Bruges, Antwerp soon formed another outlet on the sea, drew toward it the merchants of the whole country, and the whole economic life flowed henceforth in a single stream. The regions of the interior formed henceforth merely the *Hinterland* of the ports of the Zwyn or the Scheldt. A single example will suffice to indicate the change. Until the end of the twelfth century the "*batteurs*" of Dinant exported their copper products and provided themselves with raw material by way of Cologne. From the following century they abandoned the metropolis on the Rhine to frequent, almost exclusively, the market-places of Bruges or Antwerp. The fact that all the commerce of the southern Netherlands flowed toward the sea evidently helped greatly to favor that consolidating of the various districts already begun by the policy of the princes. It was thenceforth a fundamental necessity for all the cities of the region to be able to count on the freedom of the routes leading toward the ports, to see the number of market tolls thereon diminished, and especially to remove the excuses for the armed conflicts which interrupted transit. Also, after the

beginning of the fourteenth century, treaties of alliance, of arbitration, of monetary agreement, multiplied between the principalities. Of all these the most celebrated is that which, in 1339, in the days of James van Artevelde, established a commercial agreement between Flanders, Brabant, Hainaut, Holland and Zeeland. But alongside this celebrated document, a quantity of similar conventions witness also to the constant increase in the economic solidarity of the country. In 1356 the Brabanters caused to be inscribed in the *Joyeuse Entrée* the principle of perpetual peace both with Flanders and with the territory of Liège.

It is useless to press the point further. We have said enough to prove that, whether it is considered in its political manifestations or in its economic activity, history presents us with the spectacle of a more and more manifest amalgamation of the different territories of the Netherlands, during the Middle Ages. When a propitious occasion appeared, the movement thus begun was completed by the union in a single state of these principalities, which, in spite of their different suzerains and their differing tongues, had been so long urged toward one another.

Now this occasion presented itself during the second half of the fourteenth century. The extinction, within a period of a few years, of the male descendants of the dynasties of Brabant, Hainaut, Holland and Flanders, brought into the country, in accordance with the regular operation of the right of succession, three foreign houses. Two of these houses were German: that of Bavaria (Hainaut-Holland) and that of Luxemburg (Brabant-Limburg); the third, that of Burgundy (Flanders and Artois), was French.

It was inevitable that among these three houses, all of royal or imperial origin, and all consequently implicated in the international politics of their time, a conflict should arise for the possession of the Netherlands. But it was also inevitable that the outcome of the conflict should be favorable to the house of Burgundy. We have already said that the Empire, grown weak, and fallen a prey to internal struggles, did nothing to aid Bavaria and Luxemburg, whose family rivalry in any case prevented their arriving at a mutual understanding. The Burgundians, on the contrary, were able from the beginning to depend on France, which during the reign of Charles VI. put its armies and treasury generously at their disposal. How could this have been otherwise? The marriage (1369) of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, with the heiress of Flanders

and Artois,⁴ Margaret, daughter of Count Louis de Male, had been the work of French policy. Charles V., who had brought it about, had seen in it the means of finally solving the Flemish question by gaining the country for a prince of the royal family.⁵ He could flatter himself, on dying, that he had at last assured the annexation to his kingdom of this rich and warlike territory.

In reality, he was entirely at fault in his calculations. Transplanted to the Netherlands, the Burgundian dynasty made use of France only to aid its own undertakings, and far from conducting itself as an instrument of French policy, it was the house of Burgundy for which was reserved the task of definitely breaking the bonds which still attached Flanders to the kingdom, and of founding in the Netherlands a state which was soon to become a dangerous enemy to France. The dukes of Burgundy made use of their close relationship with the Valois only to augment their prestige and influence in the North. This was already apparent in the reign of Philip the Bold, who, to win the good will of the Duchess of Brabant and persuade her to break the treaty by which she had promised the succession to the house of Luxemburg, led a French army against the Duke of Guelders, an enemy of the elderly princess, and caused the royal treasury enormous expenditures by which he was the only one to profit. At the end of the expedition, Joanna of Brabant did in fact recognize as her heir Philip's second son, Anthony, and, taking no account of the protests of the Emperor, thus afforded the house of Burgundy a footing on the right bank of the Scheldt.

Contemporaries, it is true, did not at once comprehend the import of the events which had just occurred. To them, the advance of the house of Burgundy at first appeared—as had formerly the gain of the Dampierres upon the Avesnes—a step towards the absorption of Belgium by France. Sigismund expressed this thought very clearly when he exclaimed to the Brabantine ambassadors sent by Anthony: "You wish, then, to become French!"

He was to be undeceived in the near future. For the successor of Philip the Bold, his son John the Fearless (1404-1419), prepared at once for a definite break with the Valois. In the fierce struggle between France and England it is clearly toward the latter power that he shaped his policy. Undoubtedly his personal ambition, his rivalry with the Duke of Orleans and the Armagnacs, partly ex-

⁴ Artois, separated from Flanders under Philip Augustus, came back into the power of Louis de Male by the succession of his mother.

⁵ Philip the Bold was his own brother.

plained this attitude, but it was explained still more clearly by the interests of his county of Flanders. Plainly, the Burgundian dynasty began, with his reign, to be acclimated in the Netherlands. It rapidly lost the marks of its French origin, in precisely the way that the houses of Bavaria and Luxemburg, as we have shown above, had lost the marks of their German origin. For the territories of the Netherlands were so rich, and therefore formed a possession so valuable, that they could not fail at once to take the first place in the minds of the foreign princes who became established there. They absorbed, so to speak, their new sovereigns, and soon made of the dukes of Burgundy who came to them as agents of French policy, the founders of their political unity.

It is during the reign of Philip the Good (1419-1467), son of John the Fearless, that this great work was accomplished, with astonishing ease and rapidity. Thanks to the renewal of the Hundred Years' War, during which Philip fought for sixteen years on the English side, the Valois could make no opposition to his progress, and the Emperor, too, was entirely helpless. It must moreover be recognized that chance constantly favored the designs of the Duke. In 1430, at the death of Duke Philip of Brabant, the estates of the duchy unanimously received him as the successor of their prince. Then he forced Jacqueline of Bavaria to recognize him as her heir, and obtained thus, at the death of that unfortunate princess (1428), the counties of Hainaut, Holland and Zeeland, together with the lordship of West Friesland. He bought in 1421 the county of Namur, and purchased of Elizabeth of Görlitz her claims to the duchy of Luxemburg. If we add that he succeeded in establishing his protectorate over the bishoprics of Liège, Utrecht and Tournay, by having his relatives appointed there, it will be seen that it took this skilful man little more than twenty years to accomplish the unification of the Netherlands. For although the Burgundian state was destined to conquer still other provinces, it was in its essential portions established in the reign of Philip the Good. The territories which he brought under his sceptre always remained the essential part; what was to be added later formed merely appendages, and it is with reason that Justus Lipsius gave the great duke the name of *Conditor Belgii*.

The facility with which the results just enumerated were attained proves to what extent they were prepared by history. If it can truly be said that the territorial principalities did not of themselves seek the Burgundian rule, at least it is clear that they accepted it

without serious resistance. The struggle of Philip the Good with Jacqueline of Bavaria, supported by her husband the Duke of Gloucester and the feudal party of the Hoeks, in no wise bore the character of a national war.⁶ On the contrary the cities of Holland espoused against their hereditary princess the cause of her rival, and it may be said that the Burgundian rule was established in the North by the will of the people of the cities. It is only in the territory of Liège that this régime was the object of a lively antipathy. The episcopal principality, which had become under its later bishops a genuine republic dominated by its capital, did not intend, in accepting the protectorate of the duke, to lose the liberties which it had acquired, and its population, both Walloon and Flemish, united against him in the same spirit of resistance.

Charles the Bold (1467-1477) completed and at the same time endangered the work of his father. He completed it in seeking to extend his power over Guelders and Friesland, the annexation of which was to make of the Zuyder Zee a Burgundian lake. He endangered it on the other hand by the violence of his ambition, which, after having rendered all his subjects discontented, led him finally to the catastrophe of Nancy. There is nothing astonishing in the speedy outbreak of an almost unanimous reaction against the ducal rule. To be sure, the Burgundian provinces did not seek to separate from one another. The Great Privilege which they forced the heir of Charles the Bold to grant them in 1477 left their union unbroken. But by substituting for the power of the prince the power of the States General as the central authority of the state, they actually transformed the state into a confederation of autonomous territories. It was too evident that such a confederation would have been incapable of defending itself against such an adversary as Louis XI., whose policy immediately after Nancy aimed at the complete ruin of the house of Burgundy. And so, scarcely had Maximilian of Austria married Mary of Burgundy, when he is found devoting himself energetically to the restoration of the monarchical régime set up by his predecessors. From 1477 to 1493, he unceasingly resisted the territorial particularism openly sustained by France, which used against him the suspicions bred

⁶ The opinion of Löher, (*Jakobäa von Bayern und ihre Zeit*), who sees in the struggle between Philip and Jacqueline a struggle between the Romanic and the Germanic elements, is historically untenable. See on this point Colenbrander, *De Belgische Omwenteling* (1906), p. 43. It is safe to say that the question of race is nowhere met with in the history of the formation of the Burgundian state.

by the fact that he was a foreigner. But when with Philip the Fair (1493-1506) a national prince again mounted the throne, the lost ground was at once regained. The princely prerogatives were again in force, the great central institutions of the state were restored, and the States General, instead of persisting in their role of systematic opposition, henceforth co-operated with the sovereign. It is from this time forward that the Burgundian rule became popular in the Netherlands, and sent down, so to speak, far-reaching roots. The great nobles, part of whom, under Maximilian, had taken sides against the prince, henceforth grouped themselves in a body about him, entered his councils and shared the highest offices of the state, the maintenance of which became the indispensable condition of the prestige which they enjoyed.

Philip the Fair had neither the time nor the disposition to pursue the projects of Charles the Bold and of Maximilian with regard to Guelders and Friesland. His reign, essentially pacific, went no further than the strengthening of the union between the old provinces, and saw the accomplishment of no conquests. But Charles V. was to complete the annexations which constituted, after 1543, the union of the seventeen provinces. He won Tournay from France in 1521, acquired Friesland in 1523, Overijssel and Utrecht in 1528, Groningen in 1536, and finally Guelders in 1543. Henceforth the Burgundian state was complete, and would receive no further aggrandizement.

The annexations of Charles V., quite unlike those brought about by Philip the Good, were all accomplished through war. The very energetic resistance which he had to overcome, and which was directed almost continually by the famous Duke Charles of Guelders, is not fully explained by the energetic intervention of Francis I. in the affairs of the Netherlands; to understand it, it is necessary to observe that the territories subjugated by the emperor had had, until the end of the fifteenth century, relations much less close with the old Burgundian provinces than those which had existed between the latter since the early Middle Ages. Guelders was more German than Netherlandish. As for Friesland and its dependencies, where dwelt a population as different in its speech as in its state of society from that of the county of Holland, it had struggled energetically from the twelfth century on against Holland's attempts at annexation. These attempts, which were finally successful under Charles V., proved that his conquests on the right bank

of the Zuyder Zee and the Yssel were something more than the results of his ambition. To complete the building of the Netherlands and assure their security it was indispensable that they should surround on all sides the inland sea which indented them on the North and that they should absorb the duchy of Guelders, the point of which, advancing between the Meuse and the Waal, menaced at the same time Utrecht, Holland and Brabant. Charles V., in uniting them to the territories of the west, did no more, as we have seen above, than take his inspiration from a plan already completely outlined in the days of Charles the Bold.

This assemblage of seventeen provinces, then, half Romanic and half Germanic, which constituted the Burgundian state at its completion, was composed of two clearly distinct groups of territories. The first, lying in the basins of the Meuse and the Scheldt, and extending along the North Sea west of the Zuyder Zee, was formed during the reign of Philip the Good, by virtue of a long historic evolution and without encountering serious opposition, except in the territory of Liège, which reassumed its autonomy in 1477, and retained it until the end of the eighteenth century. The second, on the contrary, a necessary aggrandizement of the Burgundian possessions, was the result of a war of conquest, and was built up only by means of violent annexations. Still, once accomplished, these annexations were permanent. The advantages which they found in their union with the Burgundian state soon reconciled the populations which had struggled with the greatest energy against it. Thenceforth they no longer sought a separation. It is true that they always played a less active part than the old provinces in the political life of the state, and it was only toward the end of the sixteenth century that the constitution of the Republic of the United Provinces attached them indivisibly to the territories of the west.

At the same time that the Burgundian state was forming by the union of the territories of the Netherlands under the authority of a single dynasty, it finally severed the ties, already loosened, which still bound it to France and Germany. Already in 1435, by the peace of Arras, Philip the Good had secured from Charles VII. release from his position as vassal of the crown. On the other hand, he neglected to pay homage to the emperor for his Lotharingian lands, so that he appeared in reality as an independent monarch. The memory of the ancient kingdom of Lothaire

certainly haunted his mind and the mind of his principal counsellors,⁷ and inspired him with the ambition to obtain in his turn a royal title. His son Charles was for an instant on the point of realizing this project, which would have set the final seal on the sovereignty of his house, and if after him there was no longer any serious question of raising the Netherlands to the rank of a kingdom, the political autonomy of the country none the less continued to gain strength. Under Charles V., the treaties of Madrid and Cambrai rendered perpetual the concession granted by Charles VII. to Philip the Good; the dependence on France was forever abolished in Artois and in Flanders; the Scheldt finally ceased to mark on the map a political frontier. It might seem, at first sight, that this advantage wrung by the Emperor from his adversary would be of profit to the Empire. This was not the case. Charles V. acted in the Netherlands as the successor of the dukes of Burgundy, and his power only served to make definitive their separation from Germany. The convention of Augsburg (1548) established them, under the name of Circle of Burgundy, as an independent state. If, in appearance, it recognized them still as an integral part of the Empire, in reality it detached them from it, for it accorded them, in all its essential features, the attributes of sovereignty. Thus ended, under the great-grandson of Charles the Bold, the long historic process whose principal phases we have endeavored to sketch. The double movement begun in the tenth century had come to an end; the provinces of the Netherlands were united, and between France and Germany a new political organism, the Burgundian state, had come forth into the light of day. The cord that bound together the seventeen provinces was securely tied; it broke at the end of the sixteenth century only, beneath the double pressure of the revolution against Spain and the religious revolution.

An agglomeration of principalities long independent of one another, the Burgundian state in the first place rested on the principle of personal union. Heir or conqueror of the different territories grouped under his authority, the duke did not reign over them by virtue of a power of superior sovereignty. Instead of bearing a

⁷ At the Congress of Berlin a discussion arose as to how far the remembrance of the kingdom of Lothaire contributed toward the formation of the Burgundian state. It is incontestable, to my mind, that although this should not be given an exaggerated importance, the former existence of a kingdom between France and Germany aided to a certain extent the projects of the dukes of Burgundy. See O. Cartellieri, "Eine Burgundische Gesandtschaft", in *Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 1907, pp. 459-460.

single title, like a king, he was clothed with a multitude of special titles. He was at the same time duke of Brabant, count of Flanders, count of Hainaut, count of Holland, etc., etc. In passing beneath his sceptre each province had preserved its autonomy, its own constitution, its special institutions. Nothing is more heterogeneous, nothing more motley, at first sight, than this state made up of an amalgamation of small states, in each one of which the common prince ruled only as the successor of the former local prince. But this is only one aspect of the matter. From the personal union came necessarily a certain unity of government. The ideal of the dukes, like that of all the princes of the fifteenth century, was an ideal of monarchical centralization. They sought in a double manner to augment their influence at the expense of the local government and of the privileges which their various lands had obtained from their princes: first, by strengthening in each of them their own authority, and, second, by establishing, with a view to the general administration, and above the greater number of local governments, a certain number of central institutions. As it appeared at the time of Philip the Good, and as it remained under Charles V., at the time of its fullest development, the Burgundian state may be defined as a plurality of autonomous territories forming a monarchical unity. A certain equilibrium was established by the force of things between the local liberties and the princely power. Had it been free to develop itself at will, the latter would have arrived at absolutism, but it had to take into account, from the very first, an opposition that it was unable to overcome. In each province it was obliged to respect the old constitution that it found in force, and its role was limited to making a place for the political centralization of the modern state, while treating medieval particularism with respect.

This political centralization was, moreover, favored by the social and economic changes which characterized the fifteenth century. It would be quite unjust to consider it as exclusively the work of the dynasty and inspired by its interests alone. In point of fact the princely interest was in many respects intimately allied with the general interest. The nascent capitalism and the economic individualism which was developing along with it, suffered from the privileges bequeathed by the Middle Ages to modern times, which hindered their free development. The municipal exclusiveness which opposed the power of the princes opposed also the development of commerce and the prosperity of the new ports. The state

of subjection which the "good towns" imposed upon the open country hindered the introduction there of that capitalistic industry which was excluded from the urban communes by the rigid and superannuated rules of the trades.⁸ It is also plain that not only the country districts, but above all those new centres of economic activity such as Antwerp and the Holland cities, which were adapting themselves to the necessities imposed by the transformation of commerce and of navigation, were on the side of the princes and favored their policy. The monarchical innovations of the Burgundian period were opposed only by the privileged cities, resolved, like Bruges and Ghent, to preserve the monopolies and prerogatives that had had their day. Nothing is more characteristic on this point than the contrast between their attitude toward the prince and that of Antwerp. In the one case, economic exclusiveness went hand in hand with resistance to the progress of political centralization; in the other, the liberal and innovating spirit which inspired the townspeople of Antwerp made it the faithful ally of the ducal government. In short, the more a city had been privileged in the Middle Ages, the more it resisted the new régime, and therefore there is nothing astonishing in the fact that it is especially in Flanders, where the cities, during earlier centuries, had surpassed those of all other territories in freedom and influence, that the Burgundian policy found its most resolute adversaries. But the resistance of Flanders was inspired by the past and not by the present. Its great communes wore themselves out in heroic efforts to maintain a supremacy which was escaping them, and the loss of which they attributed to the government. They did not see—and it was not in their power to see—that along with the establishment of the Burgundian state and independent of it, there was going on in the Netherlands a displacement of the economic equilibrium, and that the commercial leadership was on the point of passing over to Antwerp.

The "innovations" introduced by the house of Burgundy into the provincial administration responded so well to the needs of the times, that before its arrival in the Netherlands their dawn is apparent. Already Count Louis de Male had established in Flanders, about 1369, a supreme tribunal, the *Audience*, which must be considered as the precursor of the *Council Chamber* instituted at Lille in 1386 by Philip the Bold. This council chamber, which was soon

⁸ H. Pirenne, "Une Crise Industrielle au XVI^e Siècle", in *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, classe des lettres, 1905, p. 489 f.

subdivided into a court of justice (the *Council of Flanders*) and a chamber of accounts, was the first modern administrative institution which the Netherlands had known. Similar institutions (the councils of Brabant, Holland, Guelders, Hainaut, Luxemburg; the chambers of accounts of Brussels and the Hague) were introduced into the other provinces as they passed under Burgundian sway. Everywhere they had as results the substitution of educated magistrates for the communal aldermen (*échevins*), the restriction of superannuated privileges to the advantage of the "common good", the disappearance from the law of a multitude of archaic usages, the habituation of lawyers to the practice of appeal, the organization of the pursuit of criminals, etc. The chambers of accounts brought the administration of the finances to a regular accountability, exercised a permanent control over the receipts and expenses of all officials, and allowed alterations in the distribution of the taxes, rendering them more equitable. It is incontestable that the Burgundian administration merited the reputation for excellence that it enjoyed, and of this there is no need of other proof than the fact that it served as a model to Maximilian for the reforms he introduced into Austria.

As was natural, it is from France, where monarchical government was from the thirteenth century on so thoroughly developed, that the dukes borrowed a large part of their administrative system. But they were far from simply copying the institutions of that kingdom. On the contrary, they altered them considerably to adapt them to the special conditions of their country. During the early period, and this was one of the principal complaints uttered against them, they called in a goodly number of foreigners, Burgundians or Picards, to initiate into their new tasks the officials of the Netherlands. These assistants became less and less necessary in proportion as the new régime became established, and they had almost completely disappeared in the second half of the fifteenth century.

We have said above that the establishment of monarchical institutions did not go on without arousing protest and, at least in Flanders, even violent conflicts. In all the provinces, the cities had acquired a dominant influence, and the policy of centralization found itself consequently more or less openly at odds with the urban policy. But, favored by the economic manifestations which were undermining the latter, it triumphed everywhere without great exertions. The cities, though they retained a large measure of

autonomy, were obliged to recognize the superior authority of the state, submit to its control, and contribute to the public expenses. If the rank and file of the townspeople long remained faithful to the old principle of municipal exclusiveness upon which rested the convenient industrial monopoly of the trades, the great merchants and the capitalists, on the contrary, rallied very soon to a system of government in which the "common good" took the place of privilege and in which municipal freedom was restrained only for the securing of a larger freedom. Moreover the bureaucracy now furnished a crowd of young patricians with a new and lucrative career and, in the Burgundian state as in all modern states, contributed powerfully to rally the well-to-do classes to the monarchical régime which was the condition of its maintenance.

Much less powerful than the cities, the clergy and the nobility showed also less opposition to the "Burgundian innovations". The excellent relations which the dukes maintained with the papacy, moreover, prevented the former from struggling against them with any chance of success. It resigned itself to the restriction of its jurisdiction and to the intervention of the prince in the grant of ecclesiastical dignities, and rapidly accustomed itself to a situation where devotion to the dynasty was the best path to success. As for the nobility, although it too had lost a considerable number of privileges and prerogatives, it was compensated by lucrative and honorary offices which were thrown open to it at the court, in the administration and in the army, and the entire body was soon gathered about the prince.

Although so far-reaching, the reforms accomplished in the provinces left untouched in all of them the ancient traditional constitutions. Everywhere the privileges accorded to their lands by the former princes remained; everywhere the Estates retained the right of voting the taxes and nowhere was there any modification in the organization of these assemblies, which were the essential organs of territorial autonomy. The monarchical organization took possession of all the vast administrative and judicial domain left vacant by the rudimentary organization of the Middle Ages; it put an end to abuses, it modified and perfected existing institutions, but it did not destroy them.

Besides the monarchical reforms accomplished in each province, the Burgundian period also saw the rise of a system of central institutions extending their action throughout the Netherlands, and thereby transforming them into that collective state which we have

endeavored to characterize above. It is an entirely new political phenomenon. For where, before the end of the fourteenth century, different lands had already been united under the rule of a single prince, it is not observable that this dynastic union brought about the slightest community of government. The princes, it is true, even when they reigned over several countries, had but a single council; but this council, made up of trusted advisers and limited to a purely consultative part, did not, properly speaking, constitute a governmental institution, and it seems scarcely ever to have intervened except in questions of foreign policy. Naturally the dukes of Burgundy possessed a council of this sort when they came to the Netherlands. This council, made up of nobles, clerks and lawyers from their different domains, and even of foreigners, was attached to the prince's person and moved about with him, having no fixed residence. But from the reign of Philip the Good a decisive change took place. Out of the original council developed two councils with special attributes: one, the privy council, retained the consideration of political affairs; the other, the Great Council, formed a high court of justice with jurisdiction over the entire Burgundian state. The latter, under Charles the Bold, was definitely settled at Mechlin under the name of *Parlement*; a name which it lost under Philip the Fair, to reassume and retain until the end of the eighteenth century that of Great Council. As for the political council, a new specialization of its functions divided it, under Charles V., into three separate councils residing at Brussels: the council of state (political affairs); the privy council (controversial and administrative affairs), and the council of finance. These were called collateral councils because they acted in conjunction with the prince, or his representative, the lieutenant-governor.⁹ Henceforth, above the local governments of the provinces, there existed a general government which, acting in the same manner upon each of them, united them in a common action, and made them participate, in some fashion, in the same political life. And as we have shown above for the provinces, the central government at the end of the fifteenth century took on a national character, and excluded the foreigners that were numerous at the outset. Brussels, which was its seat, and in which after 1531 the sovereign's representative resided, became the capital of the Netherlands.

⁹ It is sufficient for our purpose to characterize here in its general outlines the central organization of the state. It is useless to enter into details and to speak of the other agents of the prince, such as the chancellor of Burgundy or the lieutenant-governor.

But, and this is one of the most interesting of its peculiarities, the central government included not merely institutions charged with developing and applying the authority of the prince. The creation of the States General by Philip the Good in 1463 gave the representatives of the country a part in it. This great assembly, made up of delegates from all the provincial Estates, not only gave the prince an opportunity to deliberate with his subjects as a whole; but it also provided the most potent of the means of unification which had brought together the seventeen Burgundian provinces. Finally, just as the monarchical institutions did not suppress the territorial institutions which were anterior to them, so the States General did not absorb the individual Estates. On the contrary, it was with the latter that the final decision rested. Without their assent, the deputies of the States General could conclude nothing. Thus particularism remained as powerful beside the central organ of national representation as beside the institutions of monarchical power, and from whatever side it is examined, the Burgundian state always presented the same spectacle of modern unification above and medieval diversity below.

But while diversity did not increase, unification realized constant progress in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The creation of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1430 attached to the person of the prince all the great nobility of the Netherlands, and thus put at his disposition, in the different territories, the enormous ascendancy which it enjoyed. On the other hand, the formation of a standing army (*bandes d'ordonnance*) under Charles the Bold enabled the dukes to take into their pay almost all of the lesser nobility, who, in fighting under their standard, were soon imbued with a lively sentiment of Burgundian loyalty. In conclusion, political measures, such as the Convention of Augsburg (1548) and the Pragmatic Sanction (1549), the former by placing all the provinces in the same position with regard to the Empire, the latter by unifying the right of succession in such a manner as to secure in each province the perpetual maintenance of the dynasty, constituted new reasons for cohesion among all parts of the Netherlands.

But while the state was thus strengthening itself within, its position with regard to the dynasty suddenly changed. Philip the Fair, who, after the troubled regency of Maximilian of Austria, had been hailed with enthusiasm as the successor of the earlier dukes and the restorer of the house of Burgundy, became in 1504, at the death of his mother-in-law Isabella of Spain, the heir of the kingdom of

Castile. It became straightway evident that in the near future the sovereign of the Netherlands was to have other interests than theirs to guard, and that it was to be expected that he would subordinate the peace and possibly the prosperity of the Belgian provinces to the world-politics into which he would be drawn. The premature death of Philip (1506) postponed the realization of these fears. But the young Charles V. succeeded to his father's rights, and therefore, to prepare as far as possible for what the future held in store, the endeavor was made, in spite of his grandfather Maximilian and his aunt Margaret of Austria, so to direct his education as to make of him a purely Burgundian prince. But the inevitable had to come to pass. Of how little weight were the Netherlands in the political combinations of a prince who reigned at the same time in the Empire and in Spain, and whose ambition had all Europe for its field! Although he accomplished, as we have seen, the territorial unification and the system of government of the seventeen provinces, in return he laid upon them expenses and wars entirely foreign to their interests. At the end of his reign Artois, Hainaut, Namur, Luxemburg, had been laid waste by French armies, and the unimpeachable credit of the Antwerp market, weakened by loans, was tottering. Nevertheless, the services rendered the country by Charles, the renown which dazzled the nobility fighting for him, the sympathy, at least apparent, that he showed his Burgundian subjects, together with the prudent conduct of the two regents, his aunt Margaret and later his sister Mary, to whom he had entrusted the government, neutralized until the end of his reign the sentiments of opposition which were gathering in the public mind. These sentiments broke out suddenly at the accession of Philip II., as soon as it was recognized that this prince was a thorough foreigner, antipathetic to the character of the country and hostile to its liberties, and that he clearly aimed at making the provinces Spanish. Ten years had not elapsed after the final departure of the king (1559) before the Netherlands were in open revolt. And this result, far from recalling the particularist uprising of 1477, proves the strength that the cohesion of the provinces had gained since that time. Directed by the principal lords of the council of state, unanimously sustained by the lesser nobility belonging to the bands of ordonnance and by the popular masses of each territory, it appears as a collective effort *viribus unitis*; as an insurrection of the Burgundian state, desiring to maintain its independence against the Spanish state. Indeed, it is more than this. During its progress, the Burgundian

state became the nation, and it was in this period of heroic struggles that its people for the first time gave it the name "*communis patria*".

Unfortunately the unanimity of the resistance was not to last. With the complication of the political by the religious question, the national party divided itself into Protestants and Catholics. William of Orange did not succeed in preventing a scission that had become more and more inevitable. It finally came about during the last years of the sixteenth century. Of the two fragments of the Burgundian state, one, the republic of the United Provinces, was in the following century to attain to that unheard-of degree of prosperity which remains in the history of Europe an unparalleled phenomenon; the other, the Catholic Netherlands, drawn into the decadence of Spain, was to vegetate in obscurity under its foreign governments and serve as a battle-ground for the armies of Europe. Its sovereigns left it its old Burgundian institutions and respected its internal autonomy. But, deprived thenceforth of the direction of its destinies, tossed about at the mercy of all the political fluctuations in the midst of which Spain went under, it lost its own self-consciousness, and long lay benumbed in provincialism and routine, after having, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, given forth one final gleam.

H. PIRENNE.

ENGLISH CONSPIRACY AND DISSENT, 1660-1674, I.

THE death of Oliver Cromwell on September 3, 1658, assured the ultimate downfall of the so-called Puritan cause, but the catastrophe was not as sudden as many men had hoped and prophesied. It was not until seventeen months of rivalry between Rump Parliament politicians and Cromwellian army generals had brought administration to the verge of dissolution that order began to emerge from chaos with the accession of General Monck to a seat in the Council of State, and a determining voice in affairs. It was his first care on entering the Council to drive from it, from the army and from the Commons the leaders of the extreme party, and the disintegration of that party, long since begun in personal and political rivalries, was now rapidly completed. As soon as matters so shaped themselves as to render proscription moderately safe, such of its leaders as could be secured were arrested. The return of the King completed the destruction of the extremists. The army and navy, where they were strong, were reduced. The old officers and officials were rapidly replaced by royalists. Of the remaining revolutionary leaders, excluded from indemnity, some fled into exile, some were arrested to die on the scaffold or in prison, the rest were put under bond and surveillance. By the middle of 1661, of that long list of men who had lent strength to the Cromwellian rule few or none remained alive in England who had not given security to the King or entered his service. No single event of the Restoration was of more importance than this. It was not merely revenge for the past, it was a guarantee for the future. The brain of the extreme party was thus destroyed, the centres of national disaffection removed, and the opposition to the new régime was deprived of those men who alone were able to make it dangerous.

But what of the other thousands, the disbanded soldiers and sailors, the sectaries who saw their dearest liberties threatened by Anglican and Royalist reaction, the lesser officers and officials, the purchasers of lands now reclaimed by church and state? The answer has many times been given. It is essentially that of Pepys's Puritan friend, Blackburne, that wherever was to be found a carter more steady, a blacksmith more industrious, a workman more sober, he was a soldier of the old army. The mind pictures a citizen

soldiery, like that which fought the American Civil War, returning again to peaceful pursuits, seeking no further triumphs in war or politics. This view of the defeated party has done much to strengthen the conception of the Restoration as an interlude rather than a connecting link between revolutions, an interlude in which the court played the main part and the Puritans remained to furnish material for loyal satire. But it requires no very profound study of the history of the Restoration to see that this fails to explain many of its phenomena. It is the purpose of this paper to consider another element of this fallen party—those who did not quietly submit to their fate—during the period of their greatest and most influential activity, the first dozen years of the reign of Charles II.

They had not been wholly idle during the later months of 1660 when the troops were being re-officered, disarmed and disbanded under the stern personal supervision of the Lord General, and that process had not taken place without scattered and ineffective attempts at resistance. When the Convention Parliament which had recalled the King was dissolved in January, 1661, without securing legal guarantees for toleration, its dispersion was signalized by the outbreak of a handful of old Fifth Monarchy soldiers under a London cooper, Venner, which terrorized the metropolis for three days. Slight as the danger was, it produced important results. It enabled the Anglicans as a party of law and order, to secure a larger majority in the Commons during the ensuing elections, than they might otherwise have had. It enabled the crown to fortify itself by the retention of a larger force of troops, by the refurbishing of the old legal weapons against sectaries and disturbance, and by creating a secret service which played no small part in the ensuing events. Above all it roused in the dominant Anglican party a passion of hate and fear, dangerous in itself, doubly dangerous when played on by designing men for their own ends. This spirit was clearly visible in the newly elected House of Commons which met in May, 1661, and in the Savoy conference of Anglican and dissenting clergy called about the same time to discuss the religious situation. By the middle of July each had adjourned, and the cause of reaction was seen to be supreme, in the conference where comprehension of the Presbyterians was rejected by the Anglican ecclesiastical authorities no less than toleration of the sects, and in Parliament where the dominant party committed itself strongly to church and crown.¹

Meanwhile the government spies had been active. Meetings

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 182-222.

of the sectaries were broken up, preachers and petty leaders seized, and hundreds of worshipers, especially Quakers and Anabaptists, thrown into prison.² In particular every effort was made to stamp out the literature by which the proscribed party sought to rouse its people. The *Mirabilis Annus*, the *Phoenix of the Solemn League and Covenant*,³ the *Book of Prodigies* and that of the *Wise Virgins*,⁴ with scores of others, filled with the language of prophecy, shadowed forth the fall of the monarchy and the recall of the godly to power. Printed in secret, smuggled from hand to hand, carried by itinerant booksellers, peddlers and carters, sold from house to house, or secretly at fairs, these found their way everywhere.⁵ A licenser of the press was appointed to repress the evil.⁶ Booksellers and printers, their wives, their apprentices and helpers were arrested, houses searched, carriers' carts overhauled, tracts and books and unbound sheets seized and burned by the thousand.⁷ Sir Roger L'Estrange, the licenser, lately declared that in three years he had destroyed editions of six hundred such tracts. The printers in many cases made a strong defence. Some of them found powerful patrons, among whom were noted such men as William Howard of Escrick, and even the Presbyterian councillor, the Earl of Anglesey.⁸ But as time went on this evil was checked, though it was never quite destroyed.

In all this London was the forefront of offence, and in other matters as well the City caused no little uneasiness. In the elections to Parliament it had returned four strong dissenters, and letters then intercepted by the government revealed its hostility to unlimited monarchy and episcopacy.⁹ The spies sent through its streets and environs now found their way into public houses to count the men and horses there, into churches and conventicles to note those present and the language used, into the jails to worm secrets from prisoners or enlist them as informers.¹⁰ They reported that men looked forward to "another bout," when Anabaptist joined Presbyterian, that dangerous men were coming to the city in large numbers, that even certain royal advisers were implicated in agita-

² Among them John Bunyan. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, pp. 23, 54, 87.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 235, 426.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 104, 106, 109, 128, 173, 184.

⁵ Cf. especially Giles and Elizabeth Calvert "arrested for the usual practices", *passim* as above.

⁶ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1670, pp. 369, 502; *id.*, 1661-1662, p. 282.

⁷ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, pp. 104 ff.; *id.*, 1663, pp. 193, 434 ff.

⁸ *Id.*, 1661, pp. 109, 287, 327.

⁹ *Id.*, 1661-1662, p. 396 *passim* to 418; *id.*, 1660-1661, pp. 535-542.

¹⁰ *Id.*, 1661-1662, pp. 81-208 *passim*.

tion, and that prayers were offered up for "a leader to come and redeem Zion", in such churches as All Hallows the Great and St. Sepulchre's.¹¹ City authorities were accordingly urged by the court to suppress sedition, to reform the militia and the night watch, and to ensure the return of churchmen and royalists to city offices in the ensuing elections, and these admonitions were accompanied by arrests and the dispersal of meetings on every hand.¹²

The investigation soon developed the fact that the Post Office, which almost alone among the public offices had escaped reorganization, was a centre of sedition.¹³ The former headquarters of the republicans had been the Commonwealth Club in Bow Street. This under the same management but under a new name, the Nonsuch House, was the chief resort of the postmaster, Colonel Bishop, and many of the clerks, who maintained the republican traditions of the place.¹⁴ Reinforced by similar information against many postmasters throughout England,¹⁵ this news roused the administration to action. After violent opposition Colonel Bishop was finally replaced by a follower of the Duke of York, one Daniel O'Neale, many clerks and postmasters were dismissed and the service reorganized.¹⁶ This was the more important in that through the Post Office passed all manner of political information, of peaceful and warlike opposition to the administration. The inspired cordwainer in Reading who was defended against the county authorities, and even against a King's messenger by the corporation;¹⁷ the new mayor of Coventry, a dissenting butcher, formerly Lambert's recruiting agent;¹⁸ and the prospective mayor of Preston, a "decimator and sequestrator", whom the loyalists urged the government to arrest or "otherwise handsomely frighten",¹⁹ personified the more peaceful endeavors of the rejected party to entrench themselves in the boroughs. Of more violent designs the administration in this summer of 1661 found little definite trace. Reports of secret meetings, night ridings, fanaticism attendant on the news of the regicide

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 81, 110-123 *passim*.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 73-123 *passim*, 70, 161, 179.

¹³ *Ibid.*, as above, and pp. 86, 176, etc.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-57, 86 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 176, 250, 385.

¹⁶ *Id.*, 1663-1664, pp. 156-157; *ibid.*, pp. 80, 92, 480; cf. also Jusserand, *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II.*, p. 193.

¹⁷ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, pp. 116-123, *passim*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 90 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

executions, rumors of risings, were the most that could be unearthed.²⁰

But a week before Parliament met there came into Secretary Nicholas's hands information of the utmost importance. It was to the effect that on November 10 or 11 a certain Richard Churme, of Wichenford, Worcestershire, had come upon a stranger lying by the roadside sorting letters. When he had gone Churme found a package which had been accidentally dropped, and secured it before the stranger discovered his loss and returned to look for it. The package was sent to Sir John Packington, J.P. and M.P. for Worcestershire, and, after copies had been made and sent to neighboring magistrates, it was forwarded to London with several examinations taken in regard to it. The two letters enclosed purported to have been written by one "Ann Ba" to a Mr. Sparry, parson of Martley, and to a Captain Yarrington of the old army. They spoke of the need of money, of "the company" having increased to 300, of an oath taken November 1, of news sent to Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester and Shrewsbury, of "a fatal blow against their adversaries," of "hopes for merry days", and "that the business would soon be done".²¹ Two persons deposed further that Captain Yarrington had said he "had a commission to cure people of the simples", that "there would be news ere long", and that Colonel Turton's man had said "they" were to rendezvous at Edgehill the night of November 9. All this was confirmed and enlarged from apparently independent sources,²² and many circumstances combined to heighten the probability of the information. The West country and Midland loyalists were greatly excited. Alarms were sent in every direction. Neighboring towns, especially those named in the letters, were put in a state of defence.²³ The militia was called out, and many suspicious characters seized. Sparry and Yarrington were secured, examined before the Worcester justices, and sent to London. There before the Secretary and the Council they "denied all", and no further results appeared.²⁴

²⁰ Staffordshire, Shropshire, Chester, Carlisle, Wilts, Windsor, Lowestoft, Durham, Dublin, Kent, London, etc. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661, pp. 79-134 *passim*; *id.*, 1661-1662, pp. 62-212 *passim*.

²¹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, pp. 143-148.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 199.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

²⁴ Cf. Calamy, *Nonconformist Memorials*, ed. Palmer, I. 30; 31. Yarrington escaped, went to London, was recaptured, put in the Marshalsea and kept for some time as a prisoner or spy. In 1681 he published an account of this alleged plot, apparently in connection with the Exclusion agitation. Ralph, I. 53, quotes an extract. For Yarrington's examination cf. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, June 23, 1662, p. 417. For Sparry cf. Calamy *ut supra*.

Such was the story which made its way through England on the eve of the new session and met the members as they came up to London. It was not, on its face, wholly probable. Careful investigation would have enabled the administration to establish its value without much question. But there was neither time, nor opportunity, nor, one may suspect, inclination, to look too closely into information which was so extremely useful to the dominant party. They took full advantage of it. The royal speech was largely devoted to the "Presbyterian plot". The Commons embodied the information given them by Packington and others in a message to the Lords, requesting the Upper House to join them in asking for a proclamation to expel "loose and suspicious persons" from London and Westminster.²⁵ The proclamation was issued²⁶ and, that none of the accompaniments of popular alarm might be wanting, one of the Vennerites, John James, was convicted of persisting in seditious practices and executed a week after the session began.²⁷ It was no wonder that under the stimulus of such excitement the Anglicans were able to force through the Corporation Act introduced the preceding June. By its provisions the commissioners were empowered to root out from those "nests of sedition", the borough corporations, not merely those refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and that renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant, but all who were hostile to the government even though they took the oaths and repudiated the Covenant. Against this measure the Presbyterians fought desperately, and, in spite of the alleged plot, they might have had some success. But on December 19 the King sent a message to the Houses concerning a new plot, asking advice and co-operation in suppressing the danger. The appeal was effective. The Corporation Act was passed and a committee appointed to sit during the approaching recess to investigate the new conspiracy. Thus for the third time the fear of the sectaries played a decisive part in Restoration politics.²⁸

The committee thus appointed was furnished with information by the Chancellor to the effect that a design to subvert the government had been on foot since before the return of the King. The Long Parliament men, the Commonwealth party, the City, the disbanded soldiers, the purchasers of lands, the Independents and the Fifth Monarchy men were implicated and each group, save the

²⁵ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 222-224.

²⁶ *Secret Hist.*, I. 426; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, p. 179.

²⁷ Howell, *State Trials*, vol. VI., pp. 114 ff.; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, p. 617.

²⁸ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 224 ff.; *Statutes*, 13 Car. II., stat. 2, c. 1.

first, furnished three members to a committee which sat generally in the old republican headquarters in Bow Street and thence directed the affair. Their first care had been the choice of Parliament men, especially from London, as a precedent for the country at large, the second a petition for a preaching ministry and liberty of conscience. Their other plans were inferred from the fact that there was an inner committee of seven, bound by oaths of secrecy, chosen, it was said, to direct the design, to raise men and collect money.²⁹ Five of the seven, including Sir James Harrington and Major Wildman,³⁰ reputed chiefs of the republicans, had already been arrested. The former was charged with having presided over the committee of twenty-one in the preceding March. He was examined by Sir George Carteret, Sir Edward Walker, and his kinsman the Earl of Lauderdale, with small result. He denied all knowledge of the alleged meetings in Bow Street. Though he admitted his acquaintance with Wildman, Barebones, Neville and Portman, he declared he had seen none of them for a long time save Neville, and with him he had dined publicly in the safest company in England; those devout royalists, Gascoigne and Legge.³¹ In other quarters the commissioners were more successful, and on January 10 Mr. Waller reported the result to the Commons. There was to have been a meeting in London on December 10 or 11, and Shrewsbury, Coventry and Bristol were to have been seized in January or February. The stories of Salmon and Wildman did not agree and the former had a list of 160 old officers. The plan was to overthrow the government or at least to give notice abroad that England was divided against itself. The regicides on the Continent were in the plot, which was fomented by certain foreign princes. Arms were bought and the plotters needed but a footing to succeed. They were to have begun with assassination, which moved one of the committee to discover the design. Upon this the leaders had been seized and troops of horse sent to Bristol and Coventry.³²

The immediate danger as revealed in this report does not, at this distance, seem to have been great, but its effect on the Commons was very considerable. Vane and Lambert were hurried to trial, the militia and the revenue bills were expedited, and the treasons

²⁹ *Journals H. C.*, XI. 359 b. ff.; *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 227; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 9, p. 51.

³⁰ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, pp. 253, 347. Bremen, Parker, Gladman and Berry arrested May 18, 1662, *ibid.*, p. 376. Barrow, *ibid.*, p. 354.

³¹ Howell, *State Trials*, VI. 114 ff.; Lister, *Life of Clarendon*, II. 279-281.

³² *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 226 ff.; Howell, *State Trials*, VI. 114 ff.; *Journals H. C.*, XI. 359 b., 476; *Secret Hist.*, I. 426-427 n.; Rapin says 140 officers.

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committee revived. The Militia Bill and the Hearth Money Act were pushed through, together with acts against Quakers and seditious publications. Finally, on May 9, was passed the great Act of Uniformity compelling all preachers and teachers to use the Anglican ritual and prayer book after the 24th of the following August. The court and administration had reiterated the dangers which threatened the nation throughout the session, and emphasized them again in the closing speeches which were largely devoted to the "humors and spirits of men too boisterous for soft remedies", "refractory spirits of strong, malicious corrupted understanding".³³ Meanwhile government activities outside the Houses had been no less reactionary. In the preceding September the "Cromwellian bodies", including those of Blake and Pym, had been removed from the Abbey and thrown into a pit in the adjoining churchyard.³⁴ In April Colonels Barkstead, Okey and Corbet, who had been treacherously seized in Holland by Sir George Downing, were executed,³⁵ and on June 14 Vane suffered the same fate.³⁶ The bishops had meanwhile taken their places in the Lords, a Catholic queen had come to England, and negotiations had begun for the sale of Dunkirk, last of the Cromwellian conquests, to France.³⁷

In the face of these events it is no wonder the discontented party was roused to fury. They denied the charges of plotting and accused the royalists of having manufactured plot and evidence alike to further their political aims.³⁸ Meetings multiplied and the proscribed pamphlets again appeared,³⁹ with the usual rumors of insurrection. Talk of "gallant times", the purchase of horses and even the issue of commissions and enlisting of men were reported.⁴⁰ The conspirators, it was said, had settled on the King and the Rump as their rallying cry, and planned to rouse the people with tracts, wait for a rising in Scotland and seize the Tower and Whitehall when the troops went north.⁴¹ The old Parliamentarians in Ireland, the Fifth Monarchy men in England, were declared ripe for revolt but were held back by the leaders in London, who waited "till the vulgar were pricked by the late acts". The alliance of Independents

³³ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 230-254.

³⁴ Kennet, *Register*.

³⁵ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1662, p. 344; Pepys, *Diary*.

³⁶ Howell, *State Trials*, VI. 1 ff. (trials of regicides).

³⁷ Clarendon, *Life, Continuation*, 1662, *passim*.

³⁸ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, p. 316.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 398, 411.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 263, 295, 385, 398.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

and Presbyterians was reported to be at hand and the Commonwealth men only waited Presbyterian aid to rise.⁴² In all this there was no doubt much wild talk, but some circumstances substantiated these rumors. Independents, Anabaptists, Socinians and Fifth Monarchy men set apart a day to pray for Vane and Lambert, and there was reason to believe that, had the general been condemned, an effort would have been made by his old followers to rescue him.⁴³ Kent, Gainsborough, Uxbridge and Dunkirk furnished news of disaffection. A Presbyterian "lecture driver" in the west hanged himself on hearing of the Act of Uniformity. Three obstinate members of the Newbury corporation, first of many such, were sent up to the Council by the commissioners.⁴⁴ From every direction came news of opposition to the administration policy furnishing a fertile field for conspiracy.

On its part the Council warned Governor Rutherford of Dunkirk of the designs on that place, ordered the justices of Southwark to suppress sedition there, and the Southampton authorities to send up the names of those obstructing the town government and "wholesome contributions".⁴⁵ In London the Lord Mayor and General Browne were commanded to suppress seditious meetings and when the City chose two aldermen obnoxious to the court, they were replaced with safer men by the King, and orders issued that only well-affected men should be chosen for sheriffs.⁴⁶ Most important of all measures since the disbanding of the army, was the garrisoning or destruction of the strongholds throughout England in this summer of 1662, "removing that temptation to seditious spirits to seize them, evidenced in the late desperate design". Hull and Chepstow were repaired, Shrewsbury and Chester garrisoned, and orders given to "slight or destroy" other fortifications. Under the direction of Albemarle, the lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants thus supervised the dismantling of Coventry, Northampton, Gloucester, and "that turbulent town of Taunton". The last two proved difficult, and in Taunton the delay and disaffection of the authorities evoked severe reprimand from the government and stringent orders to destroy the works and set the militia in order.⁴⁷ This last was a matter of much importance everywhere.

⁴² *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, pp. 398, 408, 412, 418, 448 and *passim*.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 397, 411.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 255, 287, 304, 307 and *passim* to 419. Pepys, v. d. June 1662.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 399, 400, 417.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 376, 408, 416, 543, 544, 548. The best account of the Dissenters' state of mind is to be found in a long letter, *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, p. 63.

⁴⁷ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, pp. 422-511 *passim*.

The revising of the entire list of deputy lieutenants and the reorganization of the militia under the late act proceeded slowly, and from every direction, especially in those places where local forces were most needed, the West, the Northwest and the City, came complaints of inefficient, dilatory and even disaffected militiamen.⁴⁸

This was more serious in that strong opposition developed against the government policy in many places. The corporation commissioners met difficulties in districts as widely separated as Bristol, Norwich and Lancaster.⁴⁹ In Chard they could not find enough honest men to carry on the government and the mayor asked that the town's charter be recalled.⁵⁰ The hearth money officials were in like straits, London being especially stubborn against them.⁵¹ With this, as the summer wore on, the rumors of insurrection increased. In July instructions were issued to all lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants to be on their guard against a republican rising,⁵² and from every direction warnings came to the administration of prospective disturbance.⁵³ The government feared, not without reason, that some attempt might be made when the Act of Uniformity went into effect in August.⁵⁴ In addition to the garrisoning of Chester, therefore, Shrewsbury and Coventry, troops were quartered in Axminster and Taunton.⁵⁵ The day passed without disturbance, but the news which reached the government after the act took effect increased in volume and importance.⁵⁶ Intercepted letters indicated that recruiting was in an advanced stage, and the situation seemed so serious that not merely were many arrests made of old officers but in Exeter, Plymouth and Portsmouth militia gathered and Exeter Castle was occupied for the King.⁵⁷ Similar precautions were taken elsewhere, especially as evidence accumulated that a rising had been set for October 28.⁵⁸ On that day 80 or 100 horsemen actually appeared in St. Albans,⁵⁹ but no general movement resulted, and as the year drew to a close it seemed that, after all, the whole business was a figment of royalist imagination or a device

⁴⁸ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, as above, and pp. 509-551 *passim*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 490, 517, 578.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 539.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 442. Cf. also pp. 466, 538-539, 581, 604.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 428-603 *passim*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 434-455 *passim*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 441-455.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 481, 519, 541.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, as above, and pp. 538, 551.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 443-579 *passim*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 529; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, VII. 463.

of Anglican politicians, as the nonconformists maintained. Yet this was not wholly true. Sufficient evidence reached the government to make it fearful of an outbreak, and its precautions indicated its fears. If plots existed these measures had kept them from maturing. On the other hand if there were plotters they had eluded discovery. It was not from lack of energy that the government had failed to bring home to individuals the charge of conspiracy, nor for lack of information. From week to week, almost from day to day, prisoners and reports reached them. As one reads the mass of evidence that accumulated he wonders that the Council found time to do anything besides hunting down plots and plotters.⁶⁰ The result was the same, rumors of risings and designs, scores of prisoners, hundreds of letters and warnings and informations, but no evidence on which men could be hanged. In their anxiety they did not neglect, if we may believe their enemies, the fomenting of false conspiracy to fathom the real one or provide victims for execution. August 24 and 28, September 2 and 3, and October 28, however, passed without serious disturbance, and though men spoke and wrote of "the late horrid design" the administration had obtained from all its activities nothing on which to base prosecutions much less executions.⁶¹

But on November 2 the government arrested in London a certain Captain Foster of the old army, and his hostler, on charges which had come into its hands some time before. Through him, his friends and his servants, information was secured against a number of others who were likewise seized, among them Ensign Tong, Captain Lee and Colonel Kenrick of the old army and a certain Platter. Tong confessed that he had been a member of a council which sat at the Wheatsheaf in Thames Street, whose design was insurrection.⁶² Through him, through one Stubbs, and especially from a minister named Riggs,⁶³ enough was learned to bring six men to trial at Old Bailey on December 11. From the information and testimony thus adduced it appeared that there was a plot to enter Whitehall, seize the King and the Duke of York, secure Windsor

⁶⁰ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, as above, and many places besides; orders, warrants, etc., on, almost every page in 1661-1662, 1662 and 1663. On October 14 the King actually ordered the archbishops to "tune the pulpits" after the Elizabethan manner. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, p. 517.

⁶¹ As above, and Pepys, September 3, 1662; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, VII. 463, XII. 9, p. 52; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ed. Firth, II. 344, etc.

⁶² *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, pp. 540-541.

⁶³ Or Ridge, who became master of a ship, and was killed in 1666. Bradford said that he would kill the King with his halberd if the others failed. Tong had bullets to shoot the King at review.

Castle, bring over some frigates whose crews were ready to revolt, and thus begin a revolution. A council of six was directing the plot through a council of forty.⁶⁴ The government did not assert that the men brought to trial were the real heads of the design. "Other wits than these poor contemptible agitators", these "outboughs of conspiracy", laid the plans, it was declared. None the less these were all found guilty. Four of them, Tong, Stubbs, Gibbs and Phillips were executed, two were reprieved and of these one, curiously enough, ultimately became royal hydrographer.⁶⁵

But this was not the end of the matter. One John Bradley, messenger, spy, and trepanner, or fomenter of sedition for profit, and a fellow-informer, John Baker, a Cromwellian life-guardsmen turned tinker, appeared in the trial of Tong and his fellows as witnesses for the state.⁶⁶ They now came forward with further revelations. Baker, examined in the King's presence December 15, deposed that two former comrades of his, Smith and Kent or Kentish, now the King's guard, had intimated their willingness to admit men to Whitehall to kill the King. Seditious meetings, he declared, were held at the house of a Mr. Ward in Redcross Street, and a plan had been on foot to shoot the King at the review of Sir John Robinson's regiment some time before, for which Tong had provided bullets to the numerous fanatics in the ranks, who would have killed Charles had he happened to come before them as they were drawn up. Many were arrested in consequence of his revelations, among them Johnston, another halberdier who was especially named, Kent, Captain Cates, Captain Faircloth, John Jackson, John Whitehall and Mr. Ward. These, with one exception, denied all charges save that of having met at Ward's house, and denounced Baker as an unmitigated liar and scoundrel. Johnston however implicated a long list of men; three ministers, Owen, Kiffin and Cockain; a Mr. Caitness; Cornet Billing and Colonel Carr; a post-office employee, Roden; a Mr. Helme; a City merchant, Gavin Lawry; a Mr. Dundas; and finally his former master, namesake, and probably kinsman, Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, once a considerable figure in Cromwellian times, but now ill and a fugitive in France. Most of these men were seized, and Lawry was held in long and vexatious imprisonment.⁶⁷ Bradley was rewarded

⁶⁴ Macpherson, *Life of James II.*, 1663; Howell, *State Trials*, VI. 226 ff.; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, pp. 546, 588, 600, 602.

⁶⁵ Rapin, *History of England*, III. 864 and n.; *Secret Hist.*, I. 461-462.

⁶⁶ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, pp. 593-595, 610-614.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 591-595, 613 ff.; *id.*, 1663-1664, pp. 12, 27-37 *passim*.

for his share in the affair by being made King's messenger.⁶⁸ Johnston and the rest, save Warriston, seem to have escaped with their lives.⁶⁹ Warriston, by the aid of the French government, was seized, carried to England, thence to Scotland, where, despite his illness, his wife's intercession, his complete submission and his offers to aid the government, he was executed in the following June.⁷⁰ Later in the year Baker, who had apparently been kept in hope of further revelations, was hanged.⁷¹ He was the last victim of the so-called "plot of 1662". This, it has been charged, was no plot at all. The whole matter had been arranged by Bradley and Baker, with, if not by, the government.⁷² Without more definite proof such a charge is hard to maintain or destroy. But there are circumstances which give some color to the administration's contention. A mass of outside testimony indicated a revolutionary movement on foot. Certain letters involving Warriston and Lawry contained what was at least very suspicious language, and several of the men executed admitted on the scaffold the existence of a plot.⁷³

At all events there was enough in the situation revealed by the government agents to demand, in the opinion of many at the head of affairs, something more than arrests and executions.⁷⁴ From Parliament it was evident that nothing besides repressive measures could be expected. But to some who took their cue from the King it seemed that some way might be found for accommodation with moderate Dissent, which, leaving the Anglican supremacy untouched, would allow the freedom of conscience promised from Breda to peaceable Nonconformity, and thus, by reconciling the mass of sectaries, remove any general support of conspiracy. Desiring as he did some relief for the Catholics, a less shrewd man than the King might well have thought to find in the Nonconformists a popular basis for Catholic relief under guise of general toleration. Moreover such testimony as the plots of 1662 had just brought out indicated that the vengeance of the sectaries was chiefly directed against him, and he had little desire to wear a martyr's crown, especially in a cause of which he did not approve. Might he not then declare his own policy, and try to muster strength in the Commons and the

⁶⁸ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, p. 68.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 25, 32, etc., to 179; *cf. infra*.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 238. *Cf.* Ludlow, ed. Firth, to contrary.

⁷² Ludlow, *ut supra*.

⁷³ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663, pp. 26 to 614 *passim*; Howell, *State Trials*, VI. 226 ff.

⁷⁴ Jusserand, *A French Ambassador*, p. 196.

country to prevent its recall? At least he might avert from himself to Parliament, where it belonged, the wrath of the sectaries. The Anglicans dared not depose him, the Dissenters might be won, the Catholics relieved, and the prerogative advanced. Accordingly four days after the execution of Tong and his fellows, on December 26, 1662, appeared a royal Declaration of Indulgence embodying this policy which was to play such a large part in affairs. "Designed to quiet the rising disorders" it proposed "to set bounds to the hopes of some and the fears of others". It denied the charges that the King desired to break the Act of Indemnity, or set up military rule under pretence of the plots, that he had broken the Declaration of Breda by signing the Act of Uniformity, or that he favored the Papists. It declared, on the contrary, that the King favored the Act of Uniformity, but that for the sake of some he desired to dispense with certain provisions, and he encouraged his subjects "with minds happily composed by his indulgence" to apply themselves to increase the general prosperity.⁷⁵

This result at least it was never destined to achieve. Whatever effect it was supposed to have on those bent on overthrowing the King there was no doubt of its effect on those bent on upholding him. The Anglicans were disturbed and angry,⁷⁶ and many persons, even those Dissenters who seized the advantage thus offered, doubted the King's sincerity, attributing the whole affair to Catholic machination. Between the Acts and the Declaration the local authorities were at a stand, large numbers of Quakers and others were released, and conventicles multiplied. The church authorities bitterly resented the Declaration, and the Bishop of London took immediate steps to define his position. Ten days after the Declaration appeared he had the Presbyterian leader, Calamy, arrested for preaching contrary to law. And though Calamy was presently released on proof that his sermon contained no reflections on the government and had, in fact, been preached with the "privity" of certain Lords of the Council, the incident did not tend to calm the political elements.⁷⁷ The great question however remained, what would Parliament do when it met in February? The six weeks which intervened were filled with excitement. The *Phoenix* and the *Prodigies* again appeared and were again suppressed, together with the reports of the

⁷⁵ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 259; *Secret Hist.*, I. 462 ff.; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1662-1663, pp. 602-603.

⁷⁶ Pepys, February 25, 1663, to April 1, 1663, *passim*; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, January to February, 1663, *passim*.

⁷⁷ Pepys, January 5, 16, 1663; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 8, 10; cf. also Calamy, *Nonconformist Memorials*.

late treason trial.⁷⁸ Information accumulated indicating that a real conspiracy was on foot.⁷⁹ From Carlisle and Reading, from Norfolk and Cornwall, from Southwark and Barnet came news and prisoners portending disturbance.⁸⁰ The arrests in January increased in number and importance, and the alarms with them. An intercepted letter indicating that some attempt might be made on the assembling of Parliament led to the dispatch of troops to Farnham and the securing of Guildford and Portsmouth against surprise.⁸¹ The refugees on the Continent became the object of special solicitude. The most disquieting reports were received from the North, many arrests were made there, and many prominent men, including an alderman of York, were imprisoned.⁸² Several of those most wanted, however, escaped and this was the more unfortunate in that it seemed from the examination of those taken that a widespread design existed in an advanced state of preparation. Evidence appeared, though it was at first minimized by the York authorities, that men were being enlisted, arms secured, and commissions and pay promised to volunteers.⁸³

There is no doubt that the court was much disturbed over the increasing probability of a rising.⁸⁴ The Corporation, Uniformity and Hearth Money acts in England, the church question in Scotland and the land question in Ireland had roused deep and bitter discontent. The administration knew, if Parliament did not, how widespread and dangerous the disaffection was. But when the Houses came together on February 18 it was seen that they were much opposed to the Declaration, even as a cure for disturbances. In answer to the speech from the throne which defended the policy of indulgence the Commons voted overwhelmingly (200 to 30) to request the recall of the Declaration. One feature of the royal policy ruined whatever chance it might otherwise have had for endorsement by Parliament. This was the King's appeal in behalf of the Catholics, which united Anglican and Nonconformist against him. It was in vain that Lord Roberts pleaded for a measure granting the dispensing power, and the court strained its resources to save the prerogative. A bill to prevent the growth of popery,

⁷⁸ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 27, 53, 180.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, almost every page.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-57 *passim*.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 46.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 16; Pepys, January 23, 1663.

⁸³ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 26, 91-92.

⁸⁴ Pepys, May 25, October 10, 19, 27, November 4, 1662; cf. also Jusserand, *A French Ambassador*, s. d.

another forbidding the employment of all not loyal to the late King and the church, and a request for a proclamation against priests and Jesuits showed the temper of the Commons. It was evident that its Nonconformist members preferred persecution to Catholic toleration. Out of doors the same spirit was apparent, and the Dissenters, ready as they were to take advantage of the respite afforded by the Declaration, were more than ever alienated from the King. So great were the jealousies engendered in Parliament that revenue itself seemed likely to suffer. The discussion of supply dragged, and for the first time the Commons seemed disinclined to act promptly, much less generously.

But on June 12 this matter was expedited in a surprising manner. The Houses were summoned to Whitehall and urged by the King in an alarming speech to vote speedy and liberal supply on the ground of imminent danger to the state. He assured them their zeal was never more needed. A plot to seize Dublin Castle had been discovered. The conspiracy was widespread, the danger was not over, the government was taking every step to secure itself, but supply was imperative for arms and garrisons. The appeal was effective. Four subsidies were promptly voted and a bill then pending to better the militia pushed to completion.⁸⁵ Though the King's speech came as a surprise to many, the news it contained was a fortnight old. And long before it had reached London, ever since the assembling of Parliament, in fact, the government had been disturbed by news of imminent danger.⁸⁶ In the wild talk of a Captain Gregory, prisoner of state in the Tower, had been hints of war in Ireland, and a design on Whitehall and the Tower in London.⁸⁷ Early in May intercepted letters which seemed to incriminate two brothers, Richard and Ignatius White, and one James Smart, apparently a recruiting officer of rebellion, came into their hands, but in spite of their utmost efforts could not be unravelled.⁸⁸ Later in the same month came more promising information. An old soldier, Matthew Moreton, of Ingleton, Staffordshire, with great caution, and acting under advice of counsel, deposed that a general rising was planned, that he had been asked to enlist, and told that a party would be in arms in Scotland and Ireland, that a declaration had been printed in Edinburgh, that 40,000 to 50,000 men, mostly old soldiers, were engaged to throw down the

⁸⁵ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 253 ff.

⁸⁶ Pepys, March 20, April 3, 8, 14, 1663, and below.

⁸⁷ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, pp. 604-606; *id.*, 1663, pp. 7, 46, 72.

⁸⁸ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 72-264 *passim*.

bishops, that the rising had already begun in Ireland, and that the design was so far advanced that it could not be checked by discovery. "The sword will hew before the scythe mows" was the watchword of the revolutionaries, and circumstances seemed to warrant the prophecy.⁸⁹ Increasing unrest was reported in many directions and the posts were constantly tampered with.⁹⁰ As early as March two plots had been unearthed, one in Dublin,⁹¹ the other in Durham, and several arrests made. The man most wanted in the latter design, one Paul Hgbson, however, had escaped.⁹² The news from Dublin was not therefore wholly a surprise, least of all to those who understood the situation in Ireland.

The Cromwellian conquest of the Irish had been followed by wholesale confiscation of Catholic and Royalist lands which were granted or sold to the Parliamentary soldiers. After the Restoration a court had been set up to adjudicate what were in most cases hopelessly conflicting claims of the old owners and the new. Its awards had irritated almost every section of the population but most of all the Cromwellians, who suffered most. The dispossessed party, desperate at loss of power and property and hopeless of redress from the authorities, determined to resist by force of arms. A committee of old officers and Parliament men was chosen to direct the movement from Dublin, and it was proposed to seize the Castle and rouse the people to rebellion. Communication was opened with the north of Ireland, Scotland, England and the refugees on the Continent. The first plan was to rise in March, but that failed. The conspirators however persisted in their design. A declaration for liberty of conscience and possession of the lands was printed, and a most ingenious ruse planned for seizing the Castle. Many prominent men were engaged, Colonel Carr to lead the Scots; Ludlow's brother-in-law, Colonel Kempson, and Colonel Jephson; Lecky, a fellow of Trinity College, and his brother-in-law of much fame thereafter, Lieutenant Blood; two old Parliament men, Warren and Thompson; and others, the chief director being a Major Staples. The design was deep-laid and far-reaching, and in the disturbed state of the country was not without some chance of success. But at the last the usual informer appeared in the person of one Philip Alden, who, with Sir Theophilus Jones, revealed the

⁸⁹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 152-155, 169.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, January to May, 1663, *passim*.

⁹¹ Pepys, March, 1663, *passim*; Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, VI. 105 ff.

⁹² *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 83, 91; cf. also *id.*, 1661-1662, pp. 5, 54, 59, 559, August 12, 1661, and November 20, 1662.

plot to the Duke of Ormonde. Prompt steps were taken to secure the Castle and seize the plotters. The country was alarmed, the ministers who had been active agents of the conspiracy were silenced or arrested and warning sent to London. Many of the plotters were arrested. Staples, Jephson, Warren and Thompson were tried and executed in July. Lecky, after every attempt to save him had failed, was brought to the scaffold in December. Blood escaped, first to the north of Ireland, thence taking refuge in Lancashire. Others, including Colonel Carr, found their way to Holland.⁹³

Thus, while the plots in Ireland and northern England had failed, it was apparent, as the King said, that the danger was not over. The more daring and important leaders had escaped, the conspirators' correspondence had not been discovered, the disaffection everywhere increased. On the strength of the revelations, as we have seen, money was voted and a militia bill enacted. It had been determined that no alteration in the forces should be made without the joint assent of Southampton, Albermarle, Morrice and Bennet,⁹⁴ and orders were issued to reorganize the militia under the new act. At the same time and under the same influence the Commons passed a bill to prevent popery and another, the later Conventicle Act, to prevent meetings of the sectaries. These being obstructed in the Lords, they petitioned the King for a proclamation commanding the enforcement of the laws against Protestant and Catholic Dissenters.⁹⁵ The disturbed state of affairs was emphasized by the attempt of the Earl of Bristol to impeach the Chancellor of high treason. Ill drawn and extravagantly urged, the impeachment failed. Bristol was disgraced and obliged to flee.⁹⁶ And, as an unexpected result of his mad attempt, he became a popular hero. The London mob drank openly to his health as the champion of the nation, Catholic though he was, and the keenest interest in his fate was evidenced on every hand. Whatever the motive of Bristol's attack on Clarendon, however futile it proved, it was supported by an extraordinary popular hatred of the Chancellor, a sign of the times not lost on shrewd politicians.⁹⁷ With this and the abstrac-

⁹³ Carte, *Ormonde*, VI. 105 ff., VII. 102; *Secret Hist.*, I. 244 ff.; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, VIII. 500, 502, and App. I. 263, XV. 7, p. 170, and *Ormonde*, II. 251, III. 71, 124.

⁹⁴ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, p. 143.

⁹⁵ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 269 ff.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, and *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, p. 254; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, 475 ff.; *Secret Hist.*, II. 29 ff.

⁹⁷ Jusserand, *A French Ambassador*, pp. 104 ff., 218; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, p. 531, and October to November *passim*. Foster said he "would make the streets run blood before Lord Bristol should fall".

tion of a bill for better observance of the Sabbath from the table in the House of Lords, gossip was unusually busy in the last days of the session. The King's speech in proroguing the Houses heightened rather than allayed the uneasiness. He had expected, he said, to have bills against distempers in religion, seditious conventicles and the growth of popery presented to him, but he judged that the Houses had been deterred by fear of reconciling those contradictions in religion in some conspiracy against the public peace. If he lived to meet them again he would present two bills of his own to that end. Meanwhile he asked them to aid the judges in preventing assemblies of Dissenters and in collecting the subsidies. With these words Parliament was prorogued on July 27.⁹⁸

It was no mere alarmist sentiment which prompted this speech nor was it based wholly on the Dublin revelations. From many directions warning of rapidly approaching trouble had been coming in for some time. The number of arrests and examinations increased, a design to burn the ships was reported, an intercepted letter to Lady Vane hinted mysteriously of "a good time coming".⁹⁹ But it was not until a few days before Parliament was prorogued that the information which inspired the royal speech seems to have come into government hands. The once skeptical governor of York, Sir Thomas Gower, had gradually become convinced that there was real danger and urged the administration to take steps to meet it. His information indicated that a plot had been laid in February, that its leaders had taken an oath of secrecy at Durham in March, and established relations with groups in Yorkshire and London. Meetings were thenceforth held by these men with emissaries from Ireland, from Lancashire and Scotland. In May Dr. Richardson, one of the revolutionary leaders, framed a declaration which was submitted to the various groups for alteration, and two men were chosen from each of the dissenting congregations interested to carry on the design. The Scots were invited to join, and it was decided to take advantage of the assizes at York, the first week in August,¹⁰⁰ to seize the city as headquarters of the rebellion. Simultaneous risings were planned in Westmoreland, Durham, Newcastle, Leeds and Berwick, and a ship with arms and ammunition was expected at Shields.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately for the success of

⁹⁸ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 285-289; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, p. 415 ff.

⁹⁹ Cf. especially Captain George Elton and Foyes Urry, *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 193, 196 and *passim*, 178, 199, and Sir Duncan Campbell's visit to the north of England.

¹⁰⁰ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 212, 216.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

the plotters one of their number, a Major Græthead, was or became an informer, and with Colonel Smithson, also privy to the plot, revealed it to Gower.¹⁰²

Scarcely had Parliament risen, therefore, when steps were taken to repress the impending disturbance. On August 3 Colonel Freschville was ordered to York with troops of horse and foot.¹⁰³ The lord lieutenant, the Duke of Buckingham, and his deputies repaired to their posts. The militia was set on foot, warnings sent to the authorities in the other counties and towns, and a hundred "chief designers" seized under pretence of attending illegal meetings (August 5-7).¹⁰⁴ These measures averted whatever danger there was and the prisoners were presently released with orders to report any plot or disaffection which came to their notice. Believing their plans unknown they proceeded with their conspiracy.¹⁰⁵ On August 18 a letter from Paul Hobson to John Joplin, gaoler of Durham and one of the contrivers of the plot, was intercepted by the government. Hobson's whereabouts were thus discovered and he was at once arrested and sent to the Tower. There he was forced to testify against his fellows, who, though they did not know it, were thenceforth at the mercy of the government.¹⁰⁶ They planned a rising for September 3, but the York commissioners of militia with the aid of Gower and the Earl of Derby easily prevented it and made several arrests. Hardly was this done, however, when it was reported that this was merely a feint to cover a real design set for October 12. An attempt was then to be made on Whitehall. The King, the Dukes of York and Albemarle, the Treasurer and the Chancellor were to be seized. Newcastle and Tamworth were to be taken as a means of communication with Scotland, Nottingham and Gloucester surprised, the passes over the Severn and Trent thus secured, and Boston fortified as a base of supplies sent from Holland. Ludlow was to command in the west, and there and in the Midlands thousands were enlisted. It was expected that the Guards would be despatched to put down the rising and that the City would revolt on their departure. Agents and allies were reported on the Continent, and Lords Fairfax, Wharton, Manchester,

¹⁰² *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 329-332, rewarded 382.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 226; Reresby, *Memoirs*, August 2, 1663.

¹⁰⁴ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 77, 235, at Exeter and Barnstaple, 231, 282, Devon; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XV. 7, p. 96.

¹⁰⁵ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663, p. 245.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 263, 278-281. They suspect this, pp. 237, 258; cf. also pp. 225-226, 234-236, 289.

and General Waller, with several members of Parliament were said to be implicated.¹⁰⁷

The information was too precise and trustworthy to be neglected and as October 12 approached every precaution was taken to prevent or crush the rising. In London, so far from the Guards being sent away, they were reviewed by the king himself on the day set for the insurrection, and no small fault found with their condition.¹⁰⁸ Garrison commanders were despatched to their posts, lord lieutenants and local officials warned to be on their guard in all the disaffected districts.¹⁰⁹ The Duke of Buckingham, who had hurried to his lord lieutenancy of Yorkshire, called out the militia, set guards at Stamford Bridge and elsewhere, and ordered troops to rendezvous at Pomfret and Ferrybridge.¹¹⁰ The York city train-bands were called out, two regiments left to defend the city and the others sent to the West where the greatest danger was supposed to be.¹¹¹ Similar measures were taken in Westmoreland, Durham, Hull, Newcastle, Beverly and Leeds.¹¹² The great floods hampered the activity of the authorities, but by October 11 they had several thousand men under arms, and were fully prepared for any ordinary rising.¹¹³ The conspirators, on the other hand, even more hampered by the weather, surrounded and betrayed, were at the mercy of the government. None the less they made three attempts to rise. At Kaberrig in Westmoreland less than a score of men assembled under the lead of Captain Atkinson and Captain Waller. Discouraged by the fewness of their numbers, the apathy of the country and the preparations made against them, they rode to Birkey and dispersed. The same fate overtook a similar body under Captain Jones at Muggleswick Park in Durham. The most formidable gathering meanwhile took place at Farnley Wood near Leeds. There some three hundred men under Captain Rymer and Captain Oates threw up entrenchments and made other preparations for defence. But their numbers did not increase as they hoped, their resolution failed, and they dispersed before morning.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 257-292 *passim*. William Stockdale, M.P. for Knaresborough, seems to have been implicated, *ibid.*, p. 621.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 257-279; Pepys, October 12, 1663.

¹⁰⁹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 294, 297.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 296; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 2, p. 144 (Duke of Buckingham at Pomfret with 1500 men).

¹¹¹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, p. 294.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 294, 298-299, 301, 305.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

¹¹⁴ This account is based largely on the unpublished reports of Sir T. Gower,

Thus ended in almost pitiable failure the much heralded plot of 1663. There remained but little for the government to do but to hunt down and punish the conspirators.¹¹⁵ Many were seized and held for trial at York and Appleby. Some committed suicide, some treated for pardon. Many of the leaders, including Jones, Richardson, the two Atkinsons and Mason, escaped to Scotland, to Ireland, to Holland, to London, or remained hidden in the North.¹¹⁶ Captain Robert Atkinson who had been imprisoned at Appleby escaped and planned the rescue of his fellow-prisoners, but the train-bands were called out, his plan failed and he was presently recaptured.¹¹⁷ Mason was taken, escaped and was retaken, but the whereabouts of his associate, the Irish conspirator Blood, who was suspected of a hand in this new business, remained unknown.¹¹⁸ The government spared no efforts to unravel the plot and punish the plotters.¹¹⁹ The trial of the conspirators in January resulted in the execution of eighteen at York, three at Leeds and four at Appleby. Many others were sentenced to imprisonment, and a hundred or more released on security.¹²⁰ Later in the year some further executions raised the number of victims to about thirty. Strong efforts were made to connect greater names with the design.¹²¹ On the first alarm Colonel Hutchinson, Colonel Neville and Major Salway had been arrested. But neither from them nor from any one else could evidence be obtained against men of rank or fortune. Atkinson's confession which purported to reach the inner secrets of the design was like many such, stimulating alarm and curiosity but containing little the government did not already know, and that little incapable of proof. The plan, he said, was laid in the south. Dr. Richardson, John Joplin and Paul Hobson were among the original leaders but

Record Office Papers, 1663, vol. LXXXI., no. 77 (noted in *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, p. 298). Cf. also Reresby, *Memoirs*, August 2, 1663; *Surtees Society Publications*, XL. xix ff., 102 ff., for depositions; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XIII. 2, pp. 7, 93; *Secret Hist.*, II. 55 ff.; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, p. 503 ff.; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 299, 301, 312, 346-347.

¹¹⁵ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, October to December, 1663, *passim*.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 331, 371-376, 405, 441; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, Heathcote, p. 145.

¹¹⁷ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 332-336, 340; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 7, p. 31.

¹¹⁸ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 323-465 *passim*.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 360-389 *passim*.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 431, 523-524; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, Ormonde, III. 140; *Surtees Society Pubs.*, XL. xix ff., 102 ff.

¹²¹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 63, 301 ff., 314-324, (the Duke of Buckingham was suspected and his request for more troops refused, 301); *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XV. 7, p. 96.

Hobson played false. Their purpose was to compel the King to keep his promise of toleration to all but Catholics, remove the hearth money, excise, and other taxes, and restore a Gospel ministry and magistracy. Fairfax, Manchester and Sir John Lawson knew of the design but disowned it, and Wharton was privy to it. Albemarle and Buckingham were to have been killed, Hull, Appleby and Carlisle seized. Ludlow and Goffe were to have led parties against Whitehall. Many in the Life Guards, in Albemarle's regiment, in the fleet, in Scotland and oversea, with men of quality in England were engaged. Atkinson, reputed an old informer, was said to be false and subtle, and his examinations seemed to indicate either that this was true or that, as had been reported, the plot was so arranged that no one could betray it if he would.¹²²

Despite such unsatisfactory information as this the whole matter henceforth assumed a new aspect. In place of the vague and uncertain rumors of earlier years the government had now certain undisputed facts to deal with. It had actually seized some revolutionaries and learned the names of others. It proceeded therefore to complete its information and its captures.¹²³ Holland was the first objective. Thence the refugee Colonel Bampffield and a spy, Custis, furnished news of their associates.¹²⁴ The latter, indeed, interviewed Dr. Richardson himself. The doctor admitted having written the declaration, but attributed the authorship of the address to the Quakers to one Denham. He had left York August 6, the day Captain Rymer landed in England to take part in the rising, and so had no share in the actual insurrection. That, he declared, failed on account of poor leadership, Walters, who was to have led them, having gone mad. Their numbers were small but their faith strong, and they believed miracles would attend their godly design. This was vague enough and the government turned to other measures.¹²⁵ The informers were rewarded, the leading prisoners respited for further examination, and many attempts made to suppress a seditious pamphlet *Mene Tekel* attributed to Captain Jones.¹²⁶ Much energy was fruitlessly expended in an effort to seize one Sydrach Lester a shipmaster carrying revolutionary contraband be-

¹²² *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 352-540 *passim*.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 309, 405, 476 and below.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 386, 505.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 505, 512-513, 521. Walters and Carr implicated Neville, Salway and Wildman, *ibid.*, pp. 391-392. A plan for a Parliament of 300 members, p. 404.

¹²⁶ Published by an old offender, Elizabeth Calvert, *ibid.*, p. 465.

tween England and Holland.¹²⁷ An old officer of the Duke of York sent in reports of his earnest effort to kill or kidnap Ludlow and his fellow refugees in Switzerland.¹²⁸ The political prisoners were again redistributed among the prisons, in accordance with the policy of never leaving them long in the same place. And finally,¹²⁹ measures were taken to crush or overawe Dissent in those places where an investigation set on foot in the preceding August had showed that it was practically undisturbed. With the situation well in hand the administration prepared to meet Parliament.¹³⁰

The Houses came together in March 1664. It is not surprising that their attention was directed to the recent disturbances. Upon these the King laid the stress of his speech. One question, in particular, of vital importance to them, he said, had been raised by the insurrection. Some plotters had declared for the Long Parliament, others maintained that the present Parliament had expired according to the Triennial Act of 1641, and proposed, in the absence of new writs, to assemble and choose another themselves. Ought they not, therefore, to repeal the act which made their own existence a matter of question? His argument was effective. Within a week the Triennial Act was repealed, and the existing royalist Anglican Parliament perpetuated, subject only to royal will. Nor was this all. Recent revelations had convinced the majority that the conventicles were hotbeds of sedition, which neither the old acts of Elizabeth nor their own measures had checked. A bill against such meetings which had failed in the Lords during the previous session was now revived under the influence of the plot and passed both houses, as the Conventicle Act. Thenceforth it was illegal for more than five persons besides a family to meet for religious service outside a church.¹³¹

With the passage of this measure, the executions for the plot of 1663, and the repeal of the Triennial Act, the first period of Restoration conspiracies, and of its politics generally, ended in this

¹²⁷ He was captured, escaped and joined the Dutch navy, *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 279-387 *passim*.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 380, 398; Ludlow, ed. Firth, II. 359, 382 ff., 482.

¹²⁹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 430-431, 438, 461; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, Heathcote, p. 144.

¹³⁰ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 293-298, 306-348 *passim*, 452-460, 433-458 (examinations), 301, 350 (proclamations, old soldiers to leave London).

¹³¹ Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, p. 506 ff.; *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 289-296; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 552-559. Many alarms and train-bands out, Pepys, March 27, 1664. The Nonconformists defied or evaded these measures. Cf. Calamy, *Memorials*, I. 177, 307, 514, II. 387, etc.

spring of 1664 with the triumph of the administration. The royalist Anglicans had legislated themselves into the control of the church livings and the borough corporations. The Parliament which they controlled was indefinitely perpetuated. The meetings of their rivals were made unlawful. The efforts of the party of force to overthrow them had not only failed but had largely contributed to Anglican success. So true was this that the defeated party declared that these so-called plots were, in fact, urged on by those in power for their own ends.¹³² In the Sparry-Yarrington episode, possibly in some cases beside, this charge seems to contain an element of truth. But no one can read the information which deluged the secretaries without feeling that, plot or no plot, with all allowance for exaggeration and untruth, there was enough to cause such a government as that of Charles II. serious uneasiness. It is not incredible that some men played on these fears for their own ends. It has been admitted that the use of spies was excessive and the results harmful. But it was not the first time nor the last that men in such a position have been moved by panic. Stronger governments than that of Charles II. under slighter provocation have resorted to like measures to crush less formidable foes. And it cannot be denied that, whether as a result of its own policy or not, events increasingly demonstrated the existence of a revolutionary party opposed to the English government in England, Scotland, Ireland and on the Continent. Never formidable enough in mere numbers to seriously threaten a government which had reasonable support at home and no foreign complications, this was none the less a source of danger. The revolutionary plans clearly reveal the direction in which that danger lay. The widespread discontent among the masses over the government's religious and financial policy offered a fertile field for conspiracy and possible rebellion. The seizure of a defensible position and successful resistance might precipitate civil war and popular support of the revolutionaries. The death of the King and a disturbed succession would doubtless have accomplished the same end. A foreign war might afford similar opportunity. The weakness of the revolutionaries lay in the mutual antagonism of the various elements opposed to the government. Their dislike of the administration was equalled or

¹³² Cf. Neal, *Puritans*, p. 530; *Secret Hist.*, I. 462; Rapin, ed. 1769, pp. 860, 889; Burnet, *passim*; Ludlow, II. 341, etc. Howell, *State Trials*, VI. 226, says of Tong, etc., that government greatly exaggerated but there was certainly some danger. This seems a fair statement of the whole matter. Cf. also Lister, *Life of Clarendon*, II. 280 ff.

exceeded by their dislike of each other, and upon this the party in power could safely rely. None the less the plotters had materially influenced the course of events in spite of their own failure and the disasters they had brought upon Nonconformity in general. They had, it is true, contributed more than any other force to the triumph of their opponents and to the enactment of the so-called persecuting measures. But they had at the same time helped to make compromise impossible, and by their indirect assistance in preventing comprehension had assisted in deepening the division between Churchman and Dissenter.

Doubtless their importance was as much magnified by the Anglicans then as it has been neglected since. They had caused much uneasiness, but they had failed in their two chief plans, insurrection and the seizure or assassination of the King. If matters had remained as they were in the spring of 1664, that period might well have seen the end of revolution and revolutionaries alike, and their epitaph would have been written in the statutes against Nonconformity they had given their enemies so much assistance in enacting. From this fate they were saved by the third alternative, foreign war. Clarendon's rivals in the Council at this juncture espoused the cause of the merchants against the Dutch as they had hitherto championed the same dissenting interest against the Anglicans. With the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland the history of the English revolutionaries enters on a new phase.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA FEDERALISTS, I.

ORIGINAL material for Southern history has been so scarce at the centres where American historiographers have worked, that the general writers have had to substitute conjecture for understanding in many cases when attempting to interpret Southern developments. The Federalists of the South have suffered particularly from misrepresentation and neglect. Their Democratic-Republican contemporaries of course abused them; the American public at large in the following generation was scandalized by the course of the New England Federalists, and placed a stigma upon all who bore or had borne the name of Federalists anywhere; no historical monographs have made the pertinent data available; and the standard historians, with the exception of Henry Adams, who has indicated a sound interpretation in the form of conjecture but who has given no data, have failed to handle the theme with any approach to adequacy. The South Carolina group appears to have been typical of the whole Southern wing of the Federalists; and because of the greater fullness of the extant documents and the more apparent unity of the theme, the present essay will treat of the origin, character and early career of the party in the state where it was most prominent, rather than in the Southern region at large.

South Carolina has always been in large degree a community apart from the rest of the United States. The long isolation of the colony upon an exposed frontier, and the centralization of commercial, social and political life by reason of the great importance of the city of Charleston, had given the commonwealth a remarkable sentiment of compactness and self-reliance. In the whole period from the Revolution to the Civil War the tendency of public opinion generally prevailing was to regard the membership of their state in the Federal Union as merely providing a more or less intimate alliance of the states, as mutual convenience might require. The stress of somewhat abnormal conditions, however, led many prominent men in the state to favor strong powers for the federal government throughout the period from 1786 to the time of the "second war for American independence", in 1812-1815.

In the internal politics of South Carolina, an aristocracy composed of the planters and the leading Charleston merchants was

generally in control of the state government, but was in chronic dread of defeat at the ballot-boxes. In the opposition there was a body of clerks, artisans and other white laborers in Charleston, much inclined at times to assert democratic doctrine, and there was a large population of farmers in the distant uplands, non-slaveholding in the eighteenth century, disposed to co-operate with the submerged Charleston democracy on occasion, but rendered partly helpless by a lack of leaders and organization. The control by the planters, furthermore, was safeguarded by a constitutional gerrymander which gave their districts (the lowlands) a more than proportionate representation in the legislature; and this advantage was jealously guarded by the planters, who feared unsympathetic administration, if no worse, by the democracy. The planters were large producers on a capitalistic basis, analogous to factory owners of more recent times, and often they operated on credit. They were generally disposed to be conservative in business, anxious to keep their credit good and to maintain friendly relations with the commercial powers.¹ In addition, these men, who were residents among and rulers of a dense negro population, could not afford to accept and propagate such socially disturbing ideas as the doctrine of the inherent freedom and equality of men. The danger of fomenting servile discontent was too great.

In most of its problems except where the negroes were concerned the South Carolina ruling class found its interests to be harmonious with those of the Northern sea-board; and the problems of negroes and slavery furnished no overt issues in that period which could not be speedily patched up. The more obvious problems before the whole country were such as to promote little antagonism between North and South. All states and sections had similar tasks of rehabilitation after the war, similar needs of establishing an effective central government, similar difficulties of finance and commerce, similar danger from the French agitation in the Genet period, similar problems in general of maintaining a suitable equilibrium between social compactness and personal liberty and between national unity and local self-government. In nearly all the ques-

¹ The importance of commercial relations to the plantation interests may be gathered from the statistics of exports. For example, in 1791 the exports of South Carolina were valued at 2.9 million dollars, as compared with 3.8 from Pennsylvania, 3.5 from Virginia, 2.9 from Massachusetts and 2.5 from Maryland. In 1800 they were, from South Carolina 10.6 million dollars, from New York 14, from Maryland 12, from Pennsylvania 12, from Massachusetts 11.3, from Virginia 4.4.

tions of the period the issues lay between classes of people differentiated by temperament, occupation and property-holding, rather than between sections antagonized by the pressure of conflicting geographical conditions and needs. The temperament of the South in general was more impulsive than that of the North, and therefore its views were likely to be the more democratic in that period of democratic agitation; but there were many reasons why the dominant class in a state like South Carolina should keep firm hold upon its emotions. The traditions of the South, too, laid greater stress upon individualism and local autonomy; but the special needs of the period counteracted this tendency also among a large element who wanted most a stable régime and leaned toward constructive policy.

As in many other cases in American history, the first phase in South Carolina party development in the Federalist period was the rise of local factions differing over local issues. Each of these provided itself with more or less definite party machinery, and attracted to its membership the persons of appropriate economic interests, social affiliations and personal points of view. Finally each of the local parties sought alliance with parties in other states in the Union, with a view to exerting influence upon the common federal government.

A beginning of the Federalist frame of mind may be seen as early as the movement of revolt from Great Britain. This movement in South Carolina was controlled by the aristocracy, and had little concern with the doctrine of natural rights. It was merely a demand for home-rule, with few appeals to theory of any sort. It was, furthermore, a movement for home-rule in Anglo-America as a whole, and not for the independence of the separate commonwealth of South Carolina. As an illustration of this, Christopher Gadsden, whose work of leadership in South Carolina corresponds to that of Samuel Adams in Massachusetts, wrote as early as 1765, "There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorkers, etc., known on the Continent, but all of us Americans."² Gadsden, furthermore, was so conspicuously aristocratic in his general attitude that he was charged by a leading Democrat in 1783 with having originated "nabobism" in Charleston.³ As might be expected accordingly, the experience of this commonwealth during the whole

² Letter of Christopher Gadsden, Charleston, December 2, 1765, to Charles Garth, agent of the colony of South Carolina at London. R. W. Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution, chiefly in South Carolina, 1764-1776*, p. 8.

³ Letter of Alexander Gillon, *South Carolina Gazette*, September 9, 1783.

revolutionary period failed to emphasize either democratic theory or state-rights doctrine⁴ as much as did the agitations in numerous other states.

The divergence of parties upon local issues began during the war, if not before. The stress of the war times was extremely severe. The capture of Savannah in 1778 and of Charleston at the beginning of 1780 enabled the British forces to overrun the whole countryside and lay waste large tracts as far distant as the middle of the Piedmont region. Some of the inhabitants opposed the invaders by enlisting in the Continental army, and some by serving in partisan bands under Marion, Pickens and Sumter. Others came out openly as loyalists, giving aid to the British. Finally, a number of well-to-do citizens of the Charleston district, after experiencing for some months the distresses of invasive war, discouraged at the gloomy local prospects, and believing now that the country was grasping at the shadow of liberty and losing the substance of prosperity and happiness,⁵ ceased their more or less active assistance to the "patriot" cause, accepted protection from General Cornwallis, and assumed neutral status.⁶ In January, 1782, the state legislature in its session at Jacksonborough, while the British still held Charleston, passed acts confiscating the property of loyalists and amercing a number of citizens listed as having accepted British protection and having deserted the American cause. This led to much subsequent controversy.⁷

At the close of the war, the country lay devastated, the field-gangs and equipment of plantations were depleted, markets impaired, and the British boat lost which had sustained the indigo industry. Worse than all this, the body politic was torn by factional

⁴ W. H. Drayton, it is true, in 1778 denounced the Articles of Confederation, then before the state for ratification, on the ground that they would strip the several states of powers with which they could not safely part and would create a central government of enormous and dreadful powers. Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, pp. 98-115; Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, I. 491, 493. But this fantastic apprehension held by Drayton shortly before his death seems to have been sporadic and to have made no lasting impression unless upon a few men like Rawlins Lowndes, mentioned below.

⁵ E. g., the case of Rawlins Lowndes as explained by Judge Pendleton in the *Charleston Evening Gazette*, October 27, 1785. See also, letter of Ralph Izard, April 27, 1784, to Thomas Jefferson, in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, II. 194, 195.

⁶ For treatment of this general theme, see McCrady, *History of South Carolina in the Revolution*, *passim*.

⁷ For a belated statement of considerations operating *pro* and *contra* in the debates at Jacksonborough, see the discussion in the Assembly, February 21, 1787, reported in the *Charleston Morning Post*, February 22, 1787.

spirit, and the leaders of opinion, though somewhat dazed by the magnitude and complexity of the problems to be handled, began clamoring in support of a great diversity of policies.

The first issue was upon the treatment of loyalists and other obnoxious persons. Most of the substantial citizens favored such toleration for these as the British treaty required; but a group of radicals undertook, without the formality of law, to administer discipline to selected persons, and to drive them from the state. It was doubtful for a twelvemonth whether mob law or statute law would prevail. Judge Ædanus Burke in his charge to the grand jury at Charleston, June 9, 1783, expressed fears that the people, rendered boisterous by the war times, might turn against one another in factions. Four men, said he, had been killed in Charleston since the British army departed, and numerous others in the country. He deplored the retaliatory spirit, tending to beget feuds and factions, and he urged the grand jury to take steps to crush all violence.⁸ In spite of this, a number of men gathered on the evening of July 10, whether as a mob or as an organized company, and "pumped" four or five persons whom they thought obnoxious to the state.⁹ Next day a number of men of official status, principally members of the legislature, waited upon the governor and asked him to safeguard the good name of the city and state by suppressing this spirit of violence. The governor at once issued a proclamation denouncing the disorder, declaring that future breaches of the peace would be punished, and appealing to the judges, peace officers and all good citizens to aid in discouraging conduct of such alarming tendency.¹⁰

Order was restored by this measure, but the spirit of persecution still lived, to break out again in the following year. Meanwhile the men who most strongly cherished this hostility organized themselves as a force to be reckoned with. The prime mover in this appears to have been Alexander Gillon, a Charleston merchant who had been commissioned as commodore by the state of South Carolina in 1780 and sent abroad to obtain and operate a navy for the state. His achievement then was to hire a frigate from the Duke of Luxemburg, to equip it with a French crew, and send it out, after months of delay, to prey upon the British merchant marine. This frigate was soon captured by the British navy, and its cost added a very large item to South Carolina's Revolutionary debt.

⁸ *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, June 10, 1783.

⁹ *Ibid.*, July 12, 1783.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Gillon saw no maritime service, but remained a titular commodore. His principal colleague in the leadership of the Charleston radicals was Dr. James Fallon. Their followers appear to have been mostly of the city's unpropertied class.

There was at this time a club in Charleston named the Smoking Society, of a convivial character, or as said by its critics, bacchanalian. Gillon and Fallon had themselves made president and secretary respectively of this club, changed its name to the "Marine Anti-Britannic Society", and devoted it to the championship of radical causes in politics.¹¹ An indication of the strength of the faction which he headed lies in Gillon's election by the Privy Council to the lieutenant-governorship of the state, August 22, 1783,¹² just a month after the "pumping" episode. This action by the Council may have been due to its having a majority of radicals among its members, or perhaps as probably to the desire of the conservatives to pacify the radicals by placing their leader in a position of dignity but of harmlessness in the administration. That Fallon also was zealously active is shown by a letter in the *Georgia Gazette*, October 16, 1783, written by a Georgian signing himself "Mentor" and apologizing for his interference by saying, "I cannot be happy when a sister state is fomented by intestine broils". The writer warned the people of Charleston against Fallon as a demagogue and against the anarchy which mob action would bring: "The common people of Charleston, though liable to be misled, are still open to conviction. . . . Tell them", he urged upon the leading men of the city, "that the advantages resulting from the preservation of government are Freedom, Unanimity, Commerce, and National Reputation; point out to them that the damnable evils which eternally spring from the anarchy they have aimed at are Suspicion, Dissension, Poverty, Disgrace, and Dissolution".

One of the Charleston papers printed in September a memorial of citizens of Northumberland County, Virginia, urging conservatism in public policy, liberal treatment towards foreigners, the refraining by public officers from the abuse of their powers, and the general toning up of political morality and manners.¹³ Aside from

¹¹ Announcement of the annual dinner of the society to commemorate the evacuation of Charleston by the British on December 14, 1842. *Gazette of the State of South Carolina*, November 27, 1783. Letter signed "Another Patriot", *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, May 8 to 11, 1784.

¹² *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, August 23, 1783.

¹³ Memorial by 69 inhabitants of Northumberland County to their delegates in the Virginia Assembly, June 10, 1783. *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, September 16 to 20, 1783.

this, little argument for conservatism appeared in the Charleston press during the autumn of 1783. The radicals were more active, but the quarrel died down in winter, to flare up again in the spring. Ralph Izard wrote Thomas Jefferson from his plantation near Charleston, April 27, 1784: "Would to God I could say that tranquility was perfectly restored in this State. Dissensions and factions still exist, and like the Hydra, when one head is destroyed, another arises."¹⁴

At this time the dissension was in full blast again; and the issue was more clear-cut than before. Each faction had acquired one of the daily newspapers as its organ. In the early spring the Marine Anti-Britannic Society adopted resolutions, described by its opponents as ridiculous and pompous jargon, and requested each of the gazettes of the city to publish them. Mrs. Timothy, who owned the *Gazette of the State of South Carolina*, gave them due publication; but John Miller, publisher of the *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, who was also state printer, "in terms very preemptory and disrespectful, refused to give any place in his gazette to the society's resolutions, evidencing thereby, as well as by some former acts of his toward the said Society, that his Press is not thoroughly uninfluenced and free". The society therefore resolved unanimously to boycott Miller's journal as regarded both subscriptions and advertisements.¹⁵

The Anti-Britannics now resorted to an attempt at terrorism. About the middle of April they posted handbills in Charleston listing eleven persons, either loyalists or recent immigrants, and giving them notice to quit the state within ten days. About the same time they or their allies did violence to the person of a Mr. Rees in the interior of the state; and Mrs. Timothy's paper published reports, apparently false, of similar lynch-law punishments inflicted upon other persons. In denouncing these proceedings, a citizen writing under the anonym "Another Patriot", in the *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, April 28, expressed the hope that persons about to sail from Charleston for Europe would not take the handbills too seriously nor spread lurid reports of them abroad, to add to the damage done the state by the reports of the "pumping match" of the previous year. He assured them that an association of the good citizens was being formed, resolutely determined to

¹⁴ *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, II. 194.

¹⁵ Preamble and resolutions printed in the *Gazette of the State of South Carolina*, April 8, 1784.

uphold the magistracy and to put it out of the power of malcontents to disturb the peace of the city.

The city council resolved on April 30 that in order to secure the suppression of any riots which might occur, the bell of St. Michael's church should be rung in case of turbulence, whereupon the intendant and wardens should at once repair to the state-house; and it commanded that all magistrates and constables, with their emblems of office, and all regular and peaceable citizens should rally likewise at the state-house and "invigorate the arm of Government".¹⁶ This riot ordinance seems to have turned the tide against the Anti-Britannics. The writer "Another Patriot" declared in Miller's paper of May 11, that most of those who had been followers of Gillon and Fallon had joined the society in the belief, fostered by its officers, that it would advantage them in their trades; but that these had at length seen through the cheat, and that at a recent meeting only thirty-nine members could be assembled out of the six hundred of which the society's hand-bills had boasted.¹⁷ This exposure was shortly followed by ridicule. A citizen calling himself "A Steady and Open Republican", in a long article denouncing Fallon, turned upon the society:¹⁸

Carolina, that has not twenty of her natives at sea, immediately to set up an Anti-Britannic Marine Society! Laughable indeed! If intended to raise a Navy, that is expressly contrary to the Confederation, and I confess the very thought of such a thing gives me the gripes, before we recover from the endless expences and embarrassments of the wretched bargain made for us only in the *bare hire* of one single Frigate.

Several anonymous radicals replied,¹⁹ and a running controversy was kept up in the gazettes from May to September. There was apparently for some years no further attempt at mob action;²⁰ the radicals turned their attention instead to getting control of the government through polling majorities in the elections. Of this and the outcome, John Lloyd wrote from Charleston, December 7, 1784, to his nephew, T. B. Smith:²¹

¹⁶ *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, May 1, 1784.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1784.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, May 13, 1784.

¹⁹ One of these was driven to reveal himself as William Hornby.

²⁰ E. g., M. Petrie wrote from Charleston, May 18, 1792, to Gabriel Manigault, Goose Creek, S. C.: "M. de Kereado has taken passage in Garman, just arrived. He is very right to leave this town, full of discord. Threatenings of raising the mob against some lately arrived have succeeded to the *impuissance* of raising or getting the Law against them." MS. in possession of Mrs. Hawkins Jenkins, Pinopolis, S. C.

²¹ MS. in the Charleston Library.

The malecontented party having by several publications endeavoured to influence the electors throughout the State to make choice of men to represent them in the General Assembly, from the lower class: the gentlemen of property, to preserve their necessary consequence in the community and in order to prevent anarchy and confusion, have almost unanimously exerted themselves in opposition to them, and it is with particular pleasure I inform you they have pretty generally carried their point, especially in this city, so that we shall have exceedingly good representation, and by that means support the honor and credit of the country.

Antagonism to the aristocracy, however, was strong, particularly in the upland districts, where the cotton industry did not yet exist and a small-farming régime prevailed. Izard wrote to Jefferson, June 10, 1785: "Our governments tend too much to Democracy. A handicraftsman thinks an apprenticeship necessary to make him acquainted with his business. But our back countrymen are of opinion that a politician may be born such, as well as a poet."²²

The governor gave notice on March 17, 1785, that all persons who had been exiled from sister states and had taken refuge in South Carolina must leave the state within one month from the date of this notice; and that all persons who had been banished from South Carolina and had returned thither under the provisions of the British treaty, might remain in the state for three months longer than the treaty stipulated, but must depart immediately at the end of that period.²³ This action by the executive put an end to the anti-loyalist agitation; but the parties already in process of evolution continued to develop and to oppose one another upon successive new issues.

The prevalence of acute hard times, reaching extreme severity in 1785 and 1786, turned public attention sharply to questions of industry, commerce and finance. A narrative of economic developments in the state following the close of the British war was related by Judge Henry Pendleton in his charges to the grand juries of Georgetown, Cheraws and Camden Districts, in the autumn of 1786, in part as follows:²⁴

No sooner had we recovered and restored the country to peace and order than a rage for running into debt became epidemical; instead of resorting to patient industry, and by slow and cautious advances, recovering to the state that opulence and vigor which the devastations

²² *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, II. 197.

²³ *Gazette of the State of South Carolina*, March 21, 1785.

²⁴ *Charleston Morning Post*, December 13, 1786. Practically the same narrative is given as a preface to an argument for the repeal of the "stay laws", in a letter signed "Appius", addressed to the General Assembly, and printed in the *Charleston Morning Post*, February 15 and 16, 1787.

of a long and calamitous war had destroyed, individuals were for getting rich by a *coup de main*, a good bargain—a happy speculation was almost every man's object and pursuit. Instead of a rigid economy, which the distress of the times so strongly excited, what a load of debt was in a short time contracted in the purchase of British superfluities, and of lands and slaves for which no price was too high, if credit for the purchase was to be obtained; these fatal effects too were accelerated by the very indulgence and lenity which afforded the happiest opportunity to those in debt to surmount all their difficulties—I mean the act for prescribing the payment of old debts by instalments of one, two and three years; had this act totally abolished all old debts, men could not with more avidity have run on contracting new ones. How small a pittance of the produce of the years 1783, 4 and 5, altho' amounting to upwards of 400,000 l. sterling a year, on an average, hath been applied toward lessening old burdens? Hence it was that men not compelled by law to part with the produce of these years, for the payment of their debts, employed it to gain a further credit in new purchases to several times the amount, and thereby forced an exportation of it to foreign parts, at a price which the markets of consumption would not bear—what then was the consequence?—the merchants were driven to the exportation of gold and silver, which so rapidly followed, and with it fled the vital spirit of the government:—a diminution of the value of the capital, as well as the annual produce of estates, in consequence of the fallen price,—the loss of public credit, and the most alarming deficiencies in the revenue, and in the collection of the taxes; the recovery of new debts, as well as old in effect suspended, while the numerous bankruptcies which have happened in Europe, amongst the merchants trading to America, the reproach of which is cast upon us, have proclaimed to all the trading nations to guard against our laws and policy, and even against our moral principles.

The governor's message to the general assembly on September 26, 1785, called attention to the calamitous state of affairs existing: money scarce, men unable to pay their debts, and citizens liable to fall prey to aliens. The House at once appointed a committee of fifteen members on the state of the republic. In the open debate which this large committee held on September 28, several remedies for the shortage of money were proposed: one by Ralph Izard on behalf of conservatives, that the importation of negro slaves be prohibited for three years and the community thereby saved from the constant drain of capital which it was suffering; others by radical representatives for the more obvious but more short-sighted recourse to stay-laws and paper money.²⁵ The assembly at this session adopted the proposal of paper money, and authorized its issue to the amount of £100,000, to be loaned to citizens, on security, for five years at seven per cent.²⁶

²⁵ *Charleston Evening Gazette*, September 26 and 28, 1785.

²⁶ Act of October 12, 1785, in Cooper and McCord, *S. C. Statutes at Large*, IV. 712-716.

Next spring, the depression had grown even more severe. Many Charleston merchants had gone out of business and the rent of shops had fallen one-third.²⁷ Commodore Gillon, a member for Charleston, proposed in February, 1786, a stay-law, granting debtors three years in which to meet obligations, and exempting them from sheriffs' sales meanwhile. After long debate this bill passed the House, but it was apparently defeated in the Senate. In December Gillon stood for re-election, and was returned as twenty-eighth in the list of thirty representatives from the Charleston parishes.²⁸ In February, 1787, Gillon reintroduced his bill for a stay-law, and gave warning that if it were not enacted, something more radical might be expected. Dr. Ramsay, in opposition, denied the right of the legislature to interfere in private contracts, and said that the experiments which South Carolina had already made in stay-laws had shown that they promoted irresponsibility and did no substantial good. He declined to believe that the people would become tumultuous if the bill should fail to pass. Mr. John Julius Pringle, Speaker of the House, advocated the bill, stating that the voice of the people was so strenuous in its favor that it would not be sound policy to reject it. The bill passed the committee of the whole house by a large majority,²⁹ and was enacted. Other debates on phases of the same question occurred in 1788, which further widened the rift between conservatives and radicals.³⁰

The industrial depression continued for several years longer, until in the middle nineties the development of the cotton industry, beginning with the introduction of the sea-island variety in 1786 in Georgia and two or three years later in South Carolina, and hastened and immensely enlarged in its possibilities by Whitney's invention of the short-staple gin, in 1793, brought a renewal of general prosperity. To illustrate the situation of numerous planters during the hard times, a letter is extant from Joseph Bee to a creditor, October 19, 1789.³¹

²⁷ Letter of John Lloyd, then president of the Senate of South Carolina, to T. B. Smith, April 15, 1786. MS. in the Charleston Library.

²⁸ His vote was 203, as against 426 for David Ramsay and Edward Rutledge, at the head of the poll, 422 for C. C. Pinckney, 413 for Thomas Pinckney, and similar votes for other conservative gentry. *Charleston Morning Post*, December 5, 1786.

²⁹ *Charleston Morning Post*, February 19, 1787. Act of March 28, 1787, in Cooper and McCord, *Statutes at Large*, V. 36-38.

³⁰ Debates on this subject, in the autumn session of the legislature, may be found in the *Charleston City Gazette or Daily Advertiser*, October 23, 1788.

³¹ MS. among the Gibbes papers, owned by the Gibbes family, Columbia, S. C.

It has been my misfortune, among several hundreds to have been sued and even to have had Judgements obtained against me, in consequence of which I find the sheriff has a very valuable plantation of mine to be sold, which I at sundry times endeavoured to do, both at Public and Private Sale in order to satisfy my Creditors, but all my endeavour proved fruitless, therefore it would be needless for me in such a case to ask a Friend the favour, as I might naturally expect a Denial, therefore I would just leave the matter to yourself to act in whatever way you think proper, tho at the same time I could most heartily wish that I could command money in order to close the matter, as it gives me pain to be dunned at any time. . . .

Bee finally announced in the public prints, June, 1784, that having been reduced to poverty through the sale of his real estate by the sheriff for a thirteenth part of what he might formerly have had for it at private sale, he was now prepared to go to jail to convince his creditors—after which he hoped to be left in some peace of mind.

The assembly in 1791 provided for the gradual calling in of the loans made to the citizens under the act of 1785 and for the retirement of the paper money.³² But in the following years measures occasionally prevailed for delaying the redemption; and there was almost constantly a dread among the conservatives that the radicals might again get the upper hand and, if unchecked by state or federal constitutions, do great mischief to the commonwealth.

Local concerns, however, were overshadowed after 1787 by problems directly connected with federal relations and policy, while in some cases, such as those of paper money, tariff and public debt, the former local problems were quickly handed over to the central government. It was quite natural under the circumstances, that the political factions which had grown into existence while the state government was managing nearly all of the public business should continue in life, and, after a brief period of transition and partial reorganization, should transfer the general application of their points of view and predilections to the affairs of the federal government.

The need of more efficient central control in the United States had been felt by the Carolina planters immediately upon the ending of the British war. An expression of this, for example, was a pamphlet attributed with probable justice to Christopher Gadsden.³³

³² Act of February 19, 1791, in Cooper and McCord, *Statutes at Large*, V. 166-167.

³³ *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*. . . . The lower half of the title-page of the copy in the Charleston Library is torn off and missing. The pamphlet was apparently written in 1783 or 1784.

The author of this expressed gratification at the successful close of the American revolt, and urged the advisability of preserving peace. To this end he thought firm government necessary, and especially sound policy in finance.³⁴ Congress, he said, must be trusted with the power of securing supplies for the expenses of the Confederation and the power of contracting debts, and "this power must not be capable of being defeated by the opposition of any minority in the States"; everything depends upon the preservation of a firm political union, "and such a union cannot be preserved without giving all possible weight and energy to the authority of that delegation which constitutes the Union". In conclusion, to drive home his contention, he pictured the consequences to be expected if the policy were not adopted. He lamented the rise of clashing interests,³⁵ and foreboded that in the absence of any strong central control these would break the union, and in that event the whole work of the Revolution would miscarry, the movement for liberty in all future efforts would be discouraged, and the present epoch would but open a new scene of human degeneracy and wretchedness.

In 1784 the Charleston newspapers from time to time advocated strengthening the Union, on general principles, and in 1785 they regretted New York's veto of the plan to empower Congress to levy import duties. Concrete local developments promoted nationalism especially among the planters. To improve their method of rice culture they were abandoning the earlier system of irrigating their fields from reservoirs of rain-water, and were clearing and embanking great tracts of river swamps which could be flooded and drained at will through the rise and fall of the tide.³⁶ For this work they needed large supplies of capital on loan and they were embarrassed by its dearth. The financial crisis of 1785 forced the planters, and the merchants also, to face the situation squarely and to realize that the achievement of political independence by the United States had not made South Carolina financially self-sufficient. It made them see that economically their commonwealth was still in a colonial condition, in need of steady backing by some strong financial power. England was no longer available; but they saw that the Northern commercial states could be made a substitute. At the same time it was seen that a political alliance with the Northern conservative interests would partly safeguard the Carolina conservatives from injury in case the radicals should locally get

³⁴ *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*, p. 18.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁶ Cf. Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, *Life and Times of William Lowndes*, pp. 22, 23.

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into control. On the whole in this period the conservatives of the Charleston district appear to have dreaded the rule of their local opponents as the worst of threatening evils, and to have welcomed the restriction of the state's functions in large part because it would reduce the scope of the possible damage to be wrought by the radicals in their midst in case they should capture the state machinery. For a number of years, therefore, most of the leading planters on the coast, and many of the merchants, not only favored the remodelling of the central government as accomplished in 1787-1789, but favored also the exercise of broad powers by Congress under the Constitution.

In the years 1786-1788, even the radicals of the Charleston district largely approved the strengthening of the Union, partly perhaps because they saw that commerce depended upon efficient government, and partly because some of their leaders, notably the brilliant young Charles Pinckney,³⁷ had ambition for careers in national affairs. The South Carolina delegates in the Federal Convention, all of whom were from the Charleston vicinity, all favored the new Constitution; nearly all of the lowland members of the state legislature in 1788 voted for the call of a state convention with power to ratify it; and in that convention the delegation from Charleston voted solidly *aye* upon the motion to ratify. For the time, therefore, at least upon the question of federal relations, the Charleston factions were largely at peace. Commodore Gillon, for example, in the debate in the House of Representatives found himself an ally of C. C. Pinckney and David Ramsay.³⁸

The opposition to the federal plan of 1787 came from the distant interior of the state, but as its chief spokesman found one of the aristocratic conservatives of the coast, in the person of Rawlins Lowndes. The uplanders had had experience within the state of living under a government which, by reason of their having a minority in the legislature, they could not control; and they dreaded a similar arrangement in the federal system. Lowndes, also, was impressed with the prospective danger that a coalition of northern interests might use the federal machinery for the oppression of South Carolina with her peculiar needs; and he pleaded with his fellow slaveholding planters to adopt his view, but without success.

³⁷ Not to be confused with General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who like his brother Thomas was a conservative and a Federalist. To distinguish him from his cousin Charles Cotesworth, Charles Pinckney was nicknamed "Black-guard Charlie" by the conservatives.

³⁸ J. Elliot, *Debates*, third ("second") ed., IV. 253-317.

Lowndes was not even elected to the state convention. In his absence Patrick Dollard from the interior was the sole spokesman of the opposition to the ordinance. He said:³⁹

My constituents are highly alarmed at the large and rapid strides which this new government has taken towards despotism. They say it is big with political mischiefs and pregnant with a greater variety of impending woes to the good people of the Southern States, especially South Carolina, than all the plagues supposed to issue from the box of Pandora. They say it is particularly calculated for the meridian of despotic aristocracy; that it evidently tends to promote the ambitious views of a few able and designing men, and enslave the rest.

The coast delegates were solidly deaf to this declaration, as they had been to Lowndes's arguments, though some of them, patricians and plebeians, were destined after a short experience under the new government to reverse their position and champion the doctrines which they now rejected.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

³⁹ Elliot, *Debates*, IV. 336-338.

DOCUMENTS

Father Pierre Gibault and the Submission of Post Vincennes, 1778.

AFTER George Rogers Clark had obtained possession of Kaskaskia and the other French settlements on the Mississippi, in July, 1778, he realized that his position was precarious as long as the British held the posts on the Wabash River, the channel of communication between Canada, Detroit and the Ohio. His company of soldiers was too small to risk a bold advance upon Vincennes, and he was obliged to consider means of securing the village by persuasion. The story of the mission of Father Gibault to Vincennes is well known, and Clark's own narratives are counted among the few classics of the literature of Western history.¹ The documents given below, collected from several archives, and now printed for the first time,² supplement those famous narratives. Although they contain information on other matters of interest, this short introduction will be limited to the question of the submission of Vincennes, in July, 1778, because the interpretation of the documents in their relation to that event, offers some difficulties.

Ever since Judge John Law wrote in his *Colonial History of Vincennes* that to Father Gibault "next to Clark and Vigo, the United States are [more] indebted for the accession of the states comprised in what was the original Northwest Territory than to any other man", the honor of securing the submission of Vincennes has been unanimously assigned to the parish priest,³ while his associate and the part he took in the enterprise have been almost forgotten, and no attempt has ever been made to estimate the value of his services.

Like the historians, the British officers in the West believed, from the first, that the chief instrument in the winning of Vincennes for the Virginians was Father Gibault. Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton of Detroit wrote, on August 8, 1778: "I have no doubt that by this

¹ His letter to George Mason, November 19, 1779, and his *Memoir* of a later date are printed in the appendix to W. H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio*, vol. I.

² A translation of a part of Gibault's long letter of June 6, 1786, is printed in Shea's *Life of Archbishop Carroll*, pp. 469-470; see also note to no. II., below.

³ Winsor, *The Westward Movement*, p. 120, is satisfied with a statement that the submission was obtained by both Father Gibault and Laffont.

time they [the Virginians] are at Vincennes, as, when the Express came away, one Gibault a French priest, had his horse ready to go thither from Cahokia [Kaskaskia] to receive the submission of the inhabitants in the name of the Rebels".⁴ On the other hand the first report of Clark to Governor Patrick Henry, which has unfortunately not been preserved, evidently gave credit for the outcome to Father Gibault and Dr. Laffont, for Henry in a letter to Clark, dated December 15, 1778, wrote: "I beg you will present my compliments to Mr Gibault and Doctor Lafong [*sic*] and thank them for me for their good services to the State".⁵

But this is hearsay testimony. We turn to the statements of those who participated in the act, George Rogers Clark, Father Pierre Gibault and Jean Baptiste Laffont.

The first is a trustworthy witness concerning the conception of the plan and the preparations for putting it into execution; but his knowledge of the occurrences in Vincennes was derived from others and more particularly from the two agents.⁶ One weakness in this witness should be noted: he understood no French and was obliged to trust to his interpreter, Jean Girault.⁷ The two accounts left us by Clark differ somewhat in details. According to the earlier, the letter to Mason, the conception of the plan was his own. Realizing the weakness of his position, as long as Vincennes was in the possession of the enemy, and the impossibility of securing the place by force, he had recourse to stratagem and pretended to make preparations for an attack, in the hope that the French of Kaskaskia, anxious for their friends and relatives, would offer to win the village by persuasion. In this he was successful, and several Kaskaskians came forward as advocates for Vincennes. Among these was Father Gibault, who told Clark that soldiers were unnecessary for the enterprise and that he would himself go on the mission; but that as his duties were spiritual, someone must be appointed to take charge of the affair. The parish priest assured Clark; however, "that he would give them (the people of Vincennes) such hints in the spiritual way that would be conducive to the business". Dr.

⁴ Canadian Archives, B, vol. 122, p. 115. For further testimony of the British officers see J. P. Dunn, in *Transactions of the Ill. Hist. Soc.*, 1905, p. 27; *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, V. 52, VIII. 186.

⁵ Draper MSS., 48 J 49.

⁶ In his *Memoir*, Clark wrote that he sent a spy with the emissaries, so that the report of the agents may have been confirmed by a fourth witness, whose testimony has not been preserved. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio*, I. 487.

⁷ On Girault, consult *Ill. Hist. Collections*, II. 20, n. 2.

Laffont was appointed the leader of this expedition and received the instructions.⁸

In the other narrative, the *Memoir*, more prominence is given to the parish priest. In the first place Clark does not assume the credit for the conception of the plan. The priest was called into conference relative to taking Vincennes and said that he did not think it worth while to send a military expedition, since he was certain that, when the inhabitants were acquainted with what had occurred in Illinois and with the American cause, they would submit. Gibault then offered to go himself for this purpose. As in the other account, the priest demanded an associate, but according to this narrative he named him, and promised that he would privately direct the whole. Written instructions were given by Clark to Laffont, and verbal instructions to the priest.⁹

The letter to Mason is more authoritative than the *Memoir*; the credit of originating the plan may safely be assigned to Clark. To his two narratives should be added the testimony of the instructions, a copy of which Clark did not have when he wrote his *Memoir*.¹⁰ These were addressed to Laffont, and he was instructed to "act in concert" with Father Gibault, "who, I hope, will prepare the inhabitants to agree to your demands."

The testimony of Father Gibault dates from the year 1786, but it can be shown that the evidence harks back to an earlier date. In a letter of that year, addressed to the bishop of Quebec,¹¹ he denied having been responsible for the submission of the people of Vincennes. In fact he declared that he had not gone for the purpose of influencing the people, but only to attend to his parochial duties. In a letter of 1783¹² he mentioned his intention of writing in a short time an account of the occurrences of the past few years, and in another of 1788¹³ he mentioned the fact of having written such a letter. Unfortunately this letter has not been preserved, except possibly an unimportant paragraph;¹⁴ but it is evident from the context that he wrote of his own acts and made statements similar to those in the letter of 1786, so that it may be taken for granted

⁸ English, *Conquest*, I. 419. It is to be noted that the instructions were addressed to Laffont, *post*, p. 549.

⁹ English, *Conquest*, I. 487.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* These instructions are printed on pp. 549, 550, *post*.

¹¹ See *post*, p. 552.

¹² See *post*, p. 551.

¹³ See *post*, p. 556.

¹⁴ See *post*, p. 554, n.

that in 1783 he was denying his participation in the submission of Vincennes.

Clark's statement is that the priest offered to go to Vincennes, and went as an emissary of Virginia.¹⁵ That he acted as secretary of the embassy is evident from the fact that he kept some kind of a journal which was handed to Clark on his return.¹⁶ In spite of the success of the expedition Father Gibault was still unwilling to be counted an actor in it, for having learned of the village gossip about his influence in Vincennes, he persuaded Dr. Laffont to write, a few days after their return, a letter to Clark, in which Laffont assumed all responsibility.¹⁷ In less than a month after he started for Vincennes, therefore, he was saying that he had done nothing more than counsel "peace and union and to hinder bloodshed". One act of Father Gibault's contradicts this testimony. When he was expecting that Kaskaskia would be retaken by the British in the early winter of 1778, Clark reports that the priest was in great fear of falling into the hands of Hamilton. If this is a fact, he must have been conscious of having committed an act which the British officers would regard as treasonable.¹⁸

Our information concerning Laffont is very meagre. He was a native of the West Indies, whence he moved to Florida and later to Kaskaskia. He was living in the latter place in August, 1770, at which date his signature was written on a power of attorney. He was still in the village in 1782, but had moved by 1787 to Vincennes; for his name and those of his sons are found in the census of the village for that year.¹⁹ His whole testimony is contained in his letter to Clark on August 7, 1778.²⁰ From this we learn that Father Gibault accompanied him, acted as secretary, and made a report to Clark. He did not, however, interfere in the temporal

¹⁵ *Ante*, pp. 545, 546, and Clark's letter of instructions, *post*, p. 549.

¹⁶ Laffont's letter, *post*, p. 550.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, a comparison of the handwriting of this letter with other specimens of Laffont's handwriting leaves no doubt about its authenticity.

¹⁸ English, *Conquest*, I. 432.

¹⁹ *Kaskaskia MSS.*, court house of county of Randolph, Illinois; Papers of the Continental Congress, "Illinois, Kaskaskia and Kentucky", vol. 48, p. 167; Draper MSS., 18 J 79. This last is a letter to Dr. Draper, dated 1848, from the executor of the estate of Dr. Laffont's son. The letter states that Laffont moved to Ste. Genevieve, where he died about August, 1779, at the age of forty. From the records of Kaskaskia, this date is proved to be wrong. The identity of the Jean Bte. Laffont of the Vincennes census is strengthened by the following facts. He is forty-eight years old and has two sons with the same names as those given in the letter to Dr. Draper. I suspect that the date of his death at Ste. Genevieve should be 1799.

²⁰ *Post*, pp. 550, 551.

affairs of the embassy, except to counsel peace. Laffont claimed for himself the sole responsibility of the undertaking. The Oath administered to the people of Vincennes offers some further evidence.²¹ This illiterate French could never have been written by the priest, whereas it may have been the work of Laffont, although his letter is written in better French.

By an analysis of the above sources the following explanation of the event can be made. Two pieces of testimony are of questionable value, the *Memoir* of Clark, and the letter of Father Gibault to the Bishop of Quebec. The first was written several years after the submission of Vincennes, at a time when Clark's mind had already become clouded by his intemperate habits. He confessed also that he could not find the instructions to Laffont, and from his statements it is probable that he did not have Laffont's letter to him.²² Father Gibault's emphatic denial of participation in the submission of Vincennes may be dismissed, because it was made to the Canadian bishop whose prejudices he wished to remove. If he was to re-enter the service of the Church in Canada, he was obliged to deny the grave charge of treachery which had been made against him by British officers.

There remain Clark's letter to Mason, written a year and a half after the event, his letter of instructions, and Laffont's letter, the last two being contemporary documents. These are not contradictory. The plan originated in Clark's mind; Father Gibault offered to go but refused to take the responsibility; Jean Baptiste Laffont was appointed as the leader, managed affairs openly in Vincennes, and claimed the honor of the success; Father Gibault evidently preached peace and union to the citizens, probably used his personal influence to promote the enterprise, and on his return made a written report to Clark, but denied that he was responsible for the submission of Vincennes.

The action of Father Gibault, taken in connection with other information concerning him, throws some light on his character. The impression made on the mind of Clark by the personality of

²¹ *Post*, p. 550.

²² There must remain some doubt as to whether the letter was ever delivered to Clark. Father Gibault may have been satisfied to have it in his possession for future use. I have considered the possibility of the letter being written in 1786, when both the priest and Laffont were in Vincennes, but have dismissed this supposition, for it would not have suited Father Gibault's purpose to have the journal, which he kept, mentioned. He assured the Bishop that he went simply to fulfill his priestly duties at Vincennes. The first sentence of the letter disproves this.

the priest was that of timidity. Although Clark's description of the fear into which the people of Kaskaskia were thrown by the appearance of his band on the night of July 4 and 5, 1778, may be discounted,²³ still it is interesting that in that picture of terror the central figure was Father Gibault.²⁴ Clark assures us that when he was expecting an attack on Kaskaskia during the winter of 1778-1779, "The priest of all men (was) the most afraid of Mr. Hamilton. He was in the greatest consternation, but determined to act agreeable to my instruction".²⁵ On account of this timidity, Clark found an excuse to send him to the Spanish bank for security. His action in the mission to Vincennes seems to bear out these impressions. He was ready to use his influence with the people, but preferred to throw the responsibility on another, so that, if the issue should be different from what was anticipated, he would still be able to use the argument to the British authorities, which we find he actually put forward in 1786.

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD.

I. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK TO JEAN BAPTISTE LAFFONT.¹

FORT CLARK ce 14^e Juillet 1778

Monsieur

Ayant asse de bonheur pour Trouver deux hommes Comme M^r Gibault et Vous pour Porter et Presenter a Messieurs les Habitants du Poste Vincennes mon Adresse, Je ne Doubte point qu'ils devien-
drons bon Citoyens et Amis des Etats. Il vous plaira de les desabuser
autant que faire ce Poura, et en cas qu'ils accepte les Propositions
à eux faite, vous les assurerez que l'on aura propre attention a rendre
leurs Commerce Beneficieux et avantageux, mais en cas que ses gens
la, ne veulent Acceder a des Offres sy raisonable que celles que Je
leurs fais, Ils peuvent s'attendre à sentir les Miseres d'une Genre
[Guerre] sous la Direction de L'humanite qui a Jusqu'a Present dis-
tinguée les Ameriquains; s'ils deviennent Citoyens, vous leurs ferés
Elire un Commandant d'entre eux, lever une Compagnie, Prendre
Possession du Fort et des Munitions du Roy, et defendre les Habitants,
Jusqu'a ce que l'on puise y envoyer une plus grande force (mon
Adresse² Servira de Commision). les Habitants fournirons les Vivres
pour la Garnison qui seront Payé, les Habitants et Negoçians Traite-
rons avec les Sauvages comme de Coutume, mais il faut que leurs

²³ See introduction to *Ill. Hist. Collections*, vol. II.

²⁴ English, *Conquest*, I. 479.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 432.

¹ Wis. Hist. Soc., Draper MSS., 18 J 80. L. S. This letter was sent in 1848, by the executor of the estate of Antoine, son of J. Bte. Laffont, to Dr. Lyman C. Draper. This copy was supplied through the kindness of Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

² Clark's address or proclamation to the inhabitants of Vincennes is printed in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1907, pp. 271-274.

influence tende a la Paix, comme par leurs Influence ils Pourons sauvé bien du Sang Innocent des deux Cotés, vous agires en Concert avec M^r Le Curé qui J'espere preparera les Habitant à vous accorder vos demandes.

S'il est necessaire de donner des Parroles au Sauvages vous aurés la Bonté de fournir ce qui sera necessaire pourvou que ce n'excede point la Somme de deux Cent piastres,

Je Suis avec Consideration

Votre Tres Hble et

Tres Ob.^t Serv.^t

G. R. CLARK

Monsieur

[Addressed:] Monsieur Monsieur Jean B^t Laffont Ngt aux Kaskaskias
[Endorsed:] une Lettre Ecrit par monsieur Chargue [Clark].

II. OATH OF VINCENNES, JULY 20, 1778.²

Vous faite Serment Sur Les ste Evengille du dieux toute puisent⁴ de renoncé a toute fidelité a gorge troy⁵ de La grande Bretagne Et Ses succeseurs Et d'aitre fidelle et vraie Seujaits de La Republique de Le Virginie comme un Etat Libre Et Independent et que Jamais Je Ne Feray ni ne ferais faire auqunne Shousse⁶ ou matiere qui puisse prejudisable a La Liberté ou Javertiray a quelqueuns des Juges de pay dudit Etat de toute trayzons ou conspirations qui viendras a ma connoissance contre La dit Etat ou quelqautre des Etat Unis de Lamerique En foy de qoy nous avons Signné au poste Vincenne Le 20^{me} Juillet 1778.

III. LAFFONT TO CLARK, AUGUST 7, 1778.⁷

A Monsieur le colonel George Roger Clark, present.

Je ne puis Monsieur qu'approuver ce que Monsieur Gibeaut a dit dans le contenu du journal s'il a obmit quelque verite historiques qui auroient ete dignes d'etre racomptes. Ce qu'il a dit et la verite peure,

² K. MSS., Circuit Clerk's Office, Chester, Ill. Written on several sheets of paper, fastened by wafers, and signed by one hundred and eighty-two inhabitants of Vincennes. This was published with signatures in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1907, p. 274.

⁴ Du Dieu tout-puissant.

⁵ George III.

⁶ Chose.

⁷ Archives of the Archiepiscopal Palace of Quebec. A. L. S. This and the following letters from the same source were supplied through the kindness of Abbé Lindsay, secretary to the Archbishop. The above letter was enclosed by Father Gibault in one of his own. See *post*, p. 554. A photograph was sent to me and I have compared it with other writings of Laffont and have found it genuine. Since the interpretation is difficult and the letter is important, a translation is herewith joined.

"I cannot but approve that which M. Gibault said in the contents of his journal. [Even] if he did omit some historical truths which might have been worthy of narration, that which he said is pure truth. All that he has begged me to add and which he will tell to you, and has asked me to be present (and which he forgot) is that in all the civil affairs, not only with the French but with savages, he meddled with nothing, because he was not ordered to do so and it was opposed to his vocation; and that I alone had the direction of the affair, he having confined himself, towards both [nations], solely to exhortation tending towards

tout ce qu'il m'a prié d'ajouter et qu'il vous dira a vous même et m'a prié d'être présent. qu'il a Oublié et que dans tous les affaires civiles tant avec les françois qu'avec les Sauvages, il ne s'est mele de rien n'en ayant point d'ordre et cela étant contre son caractère et que J'en ay eu seul la direction luy meme s'en étant tenu envers les uns et les autres a la seule exhortation tendante a la paix et a l'union et a empêcher l'effusion du sang ainsi Monsieur pour le temporel dont je suis chargé entierement j'espere en avoir toute la satisfaction possible, m'étant comporte en tout avec une integrite infiolable. mon zelle et ma sincerite me persuade que vous aure la bonte Monsieur d'accepter les voeux que j'ay l'honneur de faire pour votre personne et de me croire avec un respectueux atachemens,

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble et tres obeisent serviteur

LAFFONT.

Kaskaskias

le 7^e aout 1778.

IV. FATHER PIERRE GIBAULT TO THE BISHOP OF QUEBEC, APRIL 1, 1783.⁸

Monseigneur,

Je n'ay une demie-heure pour profiter de l'occasion de Mr Ducharme. Je ne puis dans ce court interval marquer à Votre Grandeur sinon que je suis toujours le même pour le salut des peuples, excepté que l'age et les fatigues ne me permettront plus de faire ce que je desirerois comme autrefois. Le R. pere Bernard, capucin, dessert les Kaskaskias conjointement avec St. Louis où il demeure, ce qui me soulage du plus éloigné village que j'aye a desservir. Les Illinois sont plus malheureux qu'ils n'ont jamais été. Apres avoir été ruinés et épuisés par les Virginiens, laissés sans commandant, sans troupes et sans justice, ils se gouvernent eux-memes par fantaisie et caprice, ou pour mieux dire par la loy du plus fort. Nous attendons cependant en peu de tems des troupes avec un commandant et une justice réglée. J'espère faire un detail le mieu qu'il me sera possible à Votre Grandeur par Mr Dubuc qui reste encore quelque tems, de tout ce qui s'est passé depuis quatre ou cinq ans. J'espère aussi de votre charité paternel que vous ne me laisserez pas non plus sans consolation. J'en plus besoin que jamais quoy que J'aye pris pour principe de faire tout ce que je fais comme je le ferais en presence de mon Evêque, et que par conséquent vous êtes toujours présent à mes yeux et à mon esprit, il me seroit bien doux de recevoir vos instructions. En attendant ce bonheur je suis avec tout le respect, la soumission et l'obéissance la plus parfaite

Votre tres humble serviteur,

P. GIBAULT, Pretre.

A Ste Genevieve

Le 1^{er} avril 1783

peace and union and to the prevention of bloodshed; and so, Sir, for the temporal affairs with which I am wholly entrusted, I hope to have all the satisfaction possible, for I acted in all things with an irreproachable integrity. My zeal and my sincerity persuade me that you will have, Sir, the kindness to accept the good wishes which I have the honor to make to you, and believe me, with a most respectful regard", etc.

⁸ Archives of the Archiepiscopal Palace, Quebec. A. L. S.

V. FATHER GIBAULT TO THE BISHOP, JUNE 6, 1786.⁹

... Oui, M., je me suis toujours appliqué à remplir tous les devoirs du St ministère, je faicts encore tout ce que je peux à présent pour les remplir et avec la grâce de Dieu je m'efforceray de les remplir encore mieux pour l'avenir. Je prends assez de confiance en Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ pour espérer bannir en peu de tems la barbarie du poste Vincennes dont les habitans et sur tous la jeunesse n'avoient eu aucun principe de religion pendant 23 ans que quand j'y suis passé dans mes missions fort courtes ainsi que Mr Payet, étant élevés comme les sauvages au milieu desquels ils vivent. Je leur ay fait et je leur faicts le catechisme deux fois par jour, après la messe et le soir avant le soleil couché. Apres chaque catéchisme, je renvoie les filles et je faicts dire les réponses de la messe et les cérémonies de l'église pour les festes et dimanches aux garçons. Je m'applique à prêcher les festes et dimanches le plus souvent qu'il m'est possible, en un mot, il y a un an et demi que je suis ici, et quand j'y suis arrivé je n'ay trouvé personne ny grand ny petit pour servir la messe qu'un vieil européen qui ne pouvoit pas toujours venir et alors point de messe. Deux mois après j'en avois plusieurs, et à présent jusqu'aux plus petits du village non seulement savent servir la messe mais les cérémonies des festes et dimans et tout le catechisme petit et grand. Je serois assez content du peuple pour le spirituel si ce n'étoit cette malheureuse traite d'eau de vie que je ne puis venir a bout de déraciner, ce qui m'oblige d'en éloigner plusieurs des sacremens, car les sauvages font des désordres horribles dans leur boisson surtout dans ces nations cy. Nous sommes abandonnés à nous mêmes; point de justice, ou au moins point d'autorité pour la faire rendre. Mr. Le Gras et quelqu'un des principaux marchands et habitans font tout ce qui dépend d'eux pour tenir le bon ordre et réuississent passablement. Je n'aurois pas réussi à faire faire une église en ce poste si les habitans des Kahokias ne m'avoient envoyé un courier avec une requête de toute la paroisse pour les desservir en m'offrant de forts grands avantages; les habitans du poste Vincennes craignant avec raison que je les abandonnasse ont résolu unanimement de faire une église de 90 pieds de long sur 42 de large sur solles et en colombage, dont une partie du bois est déjà tiré et quelque toises de pierre pour le sollage, elle n'aura que dix-sept pieds de poteaux, mais les vents sont si impétueux dans ces pays que c'est encore bien haut pour la solidité. La maison qui sert maintenant d'église me servira de presbytère, ou je crois entrer dans quelques mois. Le terrain est vaste, bien sec, et au milieu du village; c'est moy-même avec les marguilliers qui avons acquis ce terrain il y a seize ans. Je vous prie d'approuver cette batisse d'une nouvelle église sous le titre de St François Xavier sur Oubache, et de m'en faire un commendement de la poursuivre et de l'orner autant que la pauvreté des habitans le permettra. Je ferai bien mon possible pour y engager les marchands qui viennent de toute par commercer dans ce poste, mais un mot d'exhortation de votre part feroit plus de loin que moy de proche; je vous prie de nous accorder cette grace.

Joignez donc présentement toutes les peines et les misères que j'ay

⁹ Archives of the Archiepiscopal Palace, Quebec. A. L. S. One paragraph at the beginning has been omitted. The ecclesiastical authorities at Quebec preferred that it should not be printed; and Abbé Lindsay assures me that it contains nothing of importance for the historian.

souffertes dans les différens voyages que j'ay faits dans les endroits éloignés hyvers et été. Desservir tant de villages si éloignés et si éloignés aux Illinois beau temps ou mauvais, jour ou nuit, neige ou pluie, vent ou tempête où brume sur le Mississippi jusqu'a ne pouvoir coucher quatre nuits dans mon lit pendant un an, ne jamais différer de partir dans le moment même, moy-même ne portant mal, comment un prêtre qui se sacrifie de la sorte sans aucune autre vue que la gloire de Dieu et le salut du prochain, sans aucun lucre, presque toujours mal nourri, ne pouvant vaquer au spirituel et au temporel, comment, dis-je, connoître ce prêtre zélé pour remplir les devoirs de son St ministère, soigneux de veiller sur son troupeau de l'instruire des points les plus importants de la religion, instruire la jeunesse sans cesse et sans relache non seulement de la doctrine chrétienne mais encore montrer à lire et écrire aux garçons, d'avec ce prêtre qui donne du scandale, qui est adonné à l'ivrognerie? Cecy me passe et implique contradiction. Un prêtre adonné à la mollesse ne se donne point tant de peine, ne s'importune point d'une bande d'enfants pour l'importuner, ne s'expose point à tant de dangers soit des sauvages, soit des eaux, soit des mauvais tems, ne sacrifie point tout ce qu'il peut gagner à construire des églises, faire faire des rétables et de tabernacles de mil écu sans conter le reste à ses frais et depens. Si cecy n'est pas une marque du contraire je ne sçais ou en prendre d'autres. Si vous ne m'en croyez pas à mes paroles croyez en à mes oeuvres, tout est subsistant.

Pour ce qui est de ces veillées qu'on vous a dit que je prolongeois jusqu'a 3 et 4 heures du matin, j'ay été quelques fois aux noces, mais je n'ay jamais passé 9 heures ou 9 heures et demi. La raison en est visible: il faut que la jeunesse danse, et jamais je n'ay vue oter la table.

On vous a dit que j'étois décrépité et caduc; autre fausseté. Je me porte aussi bien que je n'ay jamais fait. Je suis capable de faire les mêmes voyages que j'ay faits, je n'ay aucune douleur et n'en ai jamais eu, pas même eu une seule fois mal aux dents. Peut-être a-t-on cru que parceque je ne vas plus à la chasse et à la pêche comme je le faisais autrefois, c'étoit la vieillesse lui en étoit la cause, mais c'est mon gout qui est changé. Et en effet, m'étant dévoué tout entier à l'instruction de la jeunesse, à la reforme des mœurs et mauvaises habitudes d'un grand village presque barbare, les voyageurs et commerçans qui abondant icy de toutes les parties de l'Amerique, les autres exercices journaliers du ministère ne permettoient-ils de faire ce que j'ay fait autrefois? Voilà la source de ma conduite. Pour le mal des yeux il a été ici général, s'il étoit à la suite de l'excès de la boisson, les plus petits enfans n'en auroient point été attaqués même plus que les grandes personnes. Après tout, ce mal m'a été que de très petite durée et ne m'a incommodé que peu de jours. Dieu préserve ceux de mon âge de ne pas plus se servir de lunettes que moy, sur tous après tant de mille lieues à dire mon bréviaire à la clarté du feu le soir et la nuit et souvent dans la fumée et à l'ardeur du soleil dans le jour. En verité Dieu, m'a bien conservé. Je vois aussi bien que jamais, et je ne croyois pas pour 15 jours le mal aux yeux mériter le nom d'aveugle.

Pour ce qui est du Commandant de Ste Genevieve pour ses polliconeries, il n'y en a point de pareil au monde, en même tems vous n'en trouverez peut-être point non plus de pareils pour toutes sortes de bonnes qualités. Il a été dix ans Commandant ici, aucun n'a eu un seul

reproche à lui faire. Juste sans partialité ny acception de personne, point de compere ny commere, désintéressé au dernier point, solitaire chez lui, plein de religion luy même et mettant toute son autorité à la faire observer rigoureusement, jeunant tous les mercredy de chaque semaine et gardant ce jour là l'abstinence independamment des autres jours, très charitable, disant le Breviaire exactement tous les jours, ayant bien étudié, et parlant bon latin, après cela que faire quand il policonne, se taire, c'est tout, pour l'éviter il n'est pas possible, ny le Gouverneur ny sa Dame ne sont pas plus épargnés que qui que ce soit hors le tems des affaires sérieuses. Vous connoissez mal la nation espagnole. tout est despotisme pour eux. Si vous n'allez pas a leur invitation ils envoient une ordonnance vous dire que le bien ou l'intérêt de Sa Majesté vous demande dans le moment au gouvernement. que faire? il faut s'en retirer comme j'ay fait, malgré les avantages que j'avois de la Part du Roy dont je conserve les papiers, et ou j'avois de beaux apointemens en qualité de missionnaire à Ste. Genevieve.²⁰

Pour ce qui est des habitans du poste Vincennes qu'on a dit en Canada que j'avois induits dans le parjure, peut-être les habitans mêmes pour se tirer d'affaire avec le gouverneur Henri Amilton, ont-ils mis tout sur mon compte, peut-être luy même et les officiers ont-ils pris le pretexte qu'un peuple si ignorant n'avoit pu se laisser gagner que par moy, et de cette supposition leur pardonner leur faute en la faisant rejailier toute entière sur moy. La verité est que n'ayant point été au poste Vincennes depuis longtems trouvant une occasion favorable d'y aller avec Mr Laffont qui étoit bien accompagné, j'en profitay pour faire ma mission. Si je m'étois mêlé dans une affaire de cette importance, on auroit vu mon seing quelque part, on donneroit quelqu'autre preuve que celles cy *on dit, on nous a rapporté*, et d'autres semblables. Et moy j'ay eu le bonheur de retirer une attestation de Mr Laffont même aussitôt notre retour aux Illinois, sur quelques railleries qu'on me faisoit à ce sujet. Je vous l'envoie cette attestation écrite et signée de sa propre main en original, n'en gardant moy même qu'une copie crainte de me rendre suspecte. Vous jugerez plus surement sur des écrits que sur des paroles en l'air.

Mais il est tems de conclure. Et que conclurez-vous de tout ce que j'ay pu vous dire? il vous est presque impossible d'y pénétrer la vérité. On vous a dit d'une façon, je vous dis presque le contraire. Vous ne connoissez ny ces pays ny les moeurs et vices de ceux qui les habitent. En Canada tout est civilisé, ici tout est barbare; vous êtes au milieu de la justice, ici l'injustice domine, aucune distinction du premier au dernier que par la force, par une langue pernicieuse calomniatrice et médisante et criant bien fort et exalant toutes sortes d'injures et de juremens. Tout le monde est dans la pauvreté qui engendre le vol et la rapine. Le libertinage et l'ivrognerie passent ici pour gentillesse et divertissement à la mode. Les fractures des membres, l'assassinat à coup de couteau, sabre ou épée (car en porte qui veut) les pistolets et les fusils sont des joujoux pour ces endroits-cy. Et qu'a-ton à craindre que le plus fort? mais on sera le plus traître.

²⁰ It is evident that this paragraph does not belong in this letter. It must have been written at Ste. Genevieve. Father Gibault mentioned in the previous letter written at that place, *ante*, p. 551, his intention of writing a long letter soon, and in his letter of 1788, *post*, pp. 556, 557, he mentions three letters. It is probable that that letter has been lost—at least it can not be found—and that the sheet containing this paragraph of the letter has been inserted here.

Point de commandant, point de troupe, point de prison, point de bourreau; toujours dans les petits endroits un tas de parents ou d'alliers qui se soutiennent tous, en un mot l'impunité antière, malheur aux étrangers. Je pourrais vous nommer un grand nombre de personne assassinées dans tous les villages de ces contrées, françois, anglois et espagnols sans aucunes autre suites, mais je me contente de vous en indiquer deux dernièrement assassinées, Mr. Guyon le jeune qui a étudié a Montréal a tué son beau père d'un coup de fusil aux Kas, et hier au soir ici un nommé Bellerose en a tué un autre a coup de couteau. Dans un mois j'ay bien peur d'en compter dix. Tout le reste est de même et encore pire pour le spirituel. Les festes les plus solennelles et les dimanches sont des jours destinés au bal et a l'yvrognerie, par consequent aux querelles et aux batailles. Les ménages brouillés, les pères et mères en discorde avec leurs enfants, des filles subornées et enlevées dans les bois, mil autres désordres que vous pouvez inferer de ceux cy, peuvent-ils souffrir un prêtre qui n'épargne rien pour leur mettre leurs fautes dans tout leu jour devant les yeux, les en reprendre avec vigoureux en particulier et en public sans se venger au moins par leur langue de la geine ou il les reduit et de la honte ou ils sont exposés, car souvent ils se croient bien cachés. De la ils le calomnient en toute façon, le traitent comme ils veulent sans rien craindre. Les bêtises qu'un seul piqué au vif peut dire s'augmentent dans un autre, augmentent encore plus dans les voyages, et de village en village, enfin voila un monstre a étouffer. Concluez ce qu'il vous plaira, pour moy voici ma conclusion.

Je vais me retirer dans mon presbytère d'abord qu'il sera fini, avec mon bedeau et un garçon; alors Dieu veuille que les calomnies cessent au loin, mais j'en doute. La religion est trop persécutée icy pour ne pas tacher d'accabler ceux qui la soutiennent. Je vous prie en même tems de considerer que je suis seul, abandonné a moy même; et quoique que j'aye beaucoup de bons livres, comme Pontas, Lamet et Fromageau, Ste Beauve, les conférences d'Anger, la conduite des âmes, la conduite des confesseurs, le dictionnaire des conciles, le dictionnaire théologique, Collet, toute l'histoire ecclésiastique, quantité de sermonnaires et beaucoup d'autres livres,²¹ malgré cela je me trouve souvent embarrassé dans plusieurs cas particuliers dans ces endroits. Comme par exemple presque tous les barbares de toutes les nations. étant en guerre aussi bien avec les Royalistes qu'avec les Ameriquains et les tuant et pillant journellement, est-il permis aux françois et aux Espa-

²¹ The books referred to are doubtless the following: Jean Pontas, *Dictionnaire des Cas de Conscience*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1715, 1724, 1728), with the two volumes of continuation by Lamet and Fromageau, *Supplément au Dictionnaire des Cas de Conscience* (Paris, 1733); Jacques Sainte-Beuve, *Résolutions de plusieurs Cas de Conscience*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1689-1704, 1705-1715); *Conférences Ecclésiastiques du Diocèse d'Angers*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1775-1778); Roger François Daon, *Conduite des Ames dans la Voie du Salut* (Paris, 1750, 1753); *id.*, *Conduite des Confesseurs dans le Tribunal de la Pénitence, selon les Instructions de Saint Charles Borromée et la Doctrine de Saint François de Sales* (Paris, 1738, 1740 . . . 1773, many editions); Pons-Augustin Alletz, *Dictionnaire Portatif des Conciles* (Paris, 1758, 1764); *id.*, *Dictionnaire Théologique Portatif* (Paris, 1756, 1767, etc.); Pierre Collet, *Institutiones Theologicae*, 3 and 5 vols. (Paris, 1744-1745, 1747-1748, . . . 1775); and the Abbé Claude Fleury's *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 20 vols. (Paris, 1691-1720, and many subsequent editions), with perhaps the continuation by Fabre. Ep.

gnols qui sont en paix avec les uns et les autres d'acheter de ces barbares leurs dépouilles qu'ils retirent à bon marché, et quelle conduite tenir dans le for de la conscience? Les sauvages ne vendant leur viande, leur huile, leur suif que pour l'eau de vie que les Espagnols et les anglois ne font aucune difficulté de leur donner, comment feront les françois pour en avoir? Ces commerçans surtout ne voulant en vendre que pour de la peloterie que ce pauvre père de famille n'a point et par la se voit réduit a manger du mais a l'eau pure dans tous ses travaux.

Encore une autre affaire qui demande une attention de votre part à me donner une décision claire et précise, est que le pere Ferdinand Formar¹² vicaire général a philadelphie de l'évêque élu des provinces unies de l'Amerique, m'écrit de la part de cet évêque Mr Carrol de publier un jubilé pour tous les fidels catholiques de l'Amerique qui a été retardé par les guerres. J'ay reçu ce mandement l'hiver dernier, je n'en ai seulement pas parlé et je n'en parleray point qu'après vos ordres. Je trouve singulier que l'adresse de ma lettre soit à Monsr Gibault grand vicaire de Monseigneur l'évêque de Quebec, et que reçoive inclus un mandement d'un autre évêque. Je recevrois plus volontiers une interdiction de mon évêque que des honneurs d'un autre. ainsi n'ayant aucune certitude de la distraction de cette partie du diocèse de Québec, je ne puis suivre que vos ordres.

Un Carme déchaussé, allemand, âgé de 34 ans, ayant ses lettres de prêtrise, un certificat du colonel du régiment dans lequel il servit d'aumonier jusqu'à la paix, des lettres de Grand vicaire pour desservir les bords du Mississippi sans mention d'un seul nom marqué, se faisant nommer l'abbé de St Pierre,¹³ est venu il y a un an ici de la part de Mr Carrol évêque élu de l'Amerique duquel émanent ses lettres. Je n'ai osé luy rien dire sans vos ordres et je ne vous en ay pas parlé plutot, me disant qu'il s'en retournoit en France par la Nouvelle Orleans, cependant il est encore aux Illinois. Il m'a paru bien zélé mais d'un zele bien emporté pour ces pays sans justice. Ainsi vous ordonnerez tout ce que vous jugerez a propos dans ces conjonctures. Je vous supplie de me recommander à Dieu dans vos SS. sacrifices vous souvenant des freres absens et de me croire avec respect et antiere obéissance,

Votre très humble, très obéissant soumis serviteur

F. GIBAULT, Prêtre.

Au poste Vincennes
le 6e juin 1786

VI. FATHER GIBAULT TO THE BISHOP, MAY 22, 1788.¹⁴

Monseigneur,

Il paroît par votre silence que vous avez oublié jusqu'à une réponse sur des articles où je devois necessairement être embarrassé et dont l'eclaircissement de votre part ne pouvoit souffrir un si long delai. L'état malheureux où vous me supposiez il y a deux ou trois ans auroit dû vous donner assez de compassion pour ne pas oublier entièrement un prêtre qui n'a cessé un seul moment de la vie de sacrifier non seulement ses aises et son repos, mais d'exposer sa propre vie à la fureur des Barbares pour remplir son ministère dans les mêmes vues et

¹² Father Ferdinand Farmer (Steynmeyer), S. J., a priest serving many years in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York, died August 17 of this year.

¹³ See *III. Hist. Collections*, II. 630, n. 78.

¹⁴ Archives of the Archiepiscopal Palace, Quebec. A. L. S.

avec les mêmes intentions qu'il en avoit fait le sacrifice entre les mains de son Evêque. Je n'aurois cependant pas dû m'attendre à cette oubliée, puisque j'ay oté sans peine ce qui pouvoit donner des soupçons, quoiqu'injuste, sur ma façon de vivre. Il y a plus d'un an que non seulement je n'ay point de boisson chez moy mais je n'en bois pas même un coup, n'y vin n'y eau de vie, je n'y pense point, ce n'est point vœux, ce n'est point non plus un sacrifice, car quoiqu'on ait pu vous rapporter, je n'ay jamais eu d'attache à aucune boisson, qu'une certaine mode de boire un coup d'eau de vie en voyageur, ny pensant seulement pas quand je n'en avois pas. Il falloit donc que ceux qui vous ont rapporté des abominations aussi affreuses que celles dont vous me parlé dans votre dernière lettre ayent été poussé par le pere du mensonge, ou que je les eusse repris trop fortement sur leurs vices et mauvaise conduite, car je ne vois point d'autres causes de leur calomnie. Il seroit inutile de vous repeter ce que je vous ay dit si au long dans ma dernière, il vaudroit bien mieux que je fusse sous vos yeux que d'être si éloigné. Je vous prie donc en conséquence de considérer que voila vingt ans passé que je dessers ces contrées, sans arrêts, sans pour ainsi dire sans demeure fixe, presque toujours en voyage, dans toutes les saisons de l'année, toujours exposé à être massacré par les Barbares comme une infinité de personnes l'ont été dans les mêmes routes, et même dernièrement le Sr Paul Desruisseaux que vous devez avoir connu à Quebec tué et le Sr Bonvouloir blessé si près de moy que j'étois tout couvert de leur sang: mon age de cinquante un ans accompli, le besoin que j'ay d'être plus recueilli, apres tant de dissipations qu'entraînent presque-inevitablement tant de voyages et de si longs cours, la repugnance que j'ay à servir sous un autre évêque soit en Espagne ou en Amérique republicaine, et mille autres raisons, tout cela, dis-je, bien considéré, j'espère de votre bonté mon rapel, que je vous demande instamment et à genoux et je crois suivre en cela la volonté de Dieu qui me l'inspire pour mon salut. Et pour l'opposition ou la crainte que j'aye été ou que je fusse porté pour le République américaine, vous n'avez qu'a relire ma première lettre ou je vous rends compte de notre prise et ma dernière ou je vous envoie un certificat de ma conduite au poste Vincennes, dans la prise duquel on disoit que j'avois trempé, et vous verrez que non seulement je ne me suis mêlé de rien, mais au contraire j'ay toujours regretté et regretté encore tous les jours les douceurs du Gouvernement Britannique. Pour les secours spirituels des peuples de ces pays je peux vous assurer qu'ils n'en manqueront encore moins qu'autrefois puisqu'ils ont un prêtre aux Kaskaskias,¹⁵ un autre aux Kahokias et qu'ils ne seroient pas longtems sans en avoir un au poste de Vincennes si j'en sortois, etant le poste favori du Congres.

Ainsi, Monseigneur, tout conspire à me faire espérer mon rapel et le plutot sera le meilleur, car le tems qui sépare l'effet des désirs est toujours très long. Je l'espère ardemment et je sacrifieray le reste de mes jours à vous en témoigner ma reconnaissance. C'est dans cette espérance que j'ay l'honneur d'etre, Monseigneur, De Votre Grandeur,

Le tres humble, tres obéissant et tres soumis serviteur,

P. GIBAULT, Prêtre.

Au poste Vincennes

Le 22e may 1788.

¹⁵ Father de la Valinière. There is an account of him in *Ill. Hist. Collections*, II., introduction, p. cxxxi ff.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XIV.—36.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Studies in English Official Historical Documents. By HUBERT HALL, F.S.A., of H. M. Public Record Office. (Cambridge: University Press. 1908. Pp. xv, 404.)

A Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents. Part I., Diplomatic Documents. Edited by HUBERT HALL, F.S.A., of H. M. Public Record Office. (Cambridge: University Press. 1908. Pp. xvi, 170.)

It is generally recognized that with respect to the science of archives and the study of diplomatics the British Isles are far behind such countries as France and Germany. The central archives of England are, in spite of the mass of materials in private hands, fuller and richer than those of any other European country, and large sums have been spent in publishing or calendaring selected sets of documents; yet historical research is continually hampered by the absence of such tools as the French student possesses in the official *Inventaires* and in the comprehensive manuals of Langlois and Stein, while for the local archives a beginning of systematic effort has still to be made. In the field of diplomatics "English scholarship has toiled painfully in the wake of foreign science", and while some work of excellent quality has recently been done, great tracts of territory lie unexplored, and the English language can show no parallels to the manuals of Giry and Paoli and the German handbooks of diplomatics. Into this borderland between the domain of the historian and that of the archivist Mr. Hubert Hall has now ventured. As an official of the Public Record Office he has seen the problems of the scores of British and foreign investigators who have come to him for counsel and guidance, and as a lecturer at the London School of Economics he has given systematic instruction in palaeography and diplomatics and organized the efforts of his students in co-operative enterprises of permanent value. The results of this experience he here seeks to make available in a volume on English official documents of an historical character, considered under the three aspects of archives, diplomatics, and palaeography. As is inevitable in so vast and so little cultivated a field, the book disclaims anything like completeness or finality—its author even calls it a "collection of desultory studies"—but it covers a wide range of topics compactly and from the sources, and is everywhere suggestive and full of meat. Some topics are dismissed too briefly and some not touched—we miss,

for example, an account of medieval formularies and a discussion of the early history of the practice of enrollment—but there is much pioneer work, and a book of this sort should be welcomed for what it does contain rather than criticized for what it does not.

The first part treats of the history, classification, and analysis of English archives, and is accompanied by a number of valuable appendices illustrating various phases of the subject. The author pleads throughout for a structural and analytic classification of public records instead of the more or less accidental system which has come to prevail, and he insists that each historical problem be approached by seeking to determine first of all what materials once existed for its study and what were their relations. His emphasis upon the importance of viewing the sources as a whole and taking account even of those which have disappeared will come as a surprise to those to whom historical investigation means simply an unreflecting search through catalogues and calendars. Dilettante methods of study are also responsible for the neglect of whole classes of material. "The historians of every country in the past have displayed a notorious lack of initiative in the discovery of materials"; and "whilst time and money and still more precious scholarship have been lavished upon the publication and republication of historical texts which possess a conventional or a sensational interest, comparatively little attention has been paid to the outlying sources". A most interesting object lesson in the value of the less obvious documents would be the arrangement and publication of all of the records of the English central and local government during some representative year.

The treatment of palaeography is brief and sketchy, but the section on diplomatics fills half the volume and is of interest to the student of constitutional and legal history as well as to the professed devotee of the auxiliary sciences. Mr. Hall interprets the term official record broadly, including not only writs and charters but state papers, departmental instruments, surveys, inquisitions, accounts and judicial proceedings; and while the continental background is not forgotten, he shows the nature of the distinctly English types and brings together a mass of information for which we should look in vain in the foreign manuals. Almost every page reveals the gaps in our knowledge and the absence of that monographic investigation of English topics which is a necessary prerequisite to such comparative studies as have recently been attempted in Erben's *Urkundenlehre* and in the *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*. At no point is this need greater than in the Anglo-Saxon period, and we should be especially grateful to Mr. Hall for his courage in essaying a provisional treatment without awaiting the volume which has been so long expected from Mr. W. H. Stevenson. A critical sifting of the Anglo-Saxon charters is one of the most pressing needs of historical scholarship, for "they are still, to the great majority of students, merely typographical abstractions of constitutional, eco-

nomic or philological interest, to be taken as they are found, with such casual reservations as it has pleased a few inquiring minds to propound". The question whether a charter has been preserved in the original or in a copy has rarely been raised, and no systematic examination has been made of the habits and interests of the various religious establishments in the matter of forgeries. The grouping of charters by monastic houses, which has long been the practice of continental critics, is the more necessary in England if we grant Mr. Hall's negative conclusions respecting the Old English chancery. He finds no sound evidence of a royal chancellor or notary before the Conquest—"Regenbald priest and chancellor" becomes a simple priest at his hands—or even of the sealing of charters, as distinguished from writs; and while "there is abundant evidence of a highly developed style of diplomatic composition", in "this primitive age the grantee drew his own grant and obtained its ratification by his personal supervision and supplication, supplemented on occasion by a judicious offering. . . . The Old English charter is a religious and a local product. The handwriting is local, the language is local, the formulas are adopted by local scribes from academic models; the attestation only is official, inasmuch as the court by which it is ratified followed the king into the locality".

The *Formula Book*, originally planned as an appendix to the *Studies*, to which it is the natural complement, is the work of Mr. Hall's seminary at the London School of Economics. Seven students collected and transcribed the documents, while the labor of direction and editorship was performed by Mr. Hall. The result is a handbook of two hundred and twenty-five classified specimens of English official documents, ranging in date from the eighth to the nineteenth centuries and forming a collection at once more convenient and more scientific than the *Formulare* of Madox with which the student has hitherto been obliged to content himself. Besides the examples of individual types, the editor has at certain points brought together a series of writs or letters which show a connected sequence of transactions, as in the grant of letters patent to Connecticut in 1661-1662. The method of printing the documents will not command universal assent. No indication is given where words have been extended, and the device of representing Latin final *ae* by *é* could prove of assistance to the unpractised reader, only if it were generally followed in medieval texts. Mr. Hall's use of the term original for such early copies as Nos. 1 and 8 is apt to mislead, and his annotation of Henry I.'s charter concerning the local courts (No. 16) could have profited by Professor Adams's commentary in an earlier number of this journal.

A second part is in preparation, comprising "formulas of surveys, inquisitions, accounts, and of such judicial records as chiefly lend themselves to diplomatic study".

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History. Volume II. By various authors. Compiled and edited by a committee of the Association of American Law Schools. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1908. Pp. viii, 823.)

READERS of the first volume in this series (see AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIII. 628, 629) will find the second equally attractive and helpful. The general surveys in volume I. are now followed by twenty-five essays grouped into four parts on the history of particular topics. The editors warn us that the symmetry of the earlier volume is not to be expected in this one. It certainly is true that the essays of volume II. have, in the words of Coleridge, only "the same connection that marbles have in a bag—they touch without adhering". But the marvel of it is, that in a volume composed of so many separate essays written by different hands at different times there should not be much more "touching without adhering" than there actually is; and after all we are clearly the gainers. We do not mind the overlapping in subject-matter and the conflict of views when the subject-matter is the origin of equity and the conflict of views is between Mr. Justice Holmes and Professor James Barr Ames. This only adds zest to the reading, and when so much still remains to be done in the study and mastery of English legal sources, it would be surprising indeed were there no disagreements among the pioneers. The time for a symmetrical account of legal development in England and in other countries under the sway of English law has not yet come—but is coming.

To everyone helping to prepare the way for that time part I. of the present volume will appeal especially, for it is devoted to the sources. Professor Brunner of the University of Berlin has placed all legal and historical scholars under an additional debt of gratitude by revising, enlarging and recasting for the present volume a portion of his *Uebersicht über die Geschichte der französischen, normannischen und englischen Rechtsquellen*. The portions relating to French and Norman sources are now omitted, and the essay is entitled *The Sources of English Law*. The learned author states that Gilbert de Thornton's treatise entitled *Summa de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae* of about 1292 was not published and is now lost. But what was lost yesterday may be found to-day. Following up the clue given by Selden in his *Dissertatio ad Fletam*, Mr. George E. Woodbine of Yale University now believes he has identified MS. Hale 135 in Lincoln's Inn Library as the missing Thornton (see Mr. Woodbine's article entitled "The Summa of Gilbert de Thornton", *Law Quarterly Review*, January, 1909, which appeared shortly after the publication of Professor Brunner's essay). The second essay in the present volume is the late Professor Maitland's *Materials for the History of English Law*, an account of sources and literature down to the time of Henry VIII. Mr. Holdsworth's essay on the Year Books traces the origin of these medieval reports, discusses

their characteristics, and furnishes a brief account of the manuscripts and printed editions. Mr. Holdsworth follows recent editors—Horwood, Pike and Maitland—in the view that the year-books had no official origin, as the traditional legend would have us believe, but were, at first anyway, purely private work, the very earliest of them most probably “students’ notebooks” (see Maitland, *Year Books* 1 and 2 Edward II., pp. xi–xiv, 3 Edward II., pp. ix–xvi); though Professor Brunner, in the essay above noted, seems to adopt the traditional position. The story of the reporting of judicial decisions is carried on in Mr. Van Vechten Veeder’s *The English Reports, 1537–1865*. Included also is an *Historical Survey of Ancient Statutes* by the Record Commissions, an interesting account made up of extracts from the introduction to *Statutes of the Realm*. Appended to part I. are three valuable lists. Professor Wigmore provides us with a new and hitherto unpublished list of references supplementary to Mr. Edward Jenks’s *List of Principal Sources of Medieval European Law*. From Professor Reinsch we have a *Short Bibliography of American Colonial Law*.

Part II. contains essays by Inderwick, Spence, Holdsworth and Mears on the history of the courts—common law, equity, ecclesiastical and admiralty, their organization and jurisdiction. Part III., the largest of the four, traces the history of procedure, and the ten essays range from the late Professor Thayer’s *Older Modes of Trial* and Sir Frederick Pollock’s *King’s Peace in the Middle Ages* to Professor Hepburn’s *Historical Development of Code Pleading in America and England*. It is difficult to single out for comment any one or more of these ten delightful essays, but it may be permitted us to draw attention, in addition to the three just mentioned, to Professor Maitland’s *History of the Register of Original Writs*, Mr. Hubert Hall’s *Methods of the Royal Courts of Justice in the Fifteenth Century*, and the *General Survey of the Rules of Evidence* by Professor Wigmore, one of the learned editors of the present collection. In part IV. are six essays on equity. When Mr. Justice Holmes’s *Early English Equity* first appeared some twenty-odd years ago, it not only attracted much attention by reason of its originality of view but also marked the beginning of a new period of investigation in the history of equity, Professor Ames’s brilliant *Origin of Uses and Trusts* being one of the results. The late Professor Langdell’s *Development of Equity Pleading from Canon Law Procedure* and essays by Solon D. Wilson and Sydney G. Fisher on the history of equity in America complete part IV. and the volume.

Of course the present series, volume II. of which lies before us, presents only a selection from the many scattered essays on Anglo-American legal development that have appeared in recent years. We are glad to see that the editors have included in volume II. at the beginning of each part longer lists of such essays than they did in

volume I. We may hope for even more complete lists in the forthcoming volume III. In future editions of the whole work the editors might possibly see their way to publish still more of these scattered essays. This step would be welcomed by the legal profession and by teachers and students of law and history.

HAROLD D. HAZELTINE.

Studies and Notes supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History, down to the Great Charter. By CHARLES PETIT-DUTAILLIS, Honorary Professor in the University of Lille. Translated by W. E. RHODES, M.A. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. VII.] (Manchester: University Press. 1908. Pp. xv, 152.)

IN 1907 appeared a French translation of the first volume of Stubbs's *Constitutional History*, edited with notes and supplementary studies by M. Petit-Dutaillis. These studies have been Englished, says Professor Tait in his preface to the present work, to furnish English students with a supplement to this first volume, for English historians have been "too much engrossed with detailed research to stop and sum up the advances". M. Petit-Dutaillis found that not only had much important work been done since the last edition of the *Constitutional History*, but that in later editions Stubbs had made slender and unsatisfactory use of several noteworthy achievements already effected. Furthermore our author notes the changed tone of recent medievalists, who are less swayed by the conception of England as "the messenger of liberty to the world". These supplementary studies impress one as a discreet and learned attempt to safeguard a public, which is likely to learn all that it will know of a great subject from a single book, against the shortcomings of that book. The utility of translating them for English students, of whom such as are sufficiently advanced to profit by these technical discussions should be familiar with much of the monographic literature behind them, seems to the reviewer doubtful. There will be English readers, however, thankful to have the nub of a mass of hard reading given them with a Frenchman's brevity and precision. Seventy-five books (most of them recent monographs) and over thirty-five articles are cited, many of them repeatedly, in one hundred and forty-five pages of text.

There are twelve studies and notes, varying in length from twenty-eight pages to two pages. In the first seven (pp. 1-66), the author confessedly does little but sum up the work of others, showing however the shrewd discrimination and sound judgment of the experienced researcher. The three most extensive of these treat the origin of the manor, the origin of the Exchequer, and the tenurial system. The first skilfully combines a historical sketch of the rural classes in England with a critical outline of the literature of the subject, bringing the

famous controversy down to date. He holds with Vinogradoff as to origins, but believes that scholar to have over-emphasized the similarity between the thirteenth-century manor and the Anglo-Saxon community; he approves Maitland's caution on this point; and commends to Englishmen Delisle's *Étude sur la Condition de la Classe Agricole en Normandie*, believing that the effect of the Conquest upon English agriculture has not been appreciated nor Norman conditions sufficiently studied. Under the last head, much should be expected from the present researches of Professor Haskins. In the last five studies, M. Petit-Dutaillis speaks with authority, his *Étude sur la Vie et le Règne de Louis VIII.* (Paris, 1894) having led him to original investigation of several important English institutions. These studies are upon the origin of English towns, twelfth-century London, the two trials of King John, the "Unknown Charter", and Magna Carta. He emphasizes the economic aspect of borough origins rather at the expense of their institutional aspect; he appears to have disproved Mr. Round's theory that the official confederation of the Cinque Ports was subsequent to John's reign; he believes that London was a commune in the French sense only during Richard I.'s absence, but has not successfully accounted for the mention of London's aids in the feudal twelfth article of the Charter. He upholds Bémont's original theories regarding the trials of John; believes that the "Unknown Charter" is the report by an agent of Philip Augustus of negotiations between king and barons shortly before the *Articuli Baronum* were formulated; and supplements some of McKechnie's conclusions by an acute study of several articles of Magna Carta, contributing some original suggestions upon points of detail. He strangely fails to take account of Professor Adams's studies on the Charter. One cannot accept his statement that art. XIV. was solely in the king's interest nor that "there is no question" in the Charter "of the reign of law". Several other supplementary studies that might have been added promptly suggest themselves; certainly recent work on scutage is very inadequately dealt with in the footnote on p. 56.

A. B. WHITE.

L'Angleterre Chrétienne avant les Normands. Par Dom FERNAND CABROL, Abbé de Farnborough. [Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique.] (Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1908. Pp. xxiii, 341.)

THE Abbot of Farnborough has placed students of ecclesiastical history under various obligations and the great dictionary of archaeology and liturgics appearing under his editorship would alone secure for him a distinguished place among scholars. The present slight work will not add much to his reputation. At first sight it looks pretentious, with its unnecessarily elaborate critical apparatus. Much space is given to bibliographies and the pages are loaded with references to authorities

and sources. Yet the text rarely travels beyond Bright's *Chapters of Early English Church History* or Hunt's well known volume in the series on the history of the Church of England edited by Stephens and Hunt, or other standard works. Even the bibliographies have less originality than would at first appear. But to say that the volume is of little importance to students able to use English books is not to condemn it. In reality it is merely a part of a great undertaking inspired by the wish of Leo XIII. to see "une histoire ecclésiastique universelle, mise au point du progrès de la critique de notre temps". As such the work is excellent, fully abreast of recent scholarship, bringing together assured results in an attractive and convenient form. Writing on such a theme it is difficult for an author to suppress himself and it is hardly necessary. The ecclesiastical affiliations of the writer, however, are nowhere obtrusive and there is no trace of bias in his statements. Dom Cabrol has been unfortunate in falling foul of some of the writers of an antiquated type whose contentions have long since been abandoned by English scholars of all parties, but to whom he feels called upon to give a few polemical thrusts. These passages though brief are to be regretted as giving French students and others unacquainted with the better English works a false opinion of Anglican scholarship, to representatives of which the author pays high tribute in his bibliographies, though without noting that they are Anglican writers. The general treatment of the Anglo-Saxon Church labors under the disadvantage of being often over-condensed. Some space given to graceful legends might have been saved for more important matters. Thus it is quite misleading to attribute the conversion of Wessex to the influence of King Oswald. The importance of the work of St. Birinus should have been mentioned. There is too much stress laid upon the work of Aidan. The force of territorialism in the Anglo-Saxon Church is hardly recognized. There is a disproportionate amount of the limited space given to monasticism, important as that is. But as an introduction to the subject, the book will serve as a safe guide to French students and for further study the ample bibliographies and references, points for which the author has an evident weakness, will be found useful. For English and American students there are more satisfactory works at hand, for the traditional Anglican historian has been entirely supplanted by such men as Bright, Hunt and Plummer.

JOS. CULLEN AYER, JR.

The Gilds and Companies of London. By GEORGE UNWIN, Lecturer on Economic History in the University of Edinburgh. (London: Methuen and Company. 1908. Pp. xvi, 397.)

MR. UNWIN has given us a most interesting general account of the numerous gilds and companies of the great English metropolis and has supplied a valuable work of reference for students of municipal, social

and industrial history. There does not appear to have been any time in the history of London when a gild merchant of a general character existed and consequently the history of the various crafts, mysteries and companies assumes especial importance and significance. In spite of this fact and of abundant original material in the form of chronicles, records and reports, we have lacked a well organized and authoritative account of the craft movement in London. The standard works on the subject have been Herbert's *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London* (two vols., 1836-1837), a valuable and painstaking work, and Hazlitt's *Livery Companies of the City of London* (1892), a useful compilation from published sources of information. The present work, which is based on ten years' study of printed and unprinted sources, is therefore a very timely and important contribution to English history.

The plan of Mr. Unwin's work is clearly influenced by two aims, first to give a clear account of "the continuous organic development of the gilds and companies of London from the days of Henry Plantagenet to those of Victoria." and, second, to bring out "the significance which the gilds and companies as a whole have had for the constitutional history of the city, and for the social and economic development of the nation at large". The first of these aims is necessarily given most prominence and is carried out with remarkable success by a marshalling of data in a clear and connected way. The discussion of the significance of the gilds and companies and of their influence on the country at large leaves more to be desired, though there are many clever generalizations, not always supported by evidence.

The first chapter in the book is entitled *The Place of the Gild in the History of Western Europe*, but hardly deserves such a title nor, in the opinion of the reviewer, should it have been inserted at all. It is not well thought out nor well organized and in its rhetorical phrases in the form of questions (e. g., p. 11, "Whence came the great change, the return to the upward movement, the budding morrow in the midnight of the dark ages? Was it due to the infusion of German blood, or to the infusion of Christian doctrine, or to some other still more occult cause? To use a convenient formula of M. Maeterlinck, 'We cannot tell'") it is out of harmony with the later chapters. The really valuable part of the work consists of the other eighteen chapters tracing the special development of the London gilds. After a brief account of the Frith Gild and the Cnihten Gild of Anglo-Saxon times the origin of the craft-gilds in the courts of the bakers, fishmongers and weavers is taken up in a clear and interesting manner. Then follows a useful account of the adulterine gilds of Henry II.'s time and later as unofficial associations or fraternities. With Chapter v. on *The Crafts and the Constitution* the political influence of the crafts is emphasized and this is further developed in the following chapters on

The Greater Misteries and The Lesser Misteries. Chapters VIII. (The Fraternities of Crafts) and IX. (The Parish Fraternities) are digressions from the political narrative but throw valuable light on the social and religious aspects of London gild life. The account given in chapter X. of The Rule of the Misteries, 1376-1384, brings out most admirably the part played by the crafts of London during the strenuous years that saw the end of Edward III.'s long reign and the beginnings of the rule of the boy king Richard II. This period and the early fourteenth century saw the climax of gild power and prosperity; in 1422 there appear to have been no less than one hundred and eleven crafts in actual existence. Failure to secure incorporation, competition of trade, expense of maintenance and other minor causes combined, however, to rapidly lessen the number of crafts. Amalgamation became frequent and by 1531 there were only about sixty recognized crafts and of these not more than thirty were incorporated. Of these the twelve most important were known as the "Twelve Great Livery Companies" and were supposed to have special rights and privileges, especially in the matter of civic offices. Space will not permit of any detailed account of the later chapters of Mr. Unwin's book; it must suffice to say that he carries us along rapidly through the age of industrial expansion under the Tudors and the monopolies of the Stuarts to the transition from the gild to the trade-union. The work closes with a brief account of the interesting present-day survivals of the London gilds, especial attention being bestowed on the gilds of transport. In an appendix is given a list of the chief parish gilds, an extract from the Brewers' Records of 1422 giving the one hundred and eleven companies then existent, and a list of the forty-seven companies keeping the watch in 1518 from the London Letter Book. A second appendix contains an excellent list of special sources for the history of the existing London companies. This is a useful special bibliography but we should have been glad of a more general one as well. However, a very satisfactory general bibliography of the gilds and companies of London will be found in Gross's *Bibliography of British Municipal History*.

On the whole Mr. Unwin is to be congratulated for having produced such a valuable and readable account of London civic and commercial life.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

Innocent III.: Le Concile de Latran et la Réforme de l'Église, avec une Bibliographie et une Table Générale des six Volumes. Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1908. Pp. x, 291.)

THE five preceding volumes of this series dealt with the political work of Innocent III.; this sixth and last volume devotes itself to the epilogue of that great pope's political activity—the Lateran Council,

and to his ecclesiastical polity. The book is a fitting close to the series, a circumstance which strikes one with peculiar force because M. Luchaire died not long after its appearance. Indeed the volume at hand is the most valuable of the series, if not for its discussion of the Lateran Council and the reform of the Church, or its "*addenda et corrigenda*", at least for its index to the series, its bibliography of Innocent III., and the author's justification of the method he has pursued in his work.

The body of the volume (pp. 1-190) is devoted to the Lateran Council and Innocent's government of the Church. There are no chapter-headings, merely breaks in the text indicating change of topic. The chief merit of the volume, as of its predecessors, is the excellence and clearness of the narrative. Occasionally the author enters into some critical discussion (p. 11, note 1, and pp. 37-42) which shows that he was perfectly capable of extensive critical production; but it is only occasionally. The account of the ecclesiastical polity of Innocent is valuable because it assembles instances of the pontiff's action in governing the Church. The protection of the Church against her opponents, nobles, cities, or patrons (p. 98 ff.), the suppression of the immorality of the clergy (p. 101 ff.), the prevention of the exploitation of the Church (p. 108 ff.), the enforcement of the payment of tithes (p. 109 ff.), the arbitration of quarrels between or within chapters (p. 115 ff.) or between chapters and bishops (p. 122 ff.), the relations between the popes and the bishops, and the success of the former in ruling the latter (p. 128 ff.), the manipulation of "apostolical protection" (p. 167 ff.), the promotion of papal favorites (p. 170 ff.)—all these interesting topics and many others are discussed and illustrated by actual instances. One is convinced that the author succeeded admirably in accomplishing what, according to his preface (p. x), he proposed to do; to give a clear idea of the activities of a great medieval pope.

The bibliography is on the whole excellent. Excepting a general section, it is arranged topically, according to the volumes and chapters of the series. A few of the titles are followed by a critical note; it is a pity that there are so few. Hurter is quite properly given as the principal scientific biographer of Innocent III.; but the person who consults this bibliography could well be advised of the excellence of the work of such scholars as Hampe or Ficker, and assuredly ought to be warned against such a biography as Pirie-Gordon's. The index is good; it would be more serviceable if, besides proper names, it gave subjects.

Without doubt one of the most interesting features of this volume is M. Luchaire's justification of his work on Innocent III. Answering the objections against his work, he says that he wrote, not for scholars, but for the history-loving public, and for that reason suppressed every evidence of erudition. But that does not make the work unscholarly: "Il n'est pas une ligne de ces livres qui ne soit fondée sur un texte, et

pas un chapitre où l'on n'ait mis à profit les résultats acquis par la science et la critique contemporaines" (p. vii). The method adopted by Hurter, says M. Luchaire, will always produce the same results; "c'est-à-dire à faire un livre qui se consulte, mais ne se lit pas. Or je tenais, avant tout, à être lu. Il s'agissait, pour moi, non d'être utile à quelques douzaines d'érudits, mais de donner au public soucieux du passé, dans un ouvrage de format commode et d'exposition courante, la claire intelligence de ce que fut, au moyen âge, l'action d'un grand pape. Je n'ai jamais eu d'autre objectif, et celui-ci suffit à mon ambition" (p. ix). The ambition was realized.

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL.

The Black Death of 1348 and 1349. By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, D.D., Abbot President of the English Benedictines. Second Edition. (London: George Bell and Sons. 1908. Pp. xxv, 272.)

THIS interesting monograph is practically a reprint of the author's *Great Pestilence of 1348-1349*, published in 1893. The title has been popularized; for the term "Black Death", as applied to the pestilence in England, is no older than the nineteenth century; but the text shows no important changes. Since the publication of the original work, the cause of the transmission of bubonic plagues has been discovered, through observations in the plague-stricken districts of India, to be the rat-flea. In his preface to the second edition, the author accepts this discovery for the plague of 1348-1349.

No one except the horror-stricken contemporaries has ever described the symptoms of this dread disease and its awful fatality more graphically than our author. It would seem, however, that he is sometimes too prone to accept the exaggerated statements of terrified contemporaries at their face value: for example, that 100,000 perished in each of the cities Siena, Florence and Venice; but in his account of the plague in England he usually proceeds with greater caution. He has certainly made diligent use of contemporary documents: such as the institutions to vacant benefices, in the episcopal registers; the preferments to livings controlled by the crown, recorded in the patent rolls; and, to a less extent, the *inquisitiones post mortem* and the court rolls. His conclusions as regards the mortality of the clergy seem sound. Fully half may have perished, but it does not therefore follow, as he assumes, that half of the laity perished. For more than any other class the clergy, in visiting the sick and administering the last sacrament, came in contact with the plague-stricken, and were therefore more liable to infection.

The last chapter, devoted to the consequences of the mortality, is the least satisfactory of all. This is particularly true of the discussion of the economic consequences, which contains practically nothing

that has not already been said. Statements like the following, that the "practical emancipation [of the serf] was won by the popular rising of 1381", require revision in the light of recent research. It is to be regretted that the opportunity of a new edition was not utilized by the author to correct certain defects which previous reviewers had pointed out. He accepts, without sufficient investigation, the statement of the *History of Shrewsbury* (which is itself based on an inadequate interpretation of Trevisa), that the increased use of the English language instead of the French in the schools and in society was due chiefly to the pestilence. His view that the Great Pestilence formed an epoch in the history of English architecture (pp. 235-236), is surely based on an inadequate foundation. His statements regarding the disastrous effect on the clergy, on the other hand, are better founded; although he goes rather too far in the assumption that "the whole ecclesiastical system was wholly disorganized . . . and everything had to be built up anew". And, in our opinion, he has lost the proper historical perspective when he says of the Black Death: "It formed the real close of the medieval period and the beginning of our modern age. It produced a break with the past, and was the dawn of a new era."

GEORGE KRIEHN.

The Political History of England. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A. In twelve volumes. Volume IV. *The History of England from the Accession of Richard II. to the Death of Richard III., 1377-1485.* By C. OMAN, M.A., Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1906. Pp. xvi, 525.)

THE fourth volume of this well-known series has found in Professor Oman an able and a sympathetic author. The account of this intricate but interesting period is one for which his attainments are especially adapted, not only by reason of his previous original investigations, but also because he possesses a happy faculty of presenting the results in articulate English. In his lucid and well-balanced sentences; he achieves a result not too often attained in modern historiography: a pleasing literary style based upon sound original investigation.

The period covered is the century which of all others especially marks the transition from the medieval to modern times. Beginning with an account of the French wars during the first years of Richard II., the author then gives an excellent chapter on the Revolt in 1381, showing the results of his recently published monograph on this subject. He then recounts the Wycliffite movement and the disastrous Flemish crusade, Richard II.'s struggles with the Lords Appellant, his stroke

for absolute power and his tragic downfall. The following chapters treat the early troubles of Henry IV., including the Welsh wars and Northern rebellions, his honest attempt to be a parliamentary ruler, and the political strife between the faction headed by the Prince of Wales and the Beauforts and the party led by the Archbishop Arundel, with which the King usually sided. Two chapters are devoted to the brilliant career of Henry V. in France, two more to Jeanne Darc and the loss of the English possessions there. The Wars of the Roses are well described, showing the fruits of the author's well-known monograph on Warwick the Kingmaker. The two final chapters treat the later wars of Edward IV. and the fall of the House of York with Richard III.

Although the quality of the different sections of the work varies, a high standard is maintained throughout. Some features call for special commendation. The descriptions of military movements and of battles, which play such an important part during the epoch, reveal the hand of an acknowledged authority upon medieval warfare. Of great interest also are the characterizations, usually just though often novel, of the principal actors in the history of the period: for example, of Richard II.'s opponents and friends, of whom Michael de la Pole is a typical "bureaucrat", not a favorite. The author is little influenced by the traditional view of Henry V. as "the most splendid type of manly courage and wisdom" (p. 232). He considers him the arch-persecutor of the Lollards, and does not hesitate to condemn his policy as well as some of his actions: such as the cruelty which marked his later warfare; the murder of the prisoners of gentle blood before the castle gates of Montereau, in order to terrify the governor into surrender (p. 279); the execution of the Scottish prisoners taken in France (p. 285), and so forth. Although the author is perhaps a little hard upon the model king, his final conclusion, that Henry's dream of English rule in France was "a vain imagining, sinning against the eternal facts of national life and consciousness" (p. 278), seems reasonable enough. The ultimate unhappy effects of this policy touched England itself, and thwarted the attempted Reformation of the Church in the Council of Constance. For Henry's success in winning over the Emperor Sigismund to his cause drove the French prelates, who were in particular the champions of reform, into the opposing camp, with the result that the best opportunity ever offered for a peaceful Reformation of the Church from within came entirely to naught.

Of particular interest is the author's seemingly just estimate of the career and services of Jeanne Darc, in which he by no means spares the pusillanimous conduct of Charles VII. and his councillors. He justly characterizes the able and conscientious John of Bedford, who was, "with exception of his elder brother, the ablest man whom the House of Plantagenet had produced for over a century" (p. 289). Duke

Humphrey of Gloucester receives unstinted blame for his instability, selfishness, and lack of patriotism. The character of the chivalrous Edward IV. is thus summarized—too harshly we think: "England has had many worse kings, though she has seldom been ruled by a worse man than the selfish, ruthless, treacherous Edward of Rouen" (p. 469).

The interesting character of the work should not, however, blind us to certain serious defects. The author's conception of political history is even narrower than that of the editors of the series, who state that "notices of religious matters, and of intellectual, social and economic progress will also find a place in these volumes". It is true that these subjects are not entirely neglected: Wycliffe and the Lollards receive the requisite attention; but neither the intellectual, social, nor economic development are as adequately treated as is necessary. Only in his introductory remarks to the chapter on the Social Revolt in 1381 does the author notice the social conditions of the age, and the New Learning receives not quite a page of notice. (p. 469).

In the footnotes also, the author seems to have fallen below even the restricted standard set by the editors of the series. In a book intended for students, annotations should give some idea of the sources upon which the narrative is based, except in cases of statements which are matters of common knowledge. Far from doing this, the author usually cites no authorities whatever. For example, in his account of Henry V.'s conquest of Normandy (pp. 260-281), into which he has woven many of the most important events of the period—such as the visit of the Emperor Sigismund, the results of the Council of Basel, the murder of John of Burgundy, the trial and execution of Oldcastle and the Treaty of Troyes—he cites not a single authority. Nor are the sources used in that careful, analytical way which modern historical research demands. This indeed, is the chief defect of the work. To cite a single example, the author in his account of Jack Cade's Rebellion does not seem to have been aware of the existence of the recently published MS. Cotton. Vitellius, which throws considerable light on the subject. From it we learn, for example, that the King himself granted a judicial commission to the mayor of London and to certain lords and justices to try the unfortunate officials against whom the rebellion was directed. Lord Say, the treasurer, and Crowmer, sheriff of Kent, were led before this commission. They were delivered to the officers by the commander of the Tower, Lord Scales, not because of his own cowardice, but in obedience to the royal writ.

Nor is the defect I have named made good by the critical apparatus offered in the appendices. The first of these is devoted to the sources and the modern authorities, the former being treated in fourteen pages containing a good brief description of the respective chronicles and documents; but this description shows no original investigation, and makes no new contribution to our knowledge of the subject. Not all

the sources are enumerated, as a comparison with Professor Gross's *Sources and Literature of English History* will show. Two pages are devoted to the modern authorities, and here too there are notable omissions. The second appendix is devoted to the genealogy of the Houses of Lancaster and York and the collateral lines. At the end of the volume are good maps of England under the House of Lancaster, of France at the greatest extension of the English power, 1428-1429, and lucid plans of the battles of Agincourt, Towton, Barnet and Tewkesbury.

GEORGE KRIEHN.

Lollardy and the Reformation in England: An Historical Survey.

In two volumes. By JAMES GAIRDNER, C.B. (London and New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. xii, 578; vi, 506.)

THE fulness and accuracy of Dr. Gairdner's knowledge of the sources and literature of Lancastrian, Yorkist and early Tudor England have long been proverbial among younger laborers in this vineyard. Upward of thirty large volumes of original material have been edited by him or under his immediate supervision during the past fifty years, and the crown and fine flower of his arduous work—the magnificent set of *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, on which he has been engaged since the death of the Rev. J. S. Brewer in 1879—is now approaching completion. How infinitely more accurate, comprehensive and convenient in arrangement than the Calendars of the subsequent period this set is, can perhaps be best realized by American students of Tudor history, who are separated by the Atlantic Ocean from the manuscripts themselves. And Dr. Gairdner has strengthened his claim to speak with paramount authority on the facts of his chosen period by his work as an author as well as by his labors of editorship. His books, reviews and articles all exhibit a direct dependence on the sources, a wealth of detail and a clearness of statement which invariably carry conviction, especially as he has hitherto on the whole avoided any attempt to marshal his facts in support of any particular theory or to express any strong opinion. Now however, in his eighty-second year, he comes before the public with a work of a much more ambitious nature, "a historical survey rather than a history", in which he clearly sets forth his own personal convictions, and interprets his material in the light of them.

The book is, in effect, an account of the development of religious principles within the Church of England from the close of the fourteenth century to the death of Henry VIII. Of the four parts into which it is divided, the first, entitled "the Lollards", carries the story up to the breach with Rome; the last three, under the names of "Royal Supremacy", "The Suppression of the Monasteries" and "The Reign of the English Bible", cover the crucial years 1530-1547. Throughout

the reader is given fresh glimpses into the great storehouse of unpublished material of which the author holds the master key. So accustomed have Dr. Gairdner's readers become to his munificent generosity in imparting information that they may forget to be adequately grateful. It is however but human nature that they should want to hasten on to discover his conception of the fundamental principles which underlie the developments which he describes, and learn the standpoint from which he views the course of the English Reformation. Whether they agree with him or not, they cannot fail to be interested.

Dr. Gairdner proclaims himself at the outset to be a believer in "a national Christianity", and it is easy to see at every turn that it is the continuous and conservative aspect of the history of the English Church that really appeals to him. But on the other hand, he entirely refuses to admit that there was the slightest precedent for Henry VIII.'s repudiation of the papal authority, an action which he characterizes as unjustifiable and revolutionary, and for which he is unwilling to assign any higher motive than a "brutal passion for Anne Boleyn". Having thus come out fairly and squarely as an opponent of Bishop Creighton on the fundamental question of the relations of the English Church and the Papacy, Dr. Gairdner turns to the doctrinal side of the Reformation and devotes the bulk of his work to demonstrating that the religious revolution which followed the declaration of the Royal Supremacy, and which was initiated at least by Henry VIII. in order to prevent a return to Rome, was founded on Lollard principles which had grown up in England a hundred and fifty years earlier, rather than on an importation of contemporary continental Protestantism. "Royal Supremacy, when the King had made up his mind to it, suggested his seeking the support of Lollardy", whose "principles remained precisely what they had been" before the Reformation, and as time went on royal power began to act more and more openly in accordance with them. At the close we even find a hint that Lollardy broke forth "in the forms of Calvinism and Puritanism" under Elizabeth, a thesis which we may expect to have more fully developed in a continuation of the present work, for which Dr. Gairdner gives us reason to hope.

To follow the arguments which the author brings forward in support of the position that he has taken, is of course impossible within the limits of this review. Though the facts adduced are almost invariably stated with accuracy, it is not always easy to see how they bear on the main question; and Dr. Gairdner does not strengthen his case by his reiterated assertion of general principles such as "Things which abide in religion have truth in them" (twice in twenty lines on p. 468 of vol. II.). In so far as it is an attempt to prove a theory, the book will probably seem inconclusive to the majority of its readers. But no worthy student of the English Reformation can feel otherwise than grateful that it has seen the light.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Staat und Gesellschaft der Neueren Zeit (bis zur Französischen Revolution). Von FR. v. BEZOLD, E. GOTHEIN und R. KOSER. [Die Kultur der Gegenwart, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele. Herausgegeben von PAUL HINNEBERG. Teil II., Abteilung V., 1.] (Berlin und Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1908. Pp. vi, 349.)

THE above volume is interesting even if "read by title" alone. In the first place it is one of the numerous synthetic co-operative works of which German scholarship is turning out its full share in competition with French, English, Danish and American scholars, after having made its impress on scholarly methods by an almost scholastic exploitation of narrow fields or selected topics. Co-operative writing of general histories is now the mode in Germany and the German when he thinks he is leading or when he knows he is imitating a movement leads far and imitates to exaggeration. In the second place, Dr. Hinneberg and his collaborators are writing to explain the cultural as well as the political basis of present-day civilization. The watchword is no longer simply "Staat" or "Politik" or "Diplomatie" or "Verfassung und Verwaltung" or "Heer und Beamtentum". It is "Gesellschaft" or "Kultur" and in the thirty-third degree sounds to the straining ears of the neophyte like "Social-psychologische und volkswirtschaftliche Kultur-einflüsse mit besonderer Rücksicht auf . . .", perhaps it is art, perhaps it is literature, perhaps it is religio-theological doctrines. It is with some such battle-cry that the chariot of Dr. Hinneberg and his publishers and collaborators drawn by the spirit of Lamprecht and the shade of Ranke dashes into the arena armed with a many-volumed explanation of present-day political and social life. A fuller explanation of the scope and intent of the work than can be given here will be found in the publishers' announcement.

In the present volume, Dr. Bezold treats the period from the Italian wars of the 1490's to the beginning of anthropology and Copernicus and achieves originality by not repeating any of the excellencies which make his volume on the Reformation one of the most usable in the Oncken series. Dr. Gothein, already favorably known for his study of Loyola, plunges into the thick of the doctrinal controversies, sectarian strifes and mystical movements of the period of the Counter-reformation and emerges with the beginnings of toleration, science and a non-theological philosophy as his booty. His contribution though heavy reading is, on the whole, the most novel and suggestive part of the volume. Then comes Dr. Koser, than whom no one knows better the political history of the eighteenth century, and carries war and diplomacy sturdily through from Louis XIV. to the American Revolution and the Dutch War of 1787. His nineteen pages on Social Classes, and Dominance of French Culture, are scarcely an adequate expression of what modern times owe to the eighteenth century.

Each contributor appends to his essay a brief bibliography chiefly

of secondary works. The book is printed in Roman type and has the best index that the reviewer has seen in a German historical work. There are several misprints in English and French names (pp. 230 and 332).

The disappointment of the reviewer in the work has a twofold basis. It gives almost no treatment of many important names and topics, *e. g.*, Locke, Bayle, "Aufklärung", Leibnitz, Illuminati, Rosicrucians, the founding of the University of Göttingen, etc. There is something wrong with a historian's sense of proportion and perspective when he omits Newton and includes all the political and dynastic small fry, and gives Ficino as much space as Voltaire and that totally inadequate even for Ficino if he is to be included. In the second place, when the essential and expected is treated, the matter is so scattered and inadequate in many cases that no well rounded concept of the man or movement stands forth in the readers mind, *cf.*, *e. g.*, Bellarmin, Calvin, Pico di Mirandola. History in the making may seem to have no more pattern or plan than a hit-or-miss rag carpet but history made some centuries ago ought by this time to begin to show, in its warp and woof, what was enduring and worth while.

G. S. F.

Venice: Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic. By POMPEO MOLMENTI. Translated by HORATIO F. BROWN. Part III., Volumes I. and II. *The Decadence.* (London: John Murray; Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. 1908. Pp. viii, 229; viii, 236.)

THE two volumes with which Signor Molmenti concludes his monumental study of Venetian civilization denote no departure from the method followed in the earlier sections. It is the decadence, the two centuries preceding the overthrow of the Republic by Napoleon, which is here treated. The development and bloom of the state are doubtless periods of intenser interest, but the slow death, a death by inches, which overtook the Republic of St. Mark, is not without many moving and dramatic moments. By these however the author, following his plan of avoiding political issues, does not set great store. We may justly question whether even in a book devoted to manners some place should not have been found for the remarkable struggle which Venice continued to wage with the Turks, and for something more than the trivial account, offered at the close, of the crisis which planted the French Tree of Liberty upon the square of St. Mark. The vague phrases with which the author treats this culminating event might lead one to think that he wrote not as an historian, but as a patriot resolved to draw the curtain of decency over a shameful situation.

Most certainly the gaps in this last installment of the story of Venice are as frequent and inexplicable as in the earlier parts, but, overlooking

the omissions and concentrating attention upon what is offered, it must be admitted that here is a banquet of social, literary and economic facts on a scale of overwhelming profusion. Nothing short of a life-time of the most self-sacrificing labor given to the accumulation of details could produce such results as these. We have tables of population, statistics of commerce, regulations of guilds, lists of artists and their works. Do you wish to know about the pleasures of the great, their dress, the current forms of gambling, their duels, the annual *villeggiatura*? We have all heard, without knowing too precisely the exact significance, of such indigenous institutions as the *ridotto*, the *cicisbeo*, the *commedia dell' arte*, the singing societies attached to the hospitals; Signor Molmenti with his lordly command of the sources establishes these matters upon a basis of irrefutable fact. The solidity and usefulness of the work is therefore beyond dispute, but no reader, overwhelmed with the accumulation of details, will fail to ask himself whether a little more self-repression would not have produced a pleasanter result. It was, I think, Macaulay, who after reading Hallam emerged with the dictum: "I never knew a man who offered so much information with so little entertainment". Unfortunately Signor Molmenti lays himself particularly open to Macaulay's pleasantry because decadent Venice has left us a few compact monuments, in which we may see, as in a mirror, the whole life of the times. Such are the paintings of Longhi, Canaletto and Guardi, the comedies of Goldoni, and the memoirs of certain lively and distinguished natives and foreigners, such as De Brosses, Goethe and Casanova. At the hand of such guides as these a revival of that eighteenth-century world of vanities and pleasures could be achieved with dispatch, and would be wholly significant and enjoyable. An historian with an eye upon essentials could do no better than gracefully to cede the floor to these important witnesses. The final judgment upon Signor Molmenti's great work must mingle with frank appreciation a word of regret—regret that he did not offer less in order that he might give us more.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

A History of English Journalism to the Foundation of the Gazette.

By J. B. WILLIAMS. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1908. Pp. xi, 293.)

AFTER the preliminary articles in the *English Historical Review* and the *Nineteenth Century and After*, now included as part of the present volume, one was prepared to welcome such a study very heartily. The works of Hunt, Andrews, Grant and Bourne, interesting and important as they are in the main, scarcely cover the field of this new book with either the thoroughness or the accuracy desired by one interested in the history of journalism or of the seventeenth century. Based as this is on the Burney and Thomason collections in the British Museum and on

contemporary authority besides, minutely at times almost microscopically examined with critical acumen and antiquarian zeal, the present study is much the most scholarly account of the beginnings of English journalism which has yet appeared. It is a mine of information. Its account of the emergence of the newspaper through its stages of news-book, coranto, pamphlet, news-letter and the like is in the main new, important and interesting. One would like to say as much for the book as a whole. It is, indeed, an important contribution to the subject. But its interest, and to some extent its value, are limited in certain well defined ways. The product of extensive research, it seems almost too close to its material to escape at times from a categorical, not to say catalogical treatment of its subject, destructive alike to clearness and interest. This is accompanied by a certain lack of what will seem to many a proper historical perspective. And it is curious to observe in this connection that one finds no reference, in preface, text or notes, to any preceding history of journalism, nor to the works of either Gardiner or Masson. This may, in turn, be related to the Royalist and Anglican bias evident in many places. The Royalist *Mercurius Aulicus* "at once struck a higher literary note than the rubbish which had poured out on the side of Parliament" (p. 41); "the tailors and cobblers officering the army and the tradesmen bent on enriching themselves in Parliament" (p. 80); "a mistake having been made in the spelling of the Latin at the start it is characteristic of Puritan obstinacy that the mistake was persisted in" (p. 53); "Cromwell was about to make another attempt to obtain the Crown" (p. 155); the gross and widespread immorality under the Independent régime was due to the fact that "the lack of authority in religious matters had produced a corrosive effect on family life", etc. (p. 145 ff.); these are a few of many flings at the Puritan party. There may be some truth in some of them. But together they form a serious indictment, which will seem to many students of the period based on little more than inadequate historical perspective, not to say knowledge, and pure prejudice, and which should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. It certainly does not appear from the instances quoted that Parliamentary writers were coarser and less witty than their Royalist antagonists. Nor does it seem that the Cromwellians were much more inclined to repressive measures than the Clarendonians. One need not hold a brief for either party, but certainly one would not wish to write history from the pamphlets of either side, and it scarcely seems necessary to do more than record phenomena in such a work. Of the four appendices the first reprints a contemporary Royalist account of the King's execution, but one may question whether this, as is assumed, is conclusive evidence as to who spat in Charles's face even if that was worth recording. The fourth appendix, a list of all periodicals from 1644 to 1666, most scholars will find more useful.

W. C. ABBOTT.

Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution, publiée sous la direction de M. ERNEST LAVISSE. Tome VIII., 1. *Louis XIV.: La fin du Règne (1685-1715)*. Par A. de SAINT-LÉGER, Professeur à l'Université de Lille, A. RÉBELLIAU, Bibliothécaire de l'Institut, P. SAGNAC, Professeur à l'Université de Lille, et E. LAVISSE, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1908. Pp. 484.)

It is not in the nature of dominant power to limit itself; the limits have to be imposed. Before the time of Louis XIV. modern Europe had already twice seen examples of this, first in the sixteenth century when Charles V. sought to convert his power into a universal supremacy and again in the first half of the seventeenth century when the Hapsburg house, although under separate rulers, sought to crush Europe.

In 1685 Louis XIV. also crossed the fatal dividing line between will and arbitrary self-will. The War of the League of Augsburg and the great War of the Spanish Succession were the epilogue of a drama that had been brilliantly played until 1679. M. Saint-Léger seems to think (p. 5) that the King was justified in endeavoring to use the question of the Palatinate as a means to compel the Emperor to convert the armistice of August 15, 1684, into a permanent peace, and that—though he does not palliate the destruction of the Palatinate—that atrocious event has warped the estimation of Louis's real purposes. But Louis XIV.'s real purposes in Germany reached farther than the Rhine. M. Saint-Léger does not seem to have given due weight to Louis XIV.'s imperial ambition. At Versailles the very idea of driving the House of Austria from the throne was cherished. The King sharply reminded Frederick III. of Brandenburg of the treaty formerly concluded upon this subject. The author has failed to measure the force of Eastern European politics at this time. William of Orange may have been the genius of European opposition to Louis XIV., but the bearing of events upon the Danube had great weight.

The armistice upon which the general peace of Europe rested had been accepted by Germany because it could not at the same time carry on war against the French and the Turks; the King had consented to that armistice chiefly because he had not wanted to seem to be the ally of the Ottomans. But since then a complete revolution had taken place in the situation of southeastern Europe. In 1683 Vienna was in danger of falling into the hands of the Turks; in 1688 the Turks were imploring peace, and in Vienna the question was debated whether to grant peace or to continue the war until the conquest of Constantinople, which seemed possible, was made. In eastern Europe the Emperor Leopold enjoyed a position that no one of his predecessors had ever attained. With good reason he was again considered as the head of Christendom

and this position was an argument which had weight with him to push the war against France. There was serious reason for French disquietude. It was possible that the Germans might become strong enough to revert to the treaty of Westphalia and resolutely demand that it be interpreted in the sense which they had given it when it was concluded. Such an event would have been a catastrophe to France and would have overthrown much of the work of Nymegen, and utterly destroyed the advantages acquired by the Chambers of Reunion and the subsequent aggrandizement of France in the Rhinelands. In France the opinion began to obtain that the great question ought to be settled by force of arms before things were allowed to go farther. The moment was as opportune as it was likely to be for France, since hostilities had not yet come to an end in the East, and if the French took up arms they believed that their action would also encourage the Turks.

As he seems to underestimate the influence of eastern European politics upon the war, M. Saint-Léger overestimates the economic exhaustion of France in 1697, or at least Louis XIV.'s perception of that condition. All the King's concessions at Ryswyk were but passing; the definitive ones were unimportant; the important ones were not definitive. Louis had kept before his eyes the oldest aim of his policy, namely the acquisition of the Spanish monarchy. He made peace to have his hands free for this purpose. The author's arguments (pp. 62-63) to prove that Louis XIV. was sincere in his negotiations of 1697 are not conclusive:

Happily M. Saint-Léger grows with his subject. Book II., dealing with the War of the Spanish Succession, is more compactly knit together and the balance is better maintained. The character sketches of Heinsius, Prince Eugene and Marlborough are admirable.

The attentive reader of this volume, however, will peruse the third and fourth books with most pleasure and profit. They deal with the administration, the finances, agriculture, industry, commerce, the causes of economic decline, attempts at reform and changes in social structure. It is a singular fact that no comprehensive economic history of the reign of Louis XIV. between 1685 and 1714 exists. M. Sagnac is to be congratulated for the remarkable portion which he has contributed, especially Book IV. Beginning with the assertion, which cannot too often be made, that revocation of the Edict of Nantes was not a primary cause of France's decline, in a series of fascinating pages he analyzes the whole economic régime. The general causes of decay, such as exaggerated Colbertism, over-taxation, monopolies, paper money, variations of currency, etc., are each amply discussed. But M. Sagnac goes far below the surface of things and penetrates into the obscurer depths of decline. He shows that the decline both of consumption and of production, hard times, the misery due to the wars, the necessity of finding work elsewhere, led to a large exodus of the French working population; that strikes between patrons and working men were common and dis-

astrous (pp. 207, 231-232); that the exodus of the *ouvriers* resulted in an influx of the peasant class into the towns, making cheap and unskillful labor and entailing a consequent decline of agriculture in the rural areas. In order to feed the armies Louis XIV. interdicted the cultivation of the vine in whole provinces naturally adapted to it and required the cultivation of grain where it could not be grown successfully. The consequence was that vast areas went over to pasturage (p. 225). Complaint is made of the paucity of data upon the history of agriculture, but no one who reads these pages will doubt that the author has made a most remarkable showing of facts. Under the adverse conditions the vitality of agriculture, and even more of commerce, was remarkable. The activity of the Chambers of Commerce in the large cities is particularly noted (p. 215 ff.). On page 253 is a paragraph worthy of larger treatment which aims to show that England was almost as much interested in capturing the markets of Spain as in taking up French colonies.

The remainder of the volume is not remarkable. M. Rébelliau deals with affairs of religion and the progress of literature and science and M. Lavissee contributes a short book (vi.) upon the King and the royal family and the court in the last period of the reign, to read most of which is like walking through a portrait gallery. The bibliographies, as usual, are excellent. The only notable omissions seem to be Ranke's *History of England in the Seventeenth Century* and the *Lexington Papers*.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Paris sous Napoléon: Assistance et Bienfaisance, Approvisionnement. Par L. DE LANZAC DE LABORIE. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1908. Pp. 360.)

IN this fourth volume of his exhaustive studies the author follows consistently the plan of the preceding three and what was said of them in a previous number of the REVIEW is equally true of this one (see XIV. 127). It is fully as interesting, painstaking and enlightening. Realizing in the fullest degree how Paris reacted on the rest of France, Napoleon began at the earliest moment the reconstruction of every organization, public and private, which contributed to the comfort of the lower and middle classes. Hospitals and asylums in the first instance, out-door relief and pawn-broking in the second were his especial care. Briefly the disorder incident to the successive revolutionary administrations was banished by a restoration of the older system radically modified. The streams of private benefaction had ceased to flow when the personal element was abolished; they were reopened and the well-springs cleared almost at once by restoring their names to old foundations, their familiar designations to institutions, and re-establishing worship in those of the first importance, such as the re-named Hôtel Dieu. The most

beneficent measure of all was the dismissal of a vast number of worthless servants and functionaries who had held their positions so long that they considered their places as personal property and shirked their work without shame. The method by which the finances were restored was simple enough. Though it diminished available income, the claims of living heirs on certain endowments were recognized, as a measure of common honesty; confidence thus restored, the taxes at the city gates were sufficiently increased to more than supply the loss. The total of such returns, great as was the pressure upon Napoleon, was never permitted to exceed a million dollars, and this insured the practice of a wholesome and rigid economy by the council of administration, otherwise nearly autonomous.

This is but one example of the homely common sense which the Consul and Emperor applied in stimulating real charity and curbing sentimentalism. The invalids who could pay were compelled to pay and found refuge in hospitals and asylums where they received full value for their money. The abuses of the great central loan-broking establishment were reformed by a study of its actual needs and by providing a capital just sufficient for its necessities, and no more.

The second portion of the book, three ample chapters, exhibits fully how the city was provisioned. The bitter experience of General Bonaparte in connection with greedy, unprincipled army contractors during his Italian campaigns had left in the mind of the Emperor Napoleon a deep-seated distrust of all such dealers. In his transactions with them he so scrutinized their performance and accounts that while they frequently suffered from suspicion and petty injustice the people at large benefited immensely. Severe as was the famine of 1811-1812, the city weathered the storm with nothing worse than inconvenience and some unpleasant but harmless privations. The number of bakers was diminished by a half, those only being permitted to remain in business who were so well off that they could work for little or no profit. Grain and flour were sold to them at the lowest possible rates, and the price of bread was slightly increased by administrative decree. Parallel measures were inaugurated for meats, fish, poultry, dairy products and fuel. First and last, all the details of municipal regulation and sumptuary law were thoroughly studied by Napoleon himself, so diligent was he in his rôle of paternal ruler. Though his dealing in such matters as in others of even greater importance was in violation of all economic law, he was content to meet problems as they arose and solve them by even the most temporary expedients.

The author has found in the national archives ample material for all the social and economic novelties in his book. For his work, however, he claims political importance as well, because he believes that Napoleon's fatherly care in the prudent and cautious management of Parisian susceptibility was the foundation stone of his success. To

relieve the necessities of the poor, to make secure the livelihood of the honest toiler, to give those with fixed incomes the largest return for their expenditure, in short to provide for general comfort and well-being in Paris seems to our author a master stroke of political wisdom. No doubt it was. It is impossible to judge motives, but possibly the Emperor's conduct was not entirely controlled by self-interest. There are many instances in his life which exhibit a compassionate nature. Whatever else may be said in favor of the Revolution, nothing is more certain than the utter demoralization of France at its close. The Napoleonic men, with their leader in the van, were profoundly concerned for the regeneration of the country, not entirely as a political measure, although politics occupied their thoughts very largely, but in some small measure at least as a task imposed by common humanity on all in power.

The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus. By JOHN F. BADDELEY.
(London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company.
1908. Pp. xxxviii, 518.)

FROM close touch with the tribesmen of the Caucasus whom he has known intimately and in a manner altogether unique, the author of this work came gradually to acquire an interest in the historical aspect of their subjugation by the Russians; and finding, even in Russian, no general sketch of the conquest, he has essayed the first complete history of the subject. The equipment needed for this special field—contact with the Caucasus mountaineers—he has gained in a manner which he thus explains in the preface: "Riding through the Caucasus, unaccompanied save by native tribesmen, living with them, accepting their hospitality, studying their way of life and character, conforming as far as possible to their customs, noting their superstitions and prejudices, writing down their songs and legends, I became interested, likewise, in all that related to that strife with Russia in which they or their fathers had, almost without exception, taken part."

As a guide to material there was at hand one of those compilations for which Russian historiography is famous, Miansarov's *Bibliographia Caucasica et Transcaucasica* (1874-1876); but Mr. Baddeley has availed himself of the most recent literature, particularly the documenta of the Archaeographical Commission of the Caucasus and the volumes of the *Kavkazski Sbornik*. That the reliable material should be exclusively Russian was inevitable, for, as Mr. Baddeley observes, the fragmentary accounts and references in languages other than Russian—notably in English—are "full of prejudice and error"; a remark with which we heartily concur, and which, stated with frankness at the beginning of the book, sets at rest the suspicion of Russophobia propaganda, always lurking about an English work on any phase of Russian expansion. Towards the Russian sources Mr. Baddeley is throughout critical, for his own personal knowledge of the tribesmen, especially of the Daghes-

tanis, who resisted imperial absorption so long and so obstinately, gives him the best possible basis for criticism. Thus his appreciation of Muridism, and of the nature of the influence exerted by Shamil over the Mussulmans of the Eastern Caucasus obliges him to combat the official Russian view that Shamil was a bandit, and the Holy War of the Murids but the uprising of fanatical outlaws. In its impartial estimate of the essential strength and weakness of the Murid movement, its careful balancing of the case for the conquered with the case for the conquerors, lies the chief value of Mr. Baddeley's sketch; and for this he has placed all students of modern Russia under obligation.

As a piece of historical writing the work proves to be of very uneven character. The maps indeed are excellent, and the translations of the mountaineers' songs admirable. There is only one printer's error to record: on page 489, stanza 3, in line 2, of the Chechen death-song, "was" should be "wast". (Quarrelling with the transliteration of Russian terms has grown to be such a thankless task for reviewers, that the eccentricities of each new writer may as well be overlooked.) But between the earlier and the later chapters, or as the book is divided, between Part I. and Part II., it is impossible not to detect a difference. Mr. Baddeley lacks the historian's touch, and this is nowhere more evident than in the first half of the book. Here the narrative is labored and perfunctory in the extreme. Part II., on the contrary, offers some very good reading. The writer's intense and almost vital interest in Shamil and the Murids creates, perforce, a style of its own, which makes one regret that Mr. Baddeley did not confine his work to the period between 1830 and 1864—it could easily have borne fuller treatment—instead of carrying his study back to the year 914.

C. E. FRYER.

The Bernstorff Papers: The Life of Count Albrecht von Bernstorff.

By Dr. KARL RINGHOFFER. Translated by Mrs. CHARLES EDWARD BARRETT-LENNARD and M. W. HOPER, with an Introduction by the Right Hon. Sir ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT, Bart. In two volumes. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1908. Pp. xvi, 350; viii, 333.)

COUNT ALBRECHT BERNSTORFF (1809-1873) remained for almost forty years in the diplomatic service of Prussia. He had become one of the leading statesmen of his country when he, in the eventful year 1848, was sent as minister to Vienna, where he remained for three years; later he was Prussian minister in London, 1854-1861, and again from 1862 until his death, his term in London having been interrupted by his call to the direction of foreign affairs in Berlin, 1861-1862.

The two volumes of his papers, published by the late Dr. Ringhoffer, are not merely a collection of documents; they are, in reality, a documented biography. The author's text, combining the documents, is on

the whole careful and skillful though not in any way superior nor original. He writes in a truly Prussian spirit, in the original German edition indicated by the title "*Im Kampfe für Preussens Ehre*"; he exhibits an unchangeable admiration for Count Bernstorff and everything Prussian, and he always finds the truth, honesty and generosity on the Prussian side. He is by no means a psychologist, and so, of course, it must be quite inexplicable to him (I. 35) that such an uncompromising, straight-backed, even narrow man as Bernstorff could make enemies.

The documents that form the basis of the book are mostly letters to and from Count Bernstorff, amongst them several ministerial reports. Then follow letters and reminiscences of Countess Bernstorff. These, while not giving us much information about diplomatic negotiations, often contain lively pictures of court life. The author has not given us the whole material that he had at his disposal; many of the documents are printed only in extracts and some appear only in translation from the French, the result of which is that the English text, at least in some cases, presents itself as the translation of a translation. Despite such imperfections, the book affords a most valuable and interesting supplement to the great work of Sybel and the stately Bismarck publications of recent years.

As minister of foreign affairs, Bernstorff was the immediate predecessor of Bismarck. Although he was not capable of suggesting such bold or comprehensive political plans as those of the Iron Chancellor, he was actually preparing the ground for his great successor and later chief. From the very first beginning of his career he clung with tenacity to a policy the purpose of which was to conquer for Prussia the supremacy in Germany and to raise it to an equal position amongst the Great Powers. The documents prove that he contributed in no small degree to the final success of these aims.

In Vienna Bernstorff had to struggle not only with the arrogance of Austria, but also with the inconsistency and disturbing interference of his king. We see him upon his own responsibility making a preliminary agreement with Austria in September, 1849, designed to put Prussia upon an equal footing with Austria in German affairs, and then bringing about the conference of November, 1850, that resulted in the Olmütz Articles, the text of which is given in this book for the first time (I. 165-167). These articles marked the defeat of Bernstorff's Prussian policy, and they were naturally followed by his recall from Vienna.

When he came to London, in 1854, he had to listen to the humiliating language of the British statesman who did not shrink from designating Prussia as a Russian province, and to oppose the pressure by which the Western powers endeavored to drive Prussia into war with Russia. Incidentally we learn an amusing little anecdote about the American envoy James Buchanan (I. 287), whose name, however, does not

appear in the index. The index is, on the whole, very insufficient; several names are simply lacking and there is, for instance, no reference to the first mention of Bismarck, in a letter of 1856 (I. 349).

As minister of foreign affairs, Bernstorff had to handle a series of important questions. His papers confirm what was already indicated by the *Reminiscences of Lord Augustus Loftus*, that it was Bernstorff who brought about the remarkable change in the English policy toward Denmark which found its expression in Lord John Russell's Gotha Note of September 24, 1862. But he was not clever enough to make use of the dreams of Napoleon III. concerning the retracing of the map of Europe. Some new light is thrown upon the Emperor's designs, and for the first time we obtain authentic information about the meeting between Napoleon and King William I. at Compiègne in October, 1861 (II. 108-111). Some valuable documents are given respecting the policy of the ministry toward the Landtag, the conflict with which caused Bernstorff to yield the leading position to Bismarck.

As Prussian ambassador in London during the ensuing years, he had to represent his country at the Schleswig-Holstein Conference of 1864 and in the Black Sea Conference of 1871; but the new information given about these affairs is very slight. For the peace negotiations of 1866, a highly interesting letter from the Prussian ambassador in Paris, Count Goltz, is printed (II. 246-253), and further on we find some letters bearing upon the negotiations with the Bonapartists in 1870.

HALVDAN KOHT.

Oesterreichs Innere Geschichte von 1848 bis 1907. I. Die Vorherrschaft der Deutschen. Von RICHARD CHARMATZ. [Aus Natur und Geisteswelt.] (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1909. Pp. viii, 140.)

RICHARD CHARMATZ, author of a former work of German-Austrian politics, fully realizes from the start the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of furnishing in the restricted scope of about three hundred pages a sketch of the inner political development of Austria since the Revolution of 1848. The little volume before us deals with precisely the first three decades after the Revolution, the last thirty-one years being reserved to a booklet which is to appear within a few months.

No state offers so many difficulties to the understanding of its complicated constitutional and institutional questions as does the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. While there is in the constitutional history of every other state a clear demarcation in the large inner political struggles, the historian in this case has to treat constantly of the particularistic aspirations of the various races and nationalities, which clash at every step, and which it seems impossible to harmonize. The consciousness, or perhaps the subconsciousness, of those facts, among others, accounts for the stubborn and for a long time suc-

cessful resistance of the ruling powers to constitutional government in Austria.

When the Emperor Francis I. died in 1835 a respite from the blasting absolutism was ardently hoped for by the various races of the great empire. But his successor, Ferdinand, was too weak to enter upon reforms. A so-called state conference consisting of the two most reactionary archdukes, of Prince Metternich and Count Kolowrat carried on an impossible medieval government without any representation by the people, though the Chancellor Metternich was statesman enough to realize that a time of popular rights was approaching.

The assemblies of the estates (*Ständeversammlungen*) began to stir. In Bohemia the high aristocratic members of the provincial assembly began their opposition to the inert central machine of the absolutistic government; in Lower Austria the abolition of the dime tax and of *robot* (servitude) began to be mooted; the Galician estates between 1842 and 1844 proposed far-reaching reforms in favor of the peasants, who were living in abject servitude. The upper strata of the Vienna bourgeoisie tended to radicalism. Great literary lights, like Anastasius Grün, Lenau in his songs of freedom, Grillparzer groaned under the old Austrian tyranny. The anarchy of an antiquated despotism became intolerable. The revolutionizing of the spirits of the upper classes was accomplished before the Revolution of 1848, but the crushed masses did not participate in this movement until economic distress began to shake their chains. The sociological prerequisites for revolution were present in the form of an acute industrial crisis. Several members of the dynasty, pre-eminently the Archduchess Sophie, mother of Francis Joseph, who upon the forced resignation of his uncle Ferdinand ascended the throne of the Hapsburgs, realized now the necessity of reforms. But the puny attempts from above were insufficient to stem the tide. The February revolution in Paris leaped over to Italy, South Germany, Prussia, and most virulently to Vienna and Presburg, where the powerful Magyar agitator, Kossuth, ardently denounced the Vienna governmental system, and passionately demanded liberty for the nationalities and a constitutional government.

The attempts at a constitution at Prague and Vienna, in Lombardy and Venetia, were suppressed with cannon, and a bloody reaction set in everywhere. Under those reactionary influences an Imperial Diet was constituted far from unruly Vienna at the quiet Moravian town of Kremsier. The draft of the Kremsier Constitution again tended toward absolutism and clericalism; yet in spite of all shortcomings this document, so grudgingly granted, established at least a shadow of a modern state. But the victories in Italy, in Austria and the capture of Buda-Pest encouraged the Schwarzenberg government to drive out with arms the Kremsier Diet. A constitution ready-

made by the government was promulgated March 4, 1849. But before the year was over, December 31, even this paper constitution was abolished. Austria—as it were—developed backward politically, and, still worse, the so-called Concordat with the papacy placed Austria under the dictation of Rome.

It is impossible in the space allotted for this review to follow the numerous ministries, as they rose and fell, and the bitter pangs of the various constitutions as they were still-born, or died shortly after birth. The terrible disasters on the battlefields of Solferino and Magenta in 1859, and at Königgrätz in 1866, which removed Austria from Germany, deprived her of Venetia, and produced a violent “Kulturkampf” against the calamitous Concordat, were needed to stop the Great-Austrian policy of repression, to foster inner reforms in the direction of greater liberty, of justice and, through the abolition of the Concordat, of religious freedom. Thus arose the constitution of December 21, 1867, which is still in force today.

Like a red thread there passes through the history of Austria the struggle of the various nationalities for their own home. The various races seek national culture, national administration and national territory. The fulfillment of these fundamental demands means the collapse of Austrian centralization. So long as Austria's official watchword Great German and Great Austrian was identical the Germans were the historical leaders and in natural agreement with the crown. But when the ancient imperial state had passed the momentous years 1866 and 1867 things changed materially. The monarch felt the need to conciliate all the races with his régime, and every concession to Magyars, Slavs, Latins could be made only at the expense of the former *beati possidentes*, the Germans.

HERM. SCHOENFELD.

Pacific Blockade. By ALBERT E. HOGAN, LL.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. Pp. 183.)

IN this book the author has discussed a minor topic of international law, fully, fairly and ably. It is the only treatise in English exclusively upon this subject. As the entire body of the law becomes more complex and more bulky, it is desirable that single topics shall be thoroughly worked over rather than general treatises multiplied.

In another particular also the author deserves well of his readers. By a clearly marked division of his matter, he furnishes on the one hand the history of the twenty-one cases of blockade claimed to be pacific, including the official notices of most of them; on the other he gives the arguments pro and con as to this somewhat new form of international coercion, together with what he deems the conclusions fairly drawn from the facts cited. This union of theory and precedent is the ideal treatment for a question in international law.

Briefly the author's views are: that pacific blockade—which is the right to blockade the port of another state in time of peace and without war necessarily resulting—is too new a practice to have become as yet entirely regularized and its rules formulated; that the state blockaded as well as the blockader, but not the third powers affected, may decline to look upon a specific case of pacific blockade as consistent with peace, and may thus consider war to be a fact; that relief from the obligations of neutrality and of belligerency may make it advantageous to any one of the three interests above mentioned to accept the doctrine of pacific blockade; that, notice, effectiveness, days of grace, and so on, are to be observed much as in ordinary blockade; that, unlike ordinary blockade, it may be limited to a certain commodity or a certain traffic, *e. g.*, slave trading; that, unlike ordinary blockade, the ships of third powers attempting to run a pacific blockade can only be turned back or at most detained, never seized and confiscated as if war existed; that this kind of coercion is better than war for all parties, and thus, in spite of its lack of logic and long historical warrant, may well be used under more definite rules and regulations.

Except to a person somewhat prejudiced against the entire practice of pacific blockade, Mr. Hogan's fairminded, moderate statement of the case for it may seem very nearly convincing. Yet there are certain objections.

To allow absolutely unrestricted traffic through the lines of a pacific blockade to all ships of third states would in most cases make the blockade so ineffective as to be valueless. On the other hand to place any restriction at all in time of peace upon the commerce of one state with another is not legally permitted to a third state. To claim the privileges of a belligerent, yet declaring no war to exist, is illogical. There is scarcely any limit to the method of coercion which one state may apply to another. But such coercion must restrict the trade of third states only within certain well defined limits even in war.

So far as the application of a pacific blockade by A to B is concerned then, there is no vital objection. C and D, however, need not regard it. The leading modern text-writers, Hall included, say this. Palmerston admitted this in 1846 of the blockade of La Plata. Lord Granville in 1884, as against France in China, said the same. Finally, *in re Venezuela* in 1902 Balfour replied to a question in Parliament, "I think it is very likely that the United States Government will think there can be no such thing as a pacific blockade; and I personally take the same view. Evidently a blockade does involve a state of war" (p. 156). Add to these expressions and opinions the fact that the Institut de Droit International, in 1887, adopted a declaration, that in case of pacific blockade the neutral must be allowed to pass it freely, and one is more inclined to argue that the practice is passing away than to agree with Mr. Hogan in seeking to make it regular and legitimate and to

forbid the passage, though not allowing the seizure, of ships of third states. It would appear that this is not a misstatement of the author's position, for he declares (p. 67), "it may therefore be laid down with some degree of assurance that the proper treatment of vessels of third states which attempt to violate a pacific blockade is in any case to turn them away, and perhaps also to detain them until the ends for which the pacific blockade was instituted have been attained and the blockade itself raised".

Yet a little later (p. 71) in his conclusions we are told that "Vessels flying the flag of any state other than those blockading or blockaded may not be interfered with except—(a) In cases where the blockade has been instituted by the concert of Europe; (b) with the consent of the state whose flag they fly, such consent to be implied in the absence of any protest from such state."

It is a pity that the author is not clearer, is not less inconsistent, on this point, for it is the crux of the whole matter.

As for his opinion that the usage of the European concert can make legitimate a doctrine, if that doctrine be in itself illogical and illegitimate, we in America may well disregard it.

T. S. WOOLSEY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series. Volume I., A. D. 1613–1680. Edited through the direction of the Lord President of the Council by W. L. GRANT, M.A., Beit Lecturer in Colonial History in the University of Oxford, and JAMES MUNRO, M.A., University Assistant in History in the University of Edinburgh, under the general supervision of ALMERIC W. FITZROY, C.V.O., Clerk of the Privy Council. (London: Wyman and Sons. 1908. Pp. xxxix, 930.)

AMONG the publications of the British government no single undertaking is likely to be of greater importance to the student of colonial history and policy than the series of *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, of which the first volume is now before us. When completed, the five volumes, covering the period from 1613 to 1783, will be as indispensable as are the *Calendars of State Papers* or the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, and will take their place in the same class as the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. Their value will lie not so much in the additional information furnished as in the view they will give of the Privy Council at work and of the business that came into its hands for adjustment or adjudication. Records of this character, such as the journals of the Board of Trade or the minutes of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, are often meagre in all that relates to details of colonial administration. Their entries are fre-

quently imperfect and incomplete and in some respects of almost no value at all. Business that is known to have come before these boards is passed by entirely, and occasionally recorded business can be studied to better advantage in other collections of papers. Nevertheless entries of this kind, furnishing as they do a comprehensive view of a board's activity for many years, are often the only means whereby information can be obtained of the essential features of a state's administrative policy. Speeches in Parliament, dispatches of the secretary of state, or the writings of pamphleteers do not supply the knowledge that can be gained from following the routine proceedings of an important governmental body. We venture to think that one studying the actual work of the Privy Council, in this volume for seventy years, in the whole series for one hundred and seventy, will begin to see some aspects of colonial history in a new light, and one duty of the student in the future will be to take his place among the Lords of the Council, to watch them at work for one hundred and seventy years, and to trace the history and application of the principles that governed their action.

Though of secondary importance the extent and value of the information furnished is not to be decried. In the pages of the volume before us there is a great deal of detailed narrative that relates to the continental and West Indian colonies, to Hudson's Bay and to South America. Scores of entries relate to the fisheries, the tobacco industry, plantation trade, merchant shipping, transportation of criminals, and the operation of the navigation acts. Many governors' commissions are given in full, details will be found of the annulling of the charter of the Virginia Company and of the attempted vacation of that of the Massachusetts Bay Company. A full draft is given of the proposed act of incorporation of Virginia in 1638 and of the charter of 1675. Letters to the governors from the Council and petitions to the Council from all sorts of people bulk large in the volume. Manifests and cargoes of ships are entered with great minuteness, and after 1660 many reports from subordinate councils and from committees of the board are entered at length. The information thus presented is valuable in itself and very considerable in the total amount.

For the inception of this work we are in the first instance indebted to Mr. Almeric W. FitzRoy, Clerk of the Council. He deserves the thanks of every student of colonial history, for it was he who persuaded the Lords of the Treasury to meet the expense of printing and binding the volumes. The expense of transcribing and editing is being met by international co-operation—Professor Egerton of the University of Oxford, the Carnegie Foundation of Scotland, the Canadian Government, the American Historical Association, and private individuals and societies in America subscribing the requisite amount for two years. Messrs. Grant and Munro, the editors, have done their work with excellent judgment and great thoroughness and in text and preface have

left little to be desired. Prefaces to such volumes are never very important, because the student will study the text himself and will draw therefrom his own conclusions. Three mistakes in names occur that ought to have been avoided: the American Historical *Society* for the American Historical Association, Mackay for Macray, and "Miss Gertrude Kingsbury", a composite which those familiar with the work of the ladies in question will readily reduce to its original elements.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

The Mystery of the Pinckney Draught. By CHARLES C. NOTT, formerly Chief-Justice of the United States Court of Claims. (New York: The Century Company. 1908. Pp. 334.)

It is to be regretted that so much time and labor, by a man of such ability as Judge Nott, should have been wasted in a mistaken cause—the rehabilitation of the discredited Pinckney Plan. To every student of the subject it is well known: that on May 29, 1787, Charles Pinckney presented to the Federal Convention "the draft of a federal government to be agreed upon between the free and independent states of America"; that the records note simply its submission to the Convention, its reference on the same day to the Committee of the Whole House, and its subsequent reference to the Committee of Detail; and that when John Quincy Adams in 1818 applied to Pinckney for a copy of the missing plan he received in reply a document so strikingly similar to the draught of a constitution reported by the Committee of Detail on August 6 that it was evident one document must have been taken from the other. The conclusion has been almost universally unfavorable to Pinckney. In the present work the author takes the other side, and in an elaborate argument declares that the original Pinckney Plan is lost to the world because it was used as "printer's copy" by the Committee of Detail.

The most serious difficulty with the argument here presented is the frequent begging of the question. Of course, if the document sent to Adams is accepted as practically "all that Pinckney represented it to be", it is easy enough to prove that Pinckney is to be regarded as the master builder of the Constitution. But something more is needed than the reiterated statement that the document is what it purports to be and that it must be so because it is inconceivable that Pinckney should have put forward a document that the members of the Convention still living could have disproven so easily.

Another objection is the looseness of the author's method of reasoning. As an illustration of this, take his use of the pamphlet *Observations*, printed by Pinckney immediately after the Convention was over. In a chapter or more devoted to it, Judge Nott recognizes the discrepancy between the plan described in the *Observations* and the document sent to Adams, and he argues that the *Observations* do not refer to the plan presented to the Convention, but may have described one "of

the 4 or 5 draughts" Pinckney stated that he had in his possession. The author concludes therefore that "the supposed value of the *Observations* as evidence to impeach the integrity of the draught in the State Department is blown to pieces" (p. 132). Later, however, he uses the *Observations* to support the genuineness of the Adams document: "When Pinckney described in the *Observations* the draught which he was subsequently to present to the Convention he thereby described the draught which he was ultimately to place in the Department of State" (p. 274). One feels inclined to quote to the author his own statement that "The *Observations* seem to have been . . . fatal to whichever party relied upon them" (p. 141).

These criticisms lie upon the surface, but to one who is familiar with the documents in the case the author has laid himself open to more serious criticism. Although he refers to the discovery of certain documents among the Wilson Papers by Professors Jameson and McLaughlin, he makes no reference whatever to the cogent arguments presented at the time those documents were printed to show that they were extracts from and an outline of the original Pinckney Plan, and are at variance with the document sent to Adams.

With the materials at our command it is quite possible to reconstruct, in outline form at least, the original Pinckney Plan. The plan so reconstructed conforms exactly to the outline and extracts found among the Wilson Papers and is in marked variance to the Adams document. To the unprejudiced student this is a much more acceptable method of procedure and reaches a more satisfactory conclusion than can be obtained by any attempt to reconcile the discrepancies between the Adams document and the authenticated opinions of Pinckney. It is altogether probable, therefore, that in the light of our present knowledge the last word on the subject has been uttered by Professor Jameson: "It is not possible to say that Pinckney answered Adams's request by sitting down and copying the printed report of the Committee of Detail, paraphrasing to a small extent here and there, and interweaving as he went along some of the best-remembered features of his own plan. But it is possible to declare that if he had done this the result would have been precisely like that which in fact he sent on to Washington."

The writer of this review has long been convinced that Madison was distinctly unfair to Pinckney in his Notes of the Debates. He believes also that Pinckney has never been given due credit for the part he took in the framing of our Constitution. Pinckney was not a great constructive statesman, but in the work of the Convention he rendered valuable service in formulating many of the details embodied in the Constitution. It was not so much a new instrument of government that Pinckney framed in his original plan as it was a revision of the Articles of Confederation. In the preparation of his plan Pinckney drew extensively upon the Articles of Confederation and the various state consti-

tutions, especially that of New York. A number of these provisions were used by the Committee of Detail in formulating its draft of a constitution and in the course of the debates Pinckney suggested many things that were accepted by the Convention. But, as already stated, these provisions were mainly in the nature of modifications in phrasing and wording, or suggestions of new details. If these things be true, it is not so greatly to be wondered at that thirty years later Pinckney, remembering that his plan had been used by the Committee of Detail, should have ascribed more credit to himself than he deserved and could write to Adams that "my plan was substantially adopted in the sequel". If Judge Nott had only devoted himself to the determination of those things for which the Constitution is unquestionably indebted to Pinckney instead of claiming too much for him, he would have rendered a genuine service to historical study.

MAX FARRAND.

The Works of James Buchanan, comprising his Speeches, State Papers and Private Correspondence. Collected and edited by JOHN BASSETT MOORE. Volumes V. and VI., 1841-1844, 1844-1846. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 1909. Pp. viii, 514; xvii, 509.)

THE fifth volume of Professor Moore's edition of Buchanan's writings finds Buchanan still in the United States Senate; where his continued membership of the Committee on Foreign Relations and Committee on Manufactures brought him into close contact with many of the most pressing questions of the time, and led him frequently into debate. If his career was as yet hardly distinguished, it was at least dignified and consistently serious. A strong party man, he lost no opportunity to attack the Whigs: in 1841, for example, he spoke strongly against the proposed Fiscal Bank and the later Fiscal Corporation, and defended Tyler's vetoes of those measures. "The veto power", he declared, "is that feature of our Constitution which is most conservative of the rights of the States and the rights of the people" (V. 139). In the field of finance we find him urging, in March, 1842, the immediate resumption of specie payments in the District of Columbia, and in April opposing a bill to pay to the states the proceeds of public land sales. His strong state-rights attitude led him to fear and oppose centralization, a position which he set forth in May, 1842, in an elaborate constitutional argument against a bill authorizing the transfer of criminal causes from state to federal courts. The proposal to refund to Jackson the amount of the fine imposed upon him by Judge Hall in the *Louailier* case had, naturally, Buchanan's warm support.

The great issues of the period covered by these volumes, however, were those of the northeastern and northwestern boundaries and the annexation of Texas. Buchanan voted against the Ashburton treaty,

on the ground that it was unjust to Maine and, as a whole, an unsatisfactory settlement. In the matter of Oregon, he supported the proposal in 1844 to terminate the agreement with Great Britain for joint occupancy of the disputed territory.

Buchanan was already a presidential possibility, and after his reelection to the Senate in 1843 was increasingly talked of in that connection. His private letters, still very few in number, show him willing to take, but unwilling to seek, the office. In May, 1844, he found the outlook gloomy: the Democratic party was "in a sad condition" on account of Texas; Van Buren could not be elected if nominated, while the Whigs appeared sure of electing Clay. He had already, the previous December, announced his withdrawal as a candidate in the interest of harmony; but now, in case Van Buren withdrew or could not be nominated, he was willing to stand. The nomination of Polk he looked upon as expedient, prophesied a Democratic victory, and promptly extended congratulations after the result was known; but he plainly was not enthusiastic. He urged upon Polk the recognition of the younger Democrats, and hoped that Calhoun, whom he regarded as the chief obstacle in Polk's path, would retire or else accept the English mission.

Buchanan's reward came in his appointment as Secretary of State. In June, 1844, he had declared in the course of a long speech that the annexation of Texas by treaty would violate neither our political nor our moral obligations to Mexico; and he reiterated his views three days before Polk tendered him the secretaryship. The larger part of volume VI., from page 118 to the end, is devoted to Buchanan's diplomatic correspondence, including such parts of Polk's messages as presumably were written by Buchanan. While the correspondence naturally adds somewhat to our knowledge of details, it does not alter the accepted view of Buchanan's work as secretary, in regard to which the main facts are already well known. It is to be noted that Professor Moore, reprinting the dispatches from the manuscripts, has rather often to point out here, as in earlier volumes, the errancy of Curtis's work.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

Old Times on the Upper Mississippi: The Recollections of a Steamboat Pilot from 1854 to 1863. By GEORGE BYRON MERRICK. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1909. Pp. 323.)

THIS is a good book but not well-named. It relates the experiences of an Upper Mississippi river-man during a period so recent as the decade from 1854 to 1864, and has therefore value only as description of the era when the steamboat prevailed at its liveliest. The steamboat was well established on the Mississippi before 1820. Of its earlier activity we have here no first-hand account. Much less is there any account of the many years that went before, the eras of the flat-boat and the canoe. But Mr. Merrick, a river-veteran still living, we pre-

sume, records in excellent fashion the life he actually experienced—the middle period namely, between the age of the flat-boat man, and the age in which the locomotive, dominating all, has made the river almost as solitary as it was in primeval days. Mr. Merrick's family were whalers from Nantucket, and he had all the vigor and Yankee enterprise of his stock. Beginning as pantry-boy on the Mississippi, he early reached a thorough understanding of all things pertaining to river-navigation, discharging himself almost every possible function, in every post apparently happy and thoroughly capable. Mr. Merrick, in later life an editor, tells his story with a practised pen, and we know of no better account, from the inside, of steamboating. All that pertained to the work of commander, pilot, engineer, clerk, steward and roustabout, the boats themselves, their ownership, number, machinery and management—all is described vividly and in detail; while formal statistics as to all economical aspects of the matter are contributed with satisfactory fullness.

Mr. Merrick is a good story-teller, and we think his best effort of this kind, as regards both picturesqueness and historical interest, is the account of getting to the front, in April, 1861, Sherman's Flying Artillery, perhaps the most famous organization in the old army, stationed at the time at Fort Ridgely, high up the Minnesota River. The *Fanny Harris*, the largest boat which had ever gone up the stream, received the battery on board, its commander then being no other than John C. Pemberton of Pennsylvania, at first a loyal Union officer, though afterwards the Confederate lieutenant-general at Vicksburg: his lieutenant was Romeyn B. Ayres, than whom no Federal officer of the Civil War was braver. The river was at flood, the perils of navigation great; but the emergency was pressing. The *Fanny Harris* dashed on at full speed, sometimes in the tortuous channel, sometimes crashing through narrow barriers of land into inundated bottoms and even woods, the battery-men meantime exclaiming that the risk to life in battle was far less than among those pouring waters. The feat however was accomplished—three hundred miles down the torrent in two days. The boat was almost stripped of smoke-stacks, light upper-work, in great part of her guards; but the battery was delivered, guns and men, at Prairie du Chien, then the railroad terminus, whence its passage was easy to the firing-line.

The book is beautifully printed and illustrated, and is altogether a useful and attractive presentment of a noteworthy development that came and went—and possibly in some of its phases may come again.

JAMES K. HOSMER.

MINOR NOTICES

Historical and Political Essays. By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. (London and New York, Longmans, 1908, pp. iv, 324.) In collecting into a volume fourteen essays, reviews, and addresses, pub-

lished by Mr. Lecky at different times, Mrs. Lecky has carried out her husband's purpose, and has compiled a book of considerable value. The more abstract essays, *Thoughts on History*, and *The Political Value of History*, are indeed sometimes commonplace, but the biographical papers are of a high order. They contain skilful analyses of the characters of Madame de Staël, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Henry Reeve, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, Dean Milman, Queen Victoria, and the Fifteenth Earl of Derby—the last a bit of masterly portraiture. In the autobiographical paper on *Formative Influences*, the historian while acknowledging indebtedness to the writings of Bishop Butler, to Whately, Bayle and others, reveals his strong natural bent in the direction that he later followed. While still a student at Trinity, he threw himself “with intense eagerness into a long course of private reading, chiefly relating to the formation and history of opinions”, which bore fruit in his *History of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*. The remaining papers are a review of M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu's *Israel among the Nations*; Carlyle's Message to his Age; a discussion of *The Empire: its Value and its Growth*, in which it is characteristically concluded that the true bond of imperial union must be mainly a moral one; Ireland in the Light of History, a severe indictment of the Home Rule movement, and Old Age Pensions.

Some of these essays seem to be written from the standpoint of the controversialist rather than of the historian, but the book as a whole well repays perusal both for its matter and for its literary style.

The Historical Association: Leaflets. [Offices of the Association, 6 South Square, Gray's Inn, London.] A dozen leaflets, of from four to fifteen pages each, issued by the Historical Association, whose aims were stated in an earlier number of this REVIEW (XII. 194), have been brought together into a little volume that will be of practical value to teachers in American as well as in British schools. The leaflets consist of addresses on the Teaching of History in Schools, delivered by the Right Hon. James Bryce at the first annual meeting of the Association in 1907, and by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, at the second annual meeting; of a paper and discussion on the Teaching of Local History; of a Summary of Historical Examinations affecting Schools, including Matriculation Examinations and Entrance Scholarships; of several bibliographies, of which one relates to Source-Books, one to Books on the Teaching of History in Schools, one to general history, one to the city of Exeter, and the others to British, including colonial, history. The last leaflet is an account of illustrations, portraits and lantern slides available for use in historical teaching, especially in teaching British and modern history. The bibliographies are mostly not mere lists of books, but descriptive accounts of the literature of the subject. The leaflet on Supplementary Reading refers to many inexpensive reprints

of original authorities, some of which are not, we believe, widely known in this country. To the list of works on the teaching of history in France should be added *L'Histoire dans l'Enseignement Secondaire*, by Charles Seignobos (Paris, Colin, 1906) and even the briefest list of works on British Colonial Policy should include Dr. G. L. Beer's contributions to that subject. It is gratifying to note the appreciative references to the efforts of American teachers directed towards the improvement of historical instruction in schools.

Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria, 722-705 B. C. By A. T. Olmstead, Ph.D. [Cornell Studies in History and Political Science, volume II.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1908, pp. vii, 192.) This little volume is notable in more than one respect. It is the first attempt to reconstruct on clear and definite lines and on a broad basis the history of an important period of the Assyrian empire. The historical sketches hitherto written have either been studies of one or two aspects of a period, or else they have aimed to cover the whole of Assyrian history, while as yet the documentary sources had not all been brought together, and those attainable were hurriedly collated and made to tell prematurely a consistent story. Furthermore the credibility of the historical annals has usually been too largely taken for granted. While they are immensely more reliable than the records of the Pharaohs, they are marred by exaggerating the merits or exploits of the monarchs whom they celebrate, and by concealing their failures and defects or by turning them into successes and victories. Moreover these so-called historical inscriptions confine themselves almost exclusively to a very few classes of facts, the conventional order of the narrative being an introductory eulogium of the king in question, next an account of his uniformly successful campaigns, battles, victories, conquests and annexations of territory, followed perhaps by illustrations of his prowess as a hunter, and finally by descriptions of his architectural and other public achievements. Fortunately the number of the inscriptions that are less one-sided and exclusive, and of unquestionable accuracy, such as business documents of all kinds, reports of officials, charters of cities, statutes and proclamations and personal letters, has been rapidly increasing in recent years; and these may now be drawn upon for the purpose of filling out the *lacunae* left by the more pretentious but less accurate memoirs of royalty.

Constant use has been made by Dr. Olmstead of these sources to check and supplement the historical data already accessible to the interested public. The reign of Sargon fell in that most interesting period of Asiatic history which saw the world empire of Assyria firmly established in accordance with the policy of his second predecessor, the great Tiglathpileser III. The range of his solid achievements may be indicated by two well-known names: Samaria, some of whose people (the

famous "Lost Tribes") were deported at the beginning of his reign, and Babylon, whose permanent subjection was only made possible by its conquest under him and the ejection of Merodach Baladan the famous Chaldaean, the friend and ally of Hezekiah of Judah. The treatment of these and the other enterprises of Sargon by Dr. Olmstead is thorough and generally judicious. It is true that he has raised more questions than he has been able to settle; and it is disappointing that chapter VII., the most interesting of the book, does not furnish a complete account of the conquest and organization of Babylonia. But for these defects he is not to be blamed, since the records and geographical data are as yet inadequate. Chapter IX., "The Culture Life", is a very valuable addition to the discussions of political and military topics which form the bulk of the book. An index to the work should have been given.

J. F. MCCURDY.

Les Catacombes de Rome. Par Maurice Besnier, Professeur à l'Université de Caen. (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1909, pp. 290.) The aim of this work is to give a brief account of the results of the last half-century of critical and archaeological study of the Christian catacombs of Rome. The author offers no new facts or theories and confines his narrative to things about which all students of the subject are agreed. As may be inferred from the size of the book the manner of treatment is concise but it is nevertheless sufficiently detailed to enable one to appreciate fully all that has been written in works of a more technical character. The subject-matter is dealt with under three heads: History, Description, Art of the Catacombs. As an introduction to the history of the construction of the catacombs in the ages of persecution and their abandonment in the early Middle Ages, the author gives an account of their discovery and exploration in modern times. Here he touches on the character of the writings of the later explorers and archaeologists and is especially felicitous in his summary of the life and works of De Rossi. The description of the catacombs is of a general character, specific details being given about only a few of the more important and better known—Callixtus, Lucina, etc. In the chapter on the art of the catacombs the author points out the place this occupies in the general history of the subject and calls attention to the characteristics of the painting and sculpture of these subterranean refuges. From every point of view the work is an excellent introduction to the literature and history of the catacombs. The illustrations, twenty in number, are a valuable addition to the text and the bibliography though not extensive is well chosen. The extreme cautiousness of the author carries him too far in not allowing him to accept unreservedly the Hippolytan authorship of the *Philosophumena* (pp. 128, 150).

P. J. HEALY.

Populäre Aufsätze. Von Karl Krumbacher. (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1909, pp. xii, 388.) This collection of twenty-four essays, bearing dates from 1885 to 1908, is divided into four groups: Linguistic; Literary; Historical; and Miscellaneous. Made accessible to a wider public these are a help in estimating a writer justly recognized everywhere as a leading authority on medieval and Byzantine history and literature. His personal equation must be reckoned with. Thus the first article: *Das Problem der neugriechischen Schriftsprache* (1902) is a partisan attack on the language now in use among the modern Greeks. Krumbacher does not refer in his notes to the elaborate reply (*Die Sprachfrage in Griechenland*, 1905) made by G. N. Hatzidakis, then rector of the University of Athens and long recognized at home and abroad for his sound sense and wide philological training. Krumbacher would lead the reader, unfamiliar with modern Greek, to suppose that the language established was a purely artificial attempt to revive ancient Greek intact, instead of a necessary and judicious compromise. Much of the chimerical Atticizing formerly attempted is doomed and, in the vocabulary, many further concessions to popular speech are inevitable, but it is inconsistent with the facts to call it a "mummified" speech.

Four of the five historical articles had as nucleus reviews of recent publications. *Kaiser Justinian* (1901) was called forth by Diehl's *Justinien et la Civilisation Byzantine au VI^e Siècle*. Krumbacher, while thinking Diehl unduly severe in applying modern scientific standards to the famous *Corpus*, feels that his "Justinian" brings us "immeasurably nearer" to a realization of the sixth century and the whole early Byzantine history. (Compare Krumbacher's own vivid account, in No. 14, of Nikephoros Phokas, conqueror of Crete and emperor in the tenth century.)

No. 13 was likewise called forth (1892) by Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire*. The author agrees with Bury that, strictly speaking, there never was a "Byzantine" Empire, but the term is too useful to be banished. With his discussion (p. 176) of the "Latin-heathen" and the "Greek-Christian" periods, a favorite topic of his, may be read (No. 17, p. 231) his introduction to the new (1892) *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* of which he is editor.

No. 15, *Athen in den dunklen Jahrhunderten* (1889), is a short review of Gregorovius's *History of Athens in the Middle Ages*. With this compare No. 21, Frederic Gregorovius (1891), which is a sympathetic but discriminating biography.

No. 16 is an examination of Chamberlain's *Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1900). Despite his severe criticism of Chamberlain's arbitrary and inconsistent "race" classification (*i. e.*, German = German-Slavic-Celtic), his complete silence about the French and his injustice to the Italians, Krumbacher seems to see something epoch-making in the book. With this should be read No. 24, *Die Kulturwelt*

des Slawischen, etc. (1908). The present and the future is partitioned among the Germans, the Latins and the Slavs. His purpose is to urge the study of the Slavic language because it both penetrates German lands and is necessary for whole chapters, as yet unwritten, of central and west European history. Space forbids a notice of the other articles.

FRANCIS G. ALLINSON.

The Storming of London and the Thames Valley Campaign: A Military Study of the Conquest of Britain by the Angles. By Major P. T. Godsall. (London, Harrison and Sons, 1908, pp. xxxv, 288.) Major Godsall's work is an attempt to reconstruct the story of the Anglo-Saxon conquest on the basis of "military principles" and a study of topography and place-names. The conquest, he believes, was undertaken and carried on by a highly organized nation, the Angles, occupying the Baltic shores from Sweden to the Elbe. Their neighbors, the Saxons, played a merely subordinate part as allies. In the fifth century the centre of Anglian power was the "old tun", Altona, and the embarkation was probably from the Havenburh, now Hamburg. The principal line of military progress was from Thanet to London and up the Thames valley to the Chiltern Hills and beyond. The campaign is described with considerable minuteness and illustrated by a series of interesting maps. There is no mention in any known source of a "storming of London" in this connection, but Major Godsall assures us that such an event must have occurred and is amazed to find that no one has recorded this the "greatest war-stroke of history" (p. 64). The principal point of attack he locates at a certain gate which because of the sword-play has since been called Billingsgate. The entire work is a series of conjectures and inferences, some of them quite plausible, but most of them highly improbable. To these conjectures the author gives the value of established facts. In closing his discussion of the Cowey Stakes he defends his method in the following startling sentence: "Archaeologists are challenged to disprove the conclusion here arrived at, and are called upon to state who could have placed the stakes in the Thames at Cowey if Ambrosius did not" (p. 115). Evidently such a work can not be regarded as serious history. It rather belongs in that class of writings that we sometimes call historical fiction.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

The Law and Custom of the Constitution. By Sir William R. Anson, Bart., D.C.L., Warden of All Souls College, Oxford. Third edition. In three volumes. Volume II., *The Crown*, Part II. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. xxiv, 347.) Fifteen years have made not a few changes in those portions of the British Constitution which fall to be described within the present volume. It embraces six chapters, the last six of the original volume on the Crown, of which the first four have been reissued in a volume recently reviewed in these pages (XIII. 632).

The six chapters of the present volume are those on the Dominions and Dependencies of the Crown, the Crown and Foreign Relations, the Revenues of the Crown and their Expenditure, the Armed Forces of the Crown, the Crown and the Churches, and the Crown and the Courts. The revision effected has been thoroughgoing. In particular, there is a fuller treatment of the parish in connection with the Local Government Act of 1894; the effects of that act, of the Education Act of 1902, of the Australian Commonwealth Constitution Act of 1900, of the Orders in Council of 1895 and 1901 respecting the office of the commander-in-chief and the letters patent of 1904 which substituted for that official the army council, of the Criminal Appeal Act of 1907, of the judgment in the case of the Free Church of Scotland *vs.* Lord Overtoun in 1904, and of the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act of 1907, so far as its effects can yet be described, are duly set forth and carefully woven into the fabric of the original volume. There is also a more developed statement of constitutional practice respecting cession of territory without recourse to Parliament, apropos of the cession of Helgoland in 1890 and the Anglo-French convention of 1904. But besides these major alterations there are many minor instances of revision. The careful thought, moderation of judgment and lucidity of expression which characterized the first edition are still seen in all parts of the present reissue.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Third Series, volume II. (London, The Society, 1908, pp. vii, 294.) Compared with most of the preceding volumes of *Transactions*, the volume under review has a restricted range. Except for the presidential address, and the continuation of Sir Henry Howorth's paper on The Rise of Gaius Julius Caesar, with an Account of his Early Friends, Enemies and Rivals, all the papers relate either to the social and political history of the Tudor period, or to the political history of the twenty-eight years from 1746 to 1774. The Rev. Dr. Hunt's presidential address is mostly concerned with a manuscript diary, written by Denys Scully, a shrewd observer of men, who describes his visit to London in 1805 as a member of a deputation from the Irish Catholics to petition Parliament for relief from their disabilities. Sir Henry Howorth continues his story of Caesar from the time of his appointment as pontiff and tribune—not military but civilian tribune, it is argued. Since Caesar's career can be understood only in the light of that of some of his notable contemporaries, nearly the whole paper is devoted to a lively narrative of the deeds of Pompey, Sertorius and Lucullus. Incidentally, the writer commends the historian Ferrero, whose recent work in this same field has been rated so diversely. In Professor C. H. Firth's article on The Ballad History of the Reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., the author pursues the line of investigation of popular opinion and feeling that he followed in his work on *Naval Songs and Ballads*, recently reviewed in this journal

(XIV. 170), and in the pages of the *Scottish Historical Review*. The Eclipse of the Yorkes, by Mr. Basil Williams, is based almost exclusively on a volume of memoirs and letters relating to the history of the Yorke family between 1760 and 1770, formerly belonging to the manuscript collections of the first two Earls of Hardwicke and now preserved in the British Museum as Additional MS. 35428. Miss Evelyn Fox gives extracts from The Dairy of an Elizabethan Gentlewoman, another British Museum MS., Egerton 2614, with a brief account of the writer, Margaret, Lady Hoby. Miss Fox purposes to edit the complete text, which illustrates very well the occupations and sentiments of a Puritan country gentlewoman of that time. Mr. Charles Cotton discusses the Bardon Papers, a collection of contemporary documents (MS. Egerton 2124), relating to the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots, which, he believes, show that the proof on which the prosecution relied for conviction "had been carefully manipulated by the astute wirepullers in Walsingham's office". In his account of the Siege of Madras in 1746 and the Action of La Bourdonnais, G. W. Forrest brings to notice two important documents: the Diary of Ranga Pillai, "the broker who transacted business with the natives for the Pondicherry government", and a document that seems to prove that La Bourdonnais received a large sum of money from the English in return for the restoration of Madras. Of especial interest to American readers is the brilliant Alexander Prize Essay on the Peace of Paris, 1763, by Miss Kate Hotblack, who supports Pitt's view, which is not that of most modern historians, that the Peace was inadequate. Taken as a whole, the volume, based largely as it is upon new materials, has much freshness of interest and is a valuable contribution to historical learning.

A History of the English Agricultural Labourer. By Dr. W. Hasbach, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Kiel. Newly edited by the author and translated by Ruth Kenyon, with a preface by Sidney Webb, LL.B. (London, P. S. King and Son, 1908, pp. xvi, 470.) It is a satisfaction to see this useful work in a new edition, in an English dress, and provided with a preface by an English Socialist calling attention to its special applicability to the solution of present-day problems. The work, although published in Germany in 1894, has never been well known in England, nor have its results worked themselves into later writing nor into commonplace knowledge on the subject, as it is to be hoped they will now do. There is no doubt that this is history "written with a purpose". Indeed the concluding chapter is rather a prophecy of the probable reintroduction of peasant ownership and occupation of the land, based on what is desirable, than a generalization from the results of investigation. Nevertheless, the book is written mainly under the influence of rigorous German historical methods; and, besides, English landholding has been so vulnerable to criticism that its history has always been written with more or less animus, and this work therefore follows precedent.

The general plan of the book is threefold, first, the development of a class of free laborers out of the serfs of the Middle Ages, second, the progressive demoralization of this free "agricultural proletariat", and, third, late nineteenth and early twentieth century attempts to restore the prosperity of the agricultural laborers. The most original and important of these sections from a purely historical point of view, is the second. The first is drawn practically altogether from secondary writers, though Dr. Hasbach has used them, except in a few points, with a fullness and discrimination not elsewhere equalled. The second and largest share of the book is however drawn from purely contemporary sources and consists of a careful account of the demoralization of the lower strata of the agricultural classes, through the completion of enclosures, the dissolution of the commons, the growth of large farms, and other economic changes, and the unrestricted application of the laissez-faire idea to this part of the social economy. The last three chapters describe the tentative movements toward the creation of a new body of small holders. There are several appendices of a scientifically accurate character and, within the bounds of the general subjects mentioned above, a great body of extremely interesting and suggestive historical material.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

De Tresorie en Kanselarij van de Graven van Holland en Zeeland uit het Henegouwsche en Beyersche Huis. Door Jhr. Mr. Th. van Riemsdijk. (Hague, Nijhoff, 1908, pp. xx, 755.) This is a careful study of the two chief administrative departments of Holland and Zeeland from the accession of the house of Hainaut in 1299 to the close of the regency of Philip the Good in 1433. Although foreign repositories of documents have been used to some extent, the investigation is based primarily upon the account-books of the court and the great series of the counts' registers preserved in the Rijksarchief at the Hague, a body of sources which makes it possible to trace the history of the treasury and chancery with a degree of detail which can rarely be attained elsewhere in this period. The topics are followed reign by reign, and lists of clerks and other officers are given. A good deal of information is also given respecting the diplomatic side of the chancery, although such matters are not always treated with the thoroughness that one might desire. About half the volume is given to the publication of documents and extracts from accounts and to an elaborate description of the registers volume by volume. Apart from its local importance, Dr. van Riemsdijk's monograph contains material of value to the student of the growth of bureaucracy in the later Middle Ages, and makes clearer the conditions which preceded the remarkable work of the Burgundian princes in the organization of an administrative system in the Low Countries.

C. H. H.

Auto de Fé and Jew. By Elkan Nathan Adler, Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of History of Spain. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1908, pp. 195.) Bound together with this is a pamphlet of 37 pages by the same author on "The Inquisition in Peru", reprinted from the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 12. About one-third of the *Auto de Fé and Jew* is devoted to an extended review and laudatory criticism of H. C. Lea's *History of the Inquisition in Spain*. The greater part of the remaining pages appeared in a series of articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. They contain a greatly condensed history of the Jews in Spain and Portugal and, what is by far the most valuable portion of the book, lists covering fifty pages giving statistics of nearly two thousand *autos de fé* celebrated in Spain and Portugal and in the colonies of those countries. The date and the place and in some cases the number of victims is given, with an estimate of the proportion of Jews. Several miscellaneous but related matters are treated. Fifteen pages are occupied by a bibliography. The book shows extensive and careful research. It is not entirely free from errors. While it is of large interest and value by itself its principal use will be as a companion of Dr. Lea's great work.

The Correspondence of Casper Schwenckfeld of Ossig and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, 1535-1561. Edited from the Sources with Historical and Biographical Notes, by James Leslie French, Instructor in the University of Michigan. (Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel, 1908, pp. v, 107.) This booklet, though it tells us only that "the work on these letters was done while the writer was a fellow of Hartford Theological Seminary" and that "they were the basis of material submitted to that institution for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy", can hardly be other than a part of the *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* now in course of publication under the editorship of Dr. Hartranft. The publisher, the paper, the page, are identical, and the author's "foreword," dated at "Wolfenbüttel, Aug. 1, 1906," thanks Dr. Hartranft "for helpful suggestion and timely assistance and for free access to his marvellously rich collection of Schwenckfeld material at Wolfenbüttel". The seventeen letters—ten from Schwenckfeld to Philip, two from Philip to Schwenckfeld, with three from Philip to Melancthon regarding Schwenckfeld and a note of enclosure from Philip's secretary, Aitinger—range from 1535 to 1561. Most have already been printed, but in places so scattered and in a form so careless or so fragmentary that this collection, for the most part directly from the originals in the archives at Marburg, is most welcome. The work, though diligent, bears many marks of youth and haste.

G. L. B.

A Survey of London by John Stow. Reprinted from the Text of 1603. With Introduction and Notes by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, M.A. In two volumes. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. c, 352; 476.) Since its first publication there have appeared many editions of this quaint and valuable work. In most of these, additions and changes were made to bring it down to date in subject-matter and appearance. "The present edition, for the first time after three hundred years, makes Stow's true work generally accessible in the form in which he wrote it" (I. xliii). The only considerable difference remaining is in the type. "The not infrequent misprints and some obvious errors have been corrected, and it has been necessary at times to vary the punctuation. But otherwise the text now given follows faithfully the edition of 1603." (I. iii). It occupies pages xcv to c and 1 to 352 of the first volume and 1 to 229 of the second.

The editor's contributions occupy the first 94 pages of the first volume and the last 245 of the second. They are as follows: an introduction, of which 21 pages are devoted to a life of Stow and 15 to his *Survey*; notes on the Stow family documents illustrating Stow's life and letters to him, 25 pages; select dedications and epistles from his various works; a bibliography; and an account of Stow's collections of manuscripts. These precede the text. Following it 37 pages are devoted to variations of the first edition, that of 1598, from the text of 1603; 129 pages to notes, whose chief aim is to correct errors, to trace the sources of Stow's information, and to supplement and illustrate the text; 21 pages, to a useful glossary supplied by a collaborator of the editor; and 58 pages to three separate indexes having three columns to the page, the first index of persons, the second of places, and the third of subjects. A map of London about 1600 as Stow knew it, prepared by another collaborator, occupies a pocket under the cover of the second volume. No effort has been made by the present editor to complete Stow's history of the period or carry it beyond Stow's time. This inventory is sufficient evidence of the editor's extensive and careful work.

Stow spent eight years in the preparation of his *Survey*. He probably regarded it as a relaxation from his numerous more serious labors on English history and antiquities. But on it his title to fame now rests. "It is at once the summary of sixty observant years, and a vivid picture of London as he saw it" (I. xxix). "A careful perambulation of the several wards of the city furnished the main framework of the book. To this particular account there was prefixed a more general narrative dealing with the origins, the growth, and the social life of the city", (I. xxxvi). It is a sort of *Baedeker's London* of the age of Elizabeth.

De Hollandsche Handelscompagnieën. der Zeventiende Eeuw: Hun Ontstaan, Hunne Inrichting. Door Dr. S. van Brakel. (Hague, Nijhoff,

1908, pp. xxxiii, 189.) In the last generation, those who pursued the history of the Dutch commercial companies of the seventeenth century were mainly interested in the history of economic doctrine. This may be seen by perusing the appropriate portions of Van Rees's *Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland*, or De Laspeyres's *Volkswirtschaftliche Anschauungen der Niederländer*. In recent years interest in those companies has been much revived, but it has been chiefly an interest in their forms of organization and the modern analogies to these. Professor Kernkamp in his *Stukken over de Noordsche Compagnie* (1898) and Mr. S. Muller in his studies in relation to the same company, have developed the peculiarities of the North Company and its analogy to modern trusts. Though Dr. van Brakel goes over the general ground of the early development of Dutch commerce and the origin and form of each of the important trading companies, the most interesting parts of his monograph are those in which he discusses the analogy to modern trusts presented by some of the earlier and looser aggregations, such as the North Company and the trading-group of 1614 for New Netherland, and the growth of joint-stock companies as a further development of the same process. Students of English commercial history of the same period will find themselves profited by comparing some of these associations and the *reederijen* ("adventures") of which they were composed with the English East India Company and the separate stocks on which its earliest voyages were conducted. Dr. van Brakel's work is thorough, intelligent and discriminating.

Sketches of Rulers of India. By G. D. Oswell, M. A. Oxon, Principal of Rajkumar College, Raipur. Volume I. *The Mutiny Era and After*. Volume II. *The Company's Governors*. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. xxviii, 171; 215.) These biographical essays are studies in the military and administrative history of India from Clive to Mayo. As is said in the prefaces, they are based on well known larger biographies, many of which are included in the *Rulers of India* series. It should be added that these earlier books are of varying value, and to attempt to estimate each essay in this work would necessitate reviews of books which already have been appraised. Here apparently no attempt has been made to bring out any new facts or indeed to make any general use of documents elsewhere available; and Mr. Oswell's work will therefore have small value for the investigator or for any well-informed reader of Indian history. The student of Warren Hastings will find a résumé of Trotter's *Life* and little to show that his use of Forrest's *Letters and Despatches* has been tested or supplemented; a similar criticism might be made of the chapter on Mountstuart Elphinstone. In the essay on the relief of Lucknow and Sir Henry Havelock, 15 pages are given to the period prior to 1857, and barely 9 pages to the splendid climax which the title suggests. Here also it may be questioned whether Forrest's investigations have been utilized by the author.

*Such comments, however, should not obscure the real value of these volumes, which is considerable. The author has set out to give in readable form brief accounts of men who founded and saved the Indian Empire. They are excellent studies in hero-worship for the boy who has or ought to have an interest in the history of the British Empire; and teachers of modern history will gladly add these books to their lists of collateral reading for undergraduate classes. Here we have a corrective to Macaulay's Hastings; American students can now be introduced in more convenient fashion to men like John Malcolm and Charles Metcalfe, to John Nicholson and Henry Lawrence. We have here, in addition to the men already mentioned, studies on Munro, Thomason, Colvin, Dalhousie, Canning, Clyde, Strathnairn and Lord Lawrence. But why was Wellesley omitted?

Taken as a whole there is a lack of discrimination in the estimates made; but the author's point of view is clear. He writes for the most part as the enthusiastic defender of the group of brilliant men whom he has selected. So much of Anglo-Indian history has been biographical that the student to-day often wishes for a history which, while appreciative of the services of individuals, would have more of India in it and greater unity of conception and continuity of treatment. The books under review are not intended to satisfy that wish.

Les Intendants de Province sous Louis XVI. Par Paul Ardascheff, Professeur d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine à l'Université Impériale de Kiev. Traduit du Russe sous la Direction de l'Auteur par Louis Jousserandot, Sous-Bibliothécaire à l'Université de Lille. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1909, pp. xx, 488.) The thesis of this extremely interesting compilation is that the intendants under Louis XVI., differed from those under Louis XIV. as the enlightened despotism of Frederick the Great differed from the centralized absolutism of the Grand Monarch. Professor Ardascheff proves fully the powerful influence of enlightened public opinion in France under Louis XVI., and that the intendants not only were constantly guided by that spirit of enlightenment but also were among its creators and promoters. Much is made of Turgot and his work, but Senac de Meilhan Montyon, the founder of the famous prizes, Chaumont de La Galaizière, and many others are cited in evidence. The intendants were university men, trained in the law, members of the new judicial and administrative nobility, closely allied with the wealthy class in the cities, and so by birth and training members of that very group of enlightened Frenchmen who were influencing the monarchs and ministers of Europe. Several were themselves men of letters, many were active patrons of science and letters, and most of them maintained residences in Paris where they delighted to spend much time in the cultured circles.

In proof of their enlightened administration, Professor Ardascheff presents their work in relief of destitution, their varied charitable and

philanthropic acts, their efforts at sanitation and the improvement of the public health, their attempts to mitigate the burden of the *taille* and other evils of the financial system, their efforts to abolish or reform the *corvée* and other burdens and abuses surviving from feudalism, their tolerance of Protestants, their encouragement of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, their development of roads and waterways, their patronage of letters, arts and sciences, their promotion of education, and their application of the physiocratic ideas.

The thoroughness and industry of the author is attested by the multitude of references to a wide range of books, to various archives, and to private sources of information. The material is skilfully arranged but not always well digested. Professor Ardascheff himself seems conscious that his evidence is sometimes of doubtful value and inadequate. While he has shown clearly the influence of enlightened public opinion upon the intendants, the cultured and philanthropic character of many of them, the real reforms and popularity of a few of them, the impression still remains that many of them were not especially efficient administrators and that their reforms were often more benevolence than beneficence. Even the best intentioned and the most zealous were constantly hampered and blocked by the cumbersome and crumbling bureaucracy.

The volume is not merely a translation, it is a revised and enlarged edition published in French instead of Russian. It is the second part of a two-volume work, and it is promised that the first volume, which is devoted to the administrative system instead of the personnel, will later appear in French. A list of the sixty-eight intendants of the reign is given, and the book is indexed. The proof-reading should have been more carefully done.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

Discours et Rapports de Robespierre. Avec une Introduction et des Notes par Charles Vellay, Docteur ès Lettres. [L'Élite de la Révolution.] (Paris, Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1908, pp. xx, 430.) This edition is disappointing for two reasons: first, because it does not include all Robespierre's speeches, but only the more formal discourses and reports, printed at the time of their delivery; second, because the introduction appears to be a panegyric designed chiefly for the disciples, and because it gives no critical information about Robespierre as a maker of speeches, and offers no hint of the reasons for excluding from the collection his less formal productions. The introduction contains more than one echo of the controversy now raging in France between two groups of students of the Revolution. M. Vellay, for example, remarks that to say that Robespierre's speech upon property "ne fut qu'une tactique, une surenchère présentée sans conviction et dans le seul but de discréditer les Girondins, c'est faire preuve d'une ignorance singulière", a remark which finds point in the statement of M. Aulard

on page 452 of his *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française*, that this speech "n'était qu'une manœuvre politique, pour paraître plus démocrate que les Girondins, pour les dépopulariser." M. Vellay regards Robespierre as the doctrinal forerunner of Babeuf. He believes that Robespierre was the only one, seconded it is true by St. Just, who had a precise conception of the object of the Revolution and of the means of attaining it. He finds the destruction of those who hindered the coming of the reign of "vertu" altogether justifiable. The overthrow of Robespierre was, in his opinion, fatal to the establishment of the republic. Each discourse is prefaced by a brief account of the circumstances in which it was delivered. In printing Robespierre's last speech M. Vellay has followed the text of the "Commission thermidorienne," adding in notes the variants and passages erased in the original manuscript. The prefatory note advances the theory that the combination which overthrew Robespierre on the next day was several weeks in the making. It would be instructive to see the evidence for this. While M. Vellay's collection will be convenient for the general study of Robespierre's more notable speeches, it will do little to advance existing knowledge of Robespierre's development as a political leader.

H. E. BOURNE.

Bibliographie du Temps de Napoléon comprenant l'Histoire des États-Unis. Tome I. Par Frédéric M. Kircheisen. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1908, pp. xliv, 412.) This is the beginning of a *magnum opus* on the history of the Napoleonic era to which the author expects to devote his entire life. One wonders why the United States should be mentioned in the title to the exclusion of thirteen other countries whose history is also comprehended. The volume contains 3912 titles. Part I., covering 16 pages and containing 141 titles, is on the general history of the period, 1795-1815. Part II., covering 241 pages with 2581 titles, is devoted to the history of fourteen individual states during the period. Part III., covering 155 pages and containing 1190 titles, is occupied with the wars of the period. A second volume containing six more parts and completing the bibliography is promised within a year. Each part is elaborately divided and subdivided into various groups and classes of histories. The use of three languages in the caption is quite unnecessary. The changing of the order in which the three are used is ludicrous. Some translations are inaccurate.

L'Eglise de Paris et la Révolution. Par P. Pisani, Docteur-ès-Lettres, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. I., 1789-1792. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Religieuse.] (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1908, pp. 350.) The interest of this book written by a priest and a canon of Notre Dame is not as special as the title might lead one to think. In fact it is the religious policy of the Revolution from the elections to the States General in 1789 until the massacres of September, 1792, that M.

Pisani gives us in ten clear and well distributed chapters. To be sure, the documents consulted by him refer to the Church of Paris only; but since Paris was the place where history was then being made, and the conditions of the Church were practically the same in all sections of the country, no better field could be found to study the practical workings of the new policy.

The opening chapter gives a detailed topographical description of the Paris of 1790, with its 6 or 700,000 souls, its 107 parishes reduced from 479 by the new distribution of dioceses, its 52 churches, 38 convents, 921 monks and 1000 priests. It is interesting to note what was the state of mind of that clergy when they were called upon to draw up their *cahiers* and elect their representatives in April and May, 1789. The author quotes extracts from pamphlets and papers showing the grievances of the lower class of priests when a chance was given them to protest against the inequalities, the abuses, the unfair distribution of livings and offices which were the curse of the Church of the eighteenth century.

Without superfluous quotations from the parliamentary debates but with a fair attempt at exactitude if not sympathy, the author studies the three great laws of the Constituent Assembly: the confiscation of church property passed by a vote of 568 against 346 (November 2, 1789); the suppression of religious communities (February 13, 1790); the civil constitution of the clergy (June 1, 1790). Nor is the famous vote on the Dom Gerle motion by which the Assembly refused to commit itself to a recognition of a state church (April 13, 1791) overlooked in the gradual development of a new conception of relations between Church and State. The last chapters deal at length with the situation of the *insermentés*, who had refused to swear allegiance to the new constitution or retracted their oath. It is well shown that the attitude of tolerance observed towards them by the government and their constitutional colleagues changed rapidly under the influence of an hostile mob which began to assault them in their chapels and oratories, as well as under the provocations of the enemies of the new régime with whom they were confused. Hence the various laws of proscription passed against them, culminating in that of May 27, 1792, in the wholesale arrests of August and the massacres of September which included 200 priests.

This work, although written by a priest who had to submit to the *imprimatur* of the archbishop and uses the language of a Catholic party writer rather than that of a scholar (the separation law of 1905 is called "law of spoliation", ecclesiastic marriages are spoken of with horror as "sacrilegious", and references to present-day politics are not wanting) is nevertheless a useful, reliable and readable contribution to what is perhaps the most exciting subject in the history of that period. The statements in reference to the conceptions of that time on the right of the state over the property of the Church, the frank acknowledgment

of the conditions of the convents, especially the figures on the distribution all over France of *assermentés* and *insermentés* in which the author has used Professor Sagnac's curious work, show that even the members of the French clergy are applying the scientific methods of M. Aulard's school to the study of the Revolution.

O. G.

Correspondance Générale de Carnot, publiée avec des Notes Historiques et Biographiques par Étienne Charavay, archiviste-paléographe. Tome IV., Novembre 1793-Mars 1795. (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1907, pp. ix, 853.) It is nearly twelve years since the preceding volume of this publication appeared. The delay has been caused in part by the death of the editor, M. Étienne Charavay, and in part by the necessity of modifying the plan according to which M. Charavay was proceeding, for it seemed advisable to complete the work in two additional volumes. M. Charavay had included not only the letters of Carnot and of the Committee of Public Safety, which concerned military affairs, but also letters written to them by the ministers of war, generals, representatives on mission, etc., all in the nature of supplementary material. It happens that the documents for the month of November, 1793, the first month covered by the present volume, had been edited by M. Charavay before he died, and as the present editor, M. Paul Mautouchet, did not wish that any of this work be lost, one can judge of the relatively large amount of the supplementary material which M. Charavay was accumulating. Although only forty-five letters are by Carnot or the Committee, the material occupies 224 pages. To see how radical the change of plan is one need only observe that the material for December occupies thirty-four pages. M. Mautouchet continues to print the military correspondence of Carnot and of the Committee, with occasional letters written to Carnot, if they throw light upon the military activities of the Committee. He is spared the trouble of printing others, for these are included in M. Aulard's monumental *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public*. Letters of especial significance M. Mautouchet analyzes, although they are few in comparison with the total mass in the Aulard collection. For example, there are nine taken from volume XI., for a period covered by pp. 287-305 of this volume. By placing such restrictions upon himself M. Mautouchet has been able to bring within the compass of this volume the military correspondence down to March 5, 1795, when Carnot finally left the Committee. Comparatively few of these letters have as their primary interest political affairs. Occasionally a letter, with military objects in view, gives evidence of the temper of the Committee, especially the letter written in April to the representatives at Port-la-Montagne (Toulon), asking why all the inhabitants of that rebellious town except the *sans culottes* and the workmen had not been driven away and their

houses destroyed. M. Mautouchet's work as editor is all that could be desired.

H. E. BOURNE.

La Jeunesse Libérale de 1830: Letters d'Alphonse d'Herbelot à Charles de Montalembert et à Léon Cornudet (1828-1830). Publiées pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par ses Petits-Neveux. (Paris, Picard et Fils, 1908, pp. xvii, 294). These are letters of a young professor in the Collège d'Henri IV. They reflect the sentiments of the young liberals in France during the last two years before the revolution of 1830. Most of them were addressed to the young Montalembert who was part of the time in Sweden and part of the time in Italy, and who later became a noted historian, publicist and politician. Their purpose was to keep him in touch with the interesting events of the day. They contain judgments often keen and harsh on the men in power, especially Polignac, Bourmont and Martignac. The writer was himself an actor in the revolution but soon foresaw that the July Monarchy was a makeshift.

Thomas George Earl of Northbrook, G. C. S. I.: A Memoir. By Bernard Mallet. (London and New York, Longmans, 1908, pp. xii, 308.) This is a sober book in four long chapters. The decision not to include any number of Lord Northbrook's letters has laid a heavy burden of exposition on the biographer. But frequent special statements by Lord Cromer, also of the Baring family, written for the purpose, serve to illuminate as well as to inform. Indeed the third chapter, dealing with the period 1880 to 1885, must be read in connection with *Modern Egypt*. For the student, the special value of the book will probably be due first to the justification of Lord Northbrook's famine policy in 1874; second, to the information given as to his attitude with regard to the Afghan policy inaugurated by Lord Salisbury's despatch of January, 1875; and third, to the defence of Lord Northbrook's policy at the Admiralty, 1880 to 1885. Among other matters suggested or noted in the book are the influence of the introduction of the telegraph on the Governor-General of India and his powers; Lord Northbrook's comment that "the Anglo-Indians know little or nothing of what is really India" (p. 133); the working of English local government, to which he devoted himself with great interest in his own county of Hampshire from 1888 almost to the time of his death in 1904; and lastly the increasing difficulty with which he and his colleagues restrained the habit of resignation in the closing months of Mr. Gladstone's ministry in 1884-1885, when the chief was losing the confidence of many of his ablest supporters.

Lord Northbrook was almost the last Whig; and this memoir is a study of political ideas, now for the most part neglected, as applied to the problems of the last thirty-five years. It was not till 1872, as

Governor-General of India, that Lord Northbrook gained his first independent sphere of action. A long apprenticeship as under-secretary in various departments had given him an unusual range of information and admirable training, which were to be tested to the full in his greatest tasks. He was clear, calm and consistent, almost methodical in his statesmanship; and this book resembles its subject.

Le Haut Commandement des Armées Allemandes en 1870 (d'après des Documents Allemands). Par Lieutenant-Colonel Rousset, Ancien Député, Ancien Professeur à l'École Supérieure de Guerre. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1908, pp. x, 336.) Lieutenant-Colonel Rousset gives us a treatise on High Command in the German Armies during the campaign of 1870, but he limits the discussion to the part played by the first and second armies and to the operations which culminated in the investment of Metz. The author announces that his object is to show that it was not to the conceptions of Moltke, nor to the foresight of the army commanders that victory was due, but that the true conquerors of France were the bold chiefs of lower rank, close to the men, who estimated military situations on the spot, often acted contrary to orders, always aggressively and with the single idea of getting into action. To his aid the colonel calls the numerous publications of late years which give the recollections of many actors in these great events, which make clear and explain the rather colorless narrative of the general staff. Does he prove his case?

It is a common fault of military criticism to ascribe an undue importance to the mistakes of high commanders when they do not affect the general plan. Napoleon said that he who is free from error never made war. A commander should be judged by striking an accurate balance between the times when he was right and the times when he was wrong. To do this in 1870 we should go back to the strategic concentration at the beginning of the war and to the strategic marches after the war commenced. Perhaps we might then conclude that the tactical victories, which Colonel Rousset believes to have been within the easy grasp of the French on several occasions, would have had no more than a temporary and local effect.

If we agree to this we may accept the author's verdict as to Steinmetz and Frederick Charles, and we may also agree to the graceful tribute that a French soldier pays to the spirit of initiative and comradeship which existed in every rank in the German army, which impelled an advance-guard commander to bring on a great battle relying on the support of all who could get there too, which nerved a corps commander to attack the entire French army and which led a young captain of the General Staff to arrogate to himself the functions of a lieutenant-general in hurrying troops to the front. But we may doubt if the relentless march of events was changed or even hastened by all

this when we study the far-reaching schemes of the Chief of Staff, his choice of objectives and the size of his armies.

EBEN SWIFT.

Kultur und Reich der Marotse: Eine historische Studie. Von Martin Richter. [Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, ed. Lamprecht, VIII.] (Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1908, pp. xvi, 196.) This monograph is a description and estimate of the culture of the Marotse, who form an empire, equal in area to that of Germany, on the upper right bank of the Zambesi. The development of the empire is the outcome of a series of migrations of Bantu peoples from South Africa. The merit of the monograph is that it embodies data based only upon original sources and arranged so as to present a comprehensive view of all phases of the life of the people. The first division of the work deals with the history of the empire, and the second with its culture. Under the latter division are discussed: (a) the material culture, (b) the organization of the community life, the family and the state, and (c) the intellectual culture, the art, music, fable, story, and the manner in which the people interpret their environment.

In some respects the Marotse offer striking contrasts to other African negroes. For example, in some districts a husband has to purchase his own children from his father-in-law. The facility for divorce leads in principle to free love. It is rare that a man in middle life retains his first wife; yet sexual relations are kept within legal bounds and adultery is condemned. A mother does not hesitate to kill her children if they stand in the way of a re-marriage. The animals represented in fable are only personified men. The hare eats meat, the lion bakes bread and the frog hoes the fields. The traditions portraying the conflict between man and god reveal a spirit of overcoming which is rare among negro peoples.

The author shows a sympathetic attitude towards missionary efforts, but at present the number of Christians is too small to affect the masses. Upon the whole he has used the available data with restraint and his work will be of value to students in the social sciences.

JEROME DOWD.

Texts of the Peace Conferences at the Hague, 1899 and 1907, with English Translation and Appendix of related Documents. Edited, with an Introduction, by James Brown Scott, Technical Delegate of the United States to the Second Peace Conference at the Hague. (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1908, pp. xxxiv, 447.) In Secretary Root's brief prefatory note to the volume, quoting from his letter of February 26, 1908, submitting the Hague conventions of the previous year for consideration by the Senate, he declares: "I think the work of the Second Hague Conference . . . presents the greatest advance ever made at any single time toward the reasonable and peaceful regulation of interna-

tional conduct, unless it be the advance made at the Hague Conference of 1899". He further says that each attempt to secure international agreement upon matters affecting peace and war "is to be considered not by itself alone, but as a part of a series in which sound proposals may come to a general acceptance only by a very gradual process extending through many years". The purpose of this collection of documents is to present the "sound proposals" hitherto made which properly enter into this "series".

Chronologically speaking, it begins in the appendix with the Declaration of Paris of 1856; followed by Lieber's Instructions for the Government of the Army of the United States in the Field, 1863; the Geneva Convention of 1864 and the additional articles of 1868; the Declaration of St. Petersburg of 1868; the Declaration of the Conference of Brussels of 1874; and the Oxford Recommendations regarding the Laws of War on Land, 1880. Then, in chronological order, come the documents relating to the Peace Conference of 1899. The Czar's rescript of August, 1898, and his circular of January, 1899, summoning the conference are followed by the seventeen documents embodying the important results of the conference, including the Final Act, one resolution, six recommendations, four conventions, three declarations, the table of signatures, and the reservations attached to the ratifications of four states, the whole collection occupying pages 1 to 92. The documents of the Second Hague Conference extend over pages 93 to 346. Of the diplomatic correspondence preparing for the conference, there are given two letters of Secretary Hay, two of Secretary Root, three of the Russian ambassador, and one of the Dutch minister. Then follow the twenty-four documents embodying the important results of the conference, including the Final Act, two resolutions, four recommendations, fourteen conventions, one declaration, the table of signatures, and numerous reservations by various countries to their ratifications. Between the dates of the two peace conferences would come, in chronological order, the last two documents of the appendix, a Convention regarding Hospital Ships, signed at the Hague, 1904; and a new Geneva Convention regarding sick and wounded, 1906.

The twenty-five page introduction by the editor gives a very brief but lucid analysis and discussion of the work of the two conferences. He draws an interesting analogy between the course of the development of the common law of nations and that of the common law of England. There are a few errors and some awkward constructions which more care could have eliminated; but these are comparatively slight defects in a very creditable piece of work. Most of the documents have been published elsewhere and some of them many times, but it is well worth while to have them brought together in this convenient form.

Jahrbuch der Zeit- und Kulturgeschichte, 1907. Erster Jahrgang.
Herausgegeben von Dr. Franz Schnürer. (Freiburg im Breisgau, Her-

der, 1908, pp. viii, 479.) This new *Jahrbuch* is intended for a companion to the *Jahrbuch der Naturwissenschaften* which for twenty-three years has been appearing under the same auspices. The contents are grouped in ten parts, each part containing several chapters by different writers. Part i. is an introductory review of the year. Part ii. contains five chapters on religious life, in general, in Germany, in Austria, in foreign countries, and in mission fields. Part iii., has three chapters on political life, in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, and in foreign lands. Part iv. deals in four chapters with social and domestic questions under the subheads, economic and social affairs, education, the German press, and the Austrian press. Part v. contains seven chapters on the sciences, theology, philosophy, history, philology, literary history, folklore and jurisprudence. Part vi. deals with literature under the heads, lyric and epic, drama and the theatre, and prose writings. Part vii. treats of art and music. Part viii. is a chronicle; part ix., personal mention; and part x. a necrology. There is a three-column index covering twenty pages.

The Bibliographer's Manual of American History, containing an Account of all State, Territory, Town and County Histories, etc. Compiled by Thomas Lindsley Bradford, M.D. Edited and revised by Stan. V. Henkels. Vol. III., M to Q, nos 3104-4527. (Philadelphia, Stan. V. Henkels and Co., 1908, pp. 314.) This volume perhaps shows some improvement over its two predecessors (REVIEW, XIII. 384, 908), but none of a decided character. Inclusion and exclusion are still managed somewhat arbitrarily; *e. g.*, at no. 3706, Morse's *Description of the Georgia Western Territory*, a mere "separate" from his *American Gazetteer*, while the latter is not included. The arrangement is such that all users will wait impatiently for the indexes, on the excellence of which much will depend. Thus, Gottfried Duden's *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten* (Elberfeld, 1829), which was not entered under Duden, is now given under Missouri though the arrangement of the book purports to be by authors. Gorton's *Simplicities Defence*, which was not entered under Gorton, is now presented under New England, a section, by the way, having a singularly confused arrangement. The French translation of Filson's *Kentucke*, though already noticed under Filson, is now given again under Parraud, the name of the translator. The *Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*, already given under Flint, reappears under Pattie. Beauchamp Plantagenet's *New Albion* appears both under Plantagenet and in the section of New England anonyma. There are mistakes in nearly all titles in foreign languages. The notes seldom rest on modern authorities, such as the Church Catalogue or Evans; that on Morton's *New English Canaan*, *e. g.*, represents a state of knowledge anterior to Mr. C. F. Adams's edition. That on the *Groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid* is wholly insufficient.

State Publications, a provisional list of the official publications of the several states of the United States, compiled under the editorial direction of Mr. R. R. Bowker, has now been completed by the issue of part iv., relating to the Southern States (New York, Office of the Publishers' Weekly, 1908, pp. 607-1031). This was the most difficult part of this very useful bibliography. We have no criticism to make upon the entries made relating to the period of statehood. But it appears to us that perfection in the earlier data might have been much more nearly approached if greater pains had been taken to seek the aid of competent bibliographers in the various state capitals, or to send the compilers thither. In a few instances the former has been done with good effect. In other cases the lists have been compiled mainly from the collections of state documents in the New York Public Library and the State Library of Massachusetts. We observe, as the result, grave omissions in the titles for the colonial period.

Zwei Beiträge zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Vereinigten Staaten. Von Charles Meyerholz. [Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, ed. Lamprecht, VI.] (Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1908, pp. 246.) The first of these essays, *Die Foederal-Konvention vom Jahre 1787*, is merely a commonplace account of the work of the Federal Convention, the treatment being based largely upon secondary authorities, the credit for which is not always given. The ordinary records of the Convention as found in Elliot's *Debates*, the *Documentary History of the Constitution*, etc., are used, but not to support any new interpretation of the Convention's work. The only thing that approaches a new feature is a compilation of figures regarding the age and birthplace of the delegates, the composition of committees, the number of times "state sovereignty" was referred to, etc. An objectionable feature of this compilation and of the treatment of other questions is a tendency to emphasize divisions in the Convention according to the Mason and Dixon Line, a division which was of little consequence at that time. The essay is in German, and the style at various points would indicate that it had been translated from the English.

The second of the essays, *Federal Supervision over the Territories of the United States*, is in English and presents the results of studies mainly in original material, some of which is unpublished. After an introduction upon the origin of the public domain, the main body of the essay is divided into three chapters upon the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Control over Territories. Although the material is rather poorly analyzed and exception might be taken to its organization and presentation, some good statistics may be found.

M. F.

Wahlamt und Vorwahl in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika. Von Dr. Ernst C. Meyer. (Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1908, pp. xxx,

210.) This volume is divided into three parts. The first deals with elective offices in federal, state and local governments. In the second part the indirect primary or convention system is considered, and in part three the direct primary. In parts two and three, the author covers the ground traversed in his *Nominating Systems*, published in 1902, but has changed the style of treatment and introduced much new material illustrative of recent developments. The volume contains a bibliography of material on the nominating system and also a list of laws enacted for the regulation of primaries. Both of these are useful, neither is complete; the latter especially is by no means exhaustive. Dr. Meyer makes the interesting suggestion in the last chapter of his work that a combined primary and election should be held and that "The candidate of each party, who receives the largest number of votes in the primary, shall have all the votes of his party opponents, and that the candidate of each party, who in this way receives the largest number, shall be regarded as elected for the office in question." This, he thinks, would preserve the integrity of the party, and at the same time simplify the election machinery. On the whole, Dr. Meyer's volume will be found very useful to the student of the American party system, and particularly to those interested in the nominating process.

The American Executive and Executive Methods. By John H. Finley, President of the College of the City of New York, and John F. Sanderson, Member of the Pennsylvania Bar. [The American State Series.] (New York, Century Company, 1908, pp. 352.) The joint authors of this useful book upon the executive department in nation and state have maintained the high standard of scholarship that has characterized the series of which the volume under review is the final number. Two rather dry and perfunctory chapters devoted to a short historical sketch of the colonial governor and revolutionary state executive are followed by twelve chapters upon the executive department of the American state, which constitute a valuable and the most satisfactory portion of the book. The remainder of the volume consists of eight chapters, of uneven merit, dealing with the federal executive, to which is added an appendix upon the presidential electoral system. Just why the important subject of the election and succession to the presidency should have been relegated to an appendix while details of bureau organization receive minute treatment in the text is difficult to understand.

The distinctive feature of the work is the marked emphasis laid upon the administrative as opposed to the political functions of the executive departments of government. This is noticeably the case in the discussion of the federal executive, which is practically an elementary treatise upon federal administrative law. The strictly legal and ministerial powers of the President and his subordinates are well

portrayed but the deep constitutional significance of the President's representative relation to the entire American people and of the theory and practice of presidential interpretation of executive powers does not receive adequate recognition.

The book reflects somewhat the defects inherent in a work of dual authorship. Some chapters are admirably written, others, based largely upon court decisions and opinions of the Attorney-General, resemble a lawyer's brief and are for the layman difficult reading. The problem of proportion and arrangement is not handled with equal success in the several portions of the work and citation of authorities does not always follow a consistent rule. A number of minor errors have been noticed but the work has, on the whole, been performed with commendable accuracy. The personal views of the authors are sound and discriminating.

MARSHALL S. BROWN.

Winthrop's Journal, 1630-1649, edited by James Kendall Hosmer (New York, Scribners, 1905, pp. xi, 335; xii, 373) has appeared in two volumes, as one of the series of "Original Narratives of Early American History". The old title of the Savage edition, *History of New England*, is given in this edition, wisely, only as a subtitle, and the volumes thus appear to be what they are—a journal. The editing suggested some perplexing problems which have on the whole been solved judiciously. A brief but careful comparison of some portions of the manuscript with Savage's text appeared to demonstrate that Savage had made a very careful copy—after looking at the facsimile of the first manuscript page one feels like saying a most careful translation; and the editor was certainly right, unless he had months of time and exceptional quantities of patience, in relying on the work of his predecessor, a competent and accurate scholar. The plan of omitting Savage's notes, except in a few instances, and of supplying annotations less pedantic, if less curiously interesting, was also wise under the circumstances, though scholars will always wish to have the older edition within reach. Had the plan of the series permitted the use of starred numbers to indicate the pages of Savage, it would have been of distinct advantage.

The notes appear on the whole to be adequate and useful. One of them however leaves the reader at a loss; for how can the editor say, "In 1665 came what Brooks Adams calls the 'Emancipation of Massachusetts', with a form of government much freer and better, though introduced under the auspices of the restored Stuarts" (II. 174)? The index could in the reviewer's opinion have been enlarged to advantage; but of course, while this is a serious criticism, there is always room for differences of opinion between the index-maker and the user of a book. The insertion of several pages of *A Short Story* in the body of the text of the *Journal* is of very doubtful wisdom; but this is not very impor-

tant; one would naturally expect to find it in an appendix. On the whole the edition shows scholarship and good sense, and one would be foolish to demand more.

A. C. McL.

The Province of New Jersey, 1664-1738. By Edwin P. Tanner, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Syracuse University. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Volume XXX.] (New York, Longmans, 1908, pp. xvi, 712.) We have here a detailed history of the political affairs and institutions of New Jersey during two generations of its provincial life. The work is divided into twenty-eight chapters, varying in length from 5 to 81 pages, whose titles give a fair notion of the scope of the treatment of the period. These concern the nature, history, and political relations of the peculiar land system of the proprietors in each of the two Jerseys; elements of the population; relations to the Duke of York and to the crown; the personnel, legal position and activities of executive, council and assembly, respectively, and their conflicts; the judicial system; financial affairs; militia system; the Church of England in the province; and the movement for a separate governor.

The treatment being topical rather than chronological gives to the reader the feeling that the work is more or less a series of monographs. This method inevitably leads to repetitions. The statement is made no less than six times that the authorship of Cornbury's Ordinance for Establishing Courts of Judicature is to be ascribed to Mompesson.

Dr. Tanner with all his commendable zeal has in some instances contented himself with less than final authority. For example, this reiterated assumption that Mompesson prepared Cornbury's ordinance seems to rest wholly on the surmise of Field in his *Provincial Courts*. But the ordinance in all its essential features was issued in New York by Bellomont in 1699 and in fact had a much earlier origin.

The author very properly emphasizes the importance of the political issue between proprietary and anti-proprietary parties, but he fails to take account of some of the other formative elements and tendencies; of local life and activities, notably the chartering of three cities, no other colony of the time having more than two "city" governments; of the significant change to the presbyterial form and relations of the Independent churches of New England origin; he slights too the influence of the religious organizations other than the Anglicans and Friends.

There are occasional slips, as, for example, the imperfect quotation of the Duke's release (p. 3); 40 nobles (*ibid.*); "Rev. George Talbot" (p. 293); "the governor . . . as chancellor till 1770" (p. 469). The governor continued under varying conditions to act as chancellor until 1844. The index would be of greater value were there sub-titles to the more important headings, such as, for example, the *New Jersey*

Archives of the period give. The book is well printed; the typographical errors noticed are few. The foot-notes so far as examined are for the most part accurate in their references. The historical temper of the author is excellent; while his judgment favors the proprietary party he shows a judicial spirit in his estimate of men and measures, and his style is clear. He has provided a *vade mecum* for all students of the period.

The Writings of James Madison. Edited by Gaillard Hunt. Volume VIII., 1808-1819. (New York, Putnam, 1908, pp. xix, 455.) Not more than a tenth part of this volume is new matter. The messages and proclamations have of course been frequently printed before, and most of the correspondence has already appeared in the *Letters and Other Writings*. Indeed the earlier collection contains more letters for the period covered by this volume than are embraced in it, although this is a better selection of what is most interesting and most important. The various instructions to Armstrong and Pinckney, which occupy the first section of the volume, have for the most part been printed already in the folio *American State Papers*; but when brought together in a chronological order they enable us to follow the history of Madison's diplomacy, during the last year in which he was Secretary of State, in a particularly instructive manner. Of the few letters which are drawn from private sources, or the collections at the Lenox Library or those of the Chicago Historical Society, the most interesting perhaps is one to Jonathan Dayton, March 17, 1812, asking him to send, at that critical moment, further amplifications of the hints he had previously given in an anonymous letter concerning alleged plots against the government. Of the letters hitherto unpublished which Mr. Hunt has derived from the archives of the Department of State, the most interesting are those which illustrate the course of Madison during the disgraceful episode of the capture of Washington. Mr. Hunt's notes are, as usual, excellent in respect to information, judgment and good taste.

The Life and Times of Anne Royall. By Sarah Harvey Porter, M.A. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Torch Press, 1909, pp. 292.) Anne Newport was born in Maryland in 1769, and in 1797 married William Royall of Virginia, who had been a captain in the Revolutionary war. She became a widow when she was forty-three years old and, being deprived by a contest over her husband's will of the property he had bequeathed her, she was left to gain her own living, which she did by writing up to the time of her death at 85 years of age. Her first volume, however, was not published till she was fifty-seven years old, and in the next five years she issued no less than six volumes of travels and one novel. After this she issued many other volumes and established two papers in Washington, *Paul Pry* and *The Huntress*, for which she furnished practically all the copy. In her writings she dealt

largely in personalities. She was lavish in praise of her friends and unsparing in abuse of her enemies; those who were kind to her being the former and those who were unkind to her being the latter. She espoused ardently the cause of the Masons during the period of the Anti-Masonic movement; fought the United States Bank with Andrew Jackson, and waged a noisy war against clerical bigotry. The most noteworthy event in her career was her trial by the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia in 1829, Chief Justice Cranch presiding, on the charge of being a common scold. She was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of ten dollars, the court ruling that this penalty might be substituted for the traditional ducking-stool. Of course, she scolded all the harder after this, and neither old age nor the dire poverty which came upon her diminished her indomitable spirit, which continued unbroken to the end. Many people feared her because of the abusive personalities which appeared in her papers, and after her death the memory of these and of her noisy obtrusiveness survived her more amiable characteristics, and she received contemptuous mention from all writers on Washington life, until the late Ainsworth R. Spofford of the Library of Congress in an article on Early Journalism in Washington spoke a few words in her favor. It was this circumstance which prompted Miss Porter to make the study of Anne Royall which is under review. Miss Porter has read all of Mrs. Royall's writings, and has followed her erratic course with commendable thoroughness. She gives also an index to Mrs. Royall's pen-portraits of prominent characters of her day which are scattered throughout her voluminous writings and which students will find of value. She has taken a fair view of Mrs. Royall's characteristics, but she has exaggerated her importance.

G. H.

A Calendar of Confederate Papers with a Bibliography of Some Confederate Publications. [Preliminary Report of the Southern Historical Manuscripts Commission.] Prepared under the direction of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society, by Douglas Southall Freeman. (Richmond, Va., The Confederate Museum, 1908, pp. 621.) It would be difficult to speak in terms sufficiently complimentary of the careful and really monumental historical enterprises in the South now actively collecting, arranging and publishing various kinds of material relating to the Civil War. One should have known the conditions in the Southern capitals a quarter of a century ago to appreciate the truly marvellous changes. And the different persons directing these enterprises are so energetic, intelligent and ambitious that they convince us that the best fruits are yet to be gathered, although there is no room to doubt the value of several large collections already made.

Mr. Freeman's *Calendar* describes in generous detail the collection made by the Confederate Memorial Literary Society prior to September, 1907, and preserved in its fireproof Museum in Richmond. Whoever

writes Confederate history from the sources will find this orderly and thoroughly modern *Calendar*, supplemented by careful notes, an indispensable *vade mecum*. A long and instructive introduction tells of future aims as well as of actual achievements and shows that while a wide historical horizon is scanned, nearer and minor objects are not overlooked.

All persons who have visited the great battlefields that have been transformed into national parks have been surprised to find Union monuments in serried rank frowning terribly at innumerable and invisible foes where only a smiling, virgin landscape appears. "Where are the memorials of the Confederates?" has often been asked by travellers, who forgot how much less than a surplus of wealth was left the Southern survivors. Now the South can give the best possible answer: "Come to Richmond, come to Montgomery, come to Jackson, come to New Orleans, and you shall see not tawdry, vainglorious artificialities, but the original of nearly all but living, breathing, dying things of that time—the records, the telegrams, all sorts of public and private manuscripts and printed documents, the arms, the ragged uniforms and tattered flags, the very drums and fifes and bugles, battered, yet ready; as if to call forth from their dusty graves the lank, shabby, battle-scarred and all but invincible 'Lee's misérables'". This *Calendar* is the historian's Baedeker for Richmond's best memorials of the Confederates

FREDERIC BANCROFT.

Grant's Campaign in Virginia, 1864 (The Wilderness Campaign). By Captain VAUGHAN-SAWYER, Indian Army. (London, Swan Sonnenschein; New York, Macmillan, 1908, pp. 197.) Since the revival of the study of military history in the British army, the campaigns of the Civil War in America have received the special attention of its officers. In this handy little volume Captain Vaughan-Sawyer has shown unusual talent. The list of authorities consulted shows that he has not an extended knowledge of the literature of the Civil War and this appears in almost every chapter, but he shows a good knowledge of his subject and a clear understanding of military principles, and his criticisms are original, sometimes novel and generally, but not always, sound. The narrative is brief but clear and comprehensive and the reasons for or against each disposition and movement are discussed in a manner both creditable to the author and interesting and instructive to the military student.

Speaking of the advance from the Wilderness, he says, "In abandoning the field of battle, Grant departed in some measure from his own professed principles of 'never manoeuvring' and also from his own dictum that the Army of Virginia was to be his primary objective. . . . In proportion as he transferred the seat of the contest towards the southeast so did he lessen the chance of terminating the war by inflicting irretrievable defeat on the main army of the Confederacy in the field."

Captain Vaughan-Sawyer appreciates Grant's error in sending off Sheridan with the cavalry and attributes Grant's "non-success" in the Wilderness to the failure of the Federal cavalry to give him information of Lee's movements. As there is no mention of artillery preparation to any of Grant's assaults except on May 18, he infers that Grant failed to appreciate the value of this arm. He is quite wrong in saying that Ewing's advance on May 19 was Lee's last offensive movement against Grant.

The maps are not elaborate but they enable the reader to follow the text without difficulty.

The Adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. By Horace Edgar Flack, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, extra volume XXVI.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1908, pp. 285.) The Fourteenth Amendment, in its first section, declares that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States", or "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law", or "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws". In the Slaughter House Cases and on many later occasions the Supreme Court has been asked to hold that these clauses, together with the fifth section of the amendment, made the United States government the general guardian and protection of fundamental civil rights, superseding the states in this function. The court has steadfastly refused to interpret the amendment in this way. Dr. Flack's monograph has for its chief purpose the demonstration that the court might have justified itself if it had held what it was asked to hold. His method is a careful and detailed review of the process through which the amendment took shape and became law. He traces the various sections through all phases of their legislative history, beginning with the action of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, continuing in the two houses of Congress and the various state legislatures, and ending in the interpreting action of Congress through the passage of the Enforcement Acts. He makes it perfectly clear that a number of the strongest and most influential supporters of the amendment repeatedly described its meaning and effect as precisely those which the Supreme Court has steadfastly refused to give to it. Dr. Flack is, however, too good a lawyer and too exact a historian to say that the Supreme Court was wrong. He is content to leave to the reader the deductions that may be drawn from the clear and scholarly narrative.

The book will be very useful to every serious student of Reconstruction. It draws much instructive matter from the journal of the Joint Committee, and it puts in an especially interesting light the part played by Judge Bingham, of Ohio, in the framing of the first section. There is a wholesome spirit of restraint and caution about the book, and its statements of fact are to be relied on. A single slip has been noted:

on page 251 Senator Thurman is said to have been "later Vice-President of the United States". There is high authority for doubting this.

W. A. D.

Primary Elections: A Study of the History and Tendencies of Primary Election Legislation. By C. Edward Merriam, Associate Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1908, pp. xi, 308.) This work gives the first complete statement of American methods of nominating candidates for public office, together with an account of present conditions and tendencies. In the appendices the laws of New York, Illinois, Florida, Wyoming and parts of the Iowa and Wisconsin laws are printed; a summary is given of primary election laws in all the states; and a bibliography of direct nomination is supplied. It is an indispensable work for reference.

Professor Merriam shows that public sentiment is passing through a cycle of change. At present "there is discernible a powerful movement in favor of nomination by petition only, as a substitute both for the convention system and for the direct primary" (p. 135). Professor Merriam himself favors the direct primary, but he admits that evils have shown themselves. "It seems to be generally conceded that the cost of campaigning where candidates are chosen by direct vote is greater than under the other system" (p. 119). Thus it would seem that the system tends to make politics a rich man's game. The author suggests that "if the net result of mass campaigning is to arouse public interest and quicken public intelligence, the additional burden of cost can profitably be borne by the public" (p. 120). Another difficulty is that mere notoriety seems to be a valuable political asset, giving one who has it an advantage "over one better qualified but less generally known" (p. 122). The situation is summed up as follows (p. 132):

So far as its tendencies have been made evident, the direct primary has justified neither the lamentations of its enemies nor the prophecies of its friends. It has not "destroyed the party"; nor has it "smashed the ring". It has not resulted in racial and geographical discriminations, nor has it automatically produced the ideal candidate. Some "bosses" are wondering why they feared the law; and some "reformers" are wondering why they favored it. The wiser ones in both camps are endeavoring to readjust themselves to the new conditions.

If Professor Merriam's scheme of treatment had admitted comparisons with other countries light might have been thrown on a mystery which his book leaves darker than ever, namely, why the American people alone among modern democracies have to struggle through such a labyrinth of legal regulation in nominating candidates. He points out that originally that matter was left entirely to private initiative and expense. It still is in other democratic commonwealths. But this im-

portant difference is to be noted. While the American people have been trying to regulate the conditions under which power is gained other democratic peoples have established their control over public policy by regulating the conditions under which power is exercised. Elections are confined to the choice of representatives from among those presenting themselves. Administrative and judicial posts are filled by appointment under the sharp and vigilant criticism of the representatives of the people. This function of control is maintained through representatives who are compelled to represent the people instead of their individual interests by rules precluding them from obstructing the administration in submitting its measures, and also from proposing any taxes or appropriations not recommended by the administration. The hold-up, the treasury raid and the log-rolling system of passing bills are all shut out by the constitutional system. In Switzerland every bill must be submitted to the Federal Council for examination and report before the legislative chambers will consider it. Adapting for the occasion an old culinary maxim, it may be said that in other countries democracy avoids our primary election perplexities by acting upon the principle that it does not matter how you catch your candidate provided you know how to cook him. We have representative institutions but we have yet to attain responsible government. In the language which Burke applied to a similar situation, "This is the fountain of all those bitter waters of which, through an hundred different conduits, we have drunk until we are ready to burst".

HENRY JONES FORD.

Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, 1727-1907. Compiled from original sources by Norris S. Barratt and Julius F. Sachse. (Philadelphia, 1908, pp. xxiii, 477.) When so industrious an explorer as Mr. Sachse has long shown himself to be in the Pennsylvania-German field was recently appointed librarian of the Masonic Grand Lodge on Penn Square, such a volume as the one under consideration became a predictive certainty. Judge Barratt and his committee were necessary to the fulfillment, no doubt. Mr. Sachse's enthusiasm and method produce some serious defects. This volume is volume I., embracing the period 1727-1786, but, whereas all this ought to be found on the title-page, one can neither get it from that nor from the confusing outside title, and only discovers it to a clear-cut certainty after reading the preface, to page viii. Then when one incidentally reads at page vii the following: "By it is shown many masonically important historical facts", etc., one is inclined to wish for more care and less enthusiasm. The volume is frankly called a compilation, and it might almost be described as a reprint of a lodge's minutes, since probably less than one-tenth of it is narrative text, used to introduce chapters. After noting the St. John's Lodge "constitutions" of 1727 as the earliest evidence of the existence of Masonry in provincial Pennsylvania, and the creation of a provincial Grand Lodge

by the English authorities as early as 1730, with all the local lodge activity that this implies, Mr. Sachse shows how the great division in England in 1751, resulting in the "Ancient" wing of the order, caused the gradual displacement of the "Moderns" in this province, because of the greater democracy of the lodges of the "Ancients" as shown in the numerous "travelling" or "army" lodges among the soldiers and sailors of the French and Indian wars. Lodge 2, created as Lodge 1, but taking second place to enable the former to become a Grand Lodge, was the first of these "Moderns" to become "Ancient", soon after its formation in 1757. Naturally, therefore, a printing of the minutes of this lodge down to 1786 in this volume becomes of real interest to Masonic history in Pennsylvania and the country in general—meagre as such minutes are apt to appear to the layman. Mr. Sachse has supplied illustrations to his text with his usual prodigality, and some of them appear to be rare. A second volume is announced, to cover the remaining minutes to 1907. The volume has both an index of subjects and a full index of names.

BURTON ALVA KONKLE.

True Indian Stories, with Glossary of Indiana Indian Names. By Jacob Piatt Dunn, Secretary of the Indiana Historical Society. Indianapolis, Sentinel Printing Company, 1908, pp. 320.) This book consists of two distinct parts, the first of which contains two hundred and fifty-two pages of fascinating reading, which in a unique way, portrays a chapter in the early history of Indiana and the surrounding territory. While the incidents portrayed in the thirteen stories illustrate various phases of the life of the Indians, yet the historical significance of the book is much greater than is implied in the title. Its close connection with the early history of Indiana not only gives it a peculiar significance for the state, but also sheds light upon our young national government. The characters of General Wayne, General Harrison, young Zachary Taylor and others are admirably portrayed. In his writing, Mr. Dunn is graphic and vivid, yet he has so cleverly handled his material that the most delicate sense may not take offence. The second part of the book consists of a study of Indian names, displaying a large knowledge of comparative philology and many days of careful study and investigation. It is to be regretted that the book is not provided with a more attractive binding, and the illustrations, while well selected, are not of as good quality from a mechanical point of view as might be desired. There are few men as well prepared as Mr. Dunn for the service which he has rendered, as he has been making a special study of Indian languages for a number of years.

Collections and Researches made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Volume XXXVI. (Lansing, 1908, pp. ix, 702.) This is an important and valuable volume. Professor C. W. Alvord's paper

on the Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763 is a careful and well-reasoned study, which does much toward setting that document in its proper light. His argument, briefly, is that the primary intention in its making was the reassuring of the Indians, that Shelburne was the author of the part devoted to this object; that the government intended to control, but not permanently to prevent, westward expansion; and that some infelicities had their origin in haste to issue the proclamation before all subordinate parts of the government's policy had been duly studied. The remainder of the volume, except the usual reports of meetings and memorials of deceased members, is occupied with two important bodies of original material illustrating the history of Michigan Territory, the first (pp. 111-352) those records and documents of the period 1805-1819 which are preserved in the Bureau of Rolls and Library in the Department of State at Washington, the second (pp. 357-620) documents of the years 1808-1831 from among the Schoolcraft Papers at the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress. All are provided with excellent annotations by Mr. J. Sharpless Fox. No general description or history of either of these two bodies of material is given. No chapter-heading or other break marks the separation between them. The running headline "Territorial Records", appropriate to the first but not wholly so to the second, continues through both. Greater care and uniformity in devising headings to the several documents and in indicating properly the sources from which each was obtained would have increased the convenience of use by the historical scholar. But he has the substance of much valuable matter, and he has an excellent index.

Wisconsin: The Americanization of a French Settlement. By Reuben Gold Thwaites. [American Commonwealths.] (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1908, pp. ix, 466.) Mr. Thwaites has had a large part in building up the history of the country between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and the Great Lakes, once known as the Northwest Territory; and now he uses his opportunities to give a summary of the early explorations of the French and the development of the fur-trade by the English throughout that large region. The fact that Wisconsin lay in the pathway from the Lakes to the Mississippi brings into his record the adventures of Nicolet, Radisson and Groseilliers, Marquette and Jolliet, La Salle and Tonty; and the comparatively recent date (1836) when Wisconsin began a separate existence as a territory calls for treatment of the larger divisions of which the present state was once a part. Thus the student of the history of the Middle West finds in Mr. Thwaites's work an epitome of the latest results of the research that is constantly developing materials as the French and English archives are becoming available. Indeed, the author frankly acknowledges that he has been called upon to contradict some of his former statements, and he intimates that later he

may have occasion to modify opinions he now expresses. In tracing the development of a French settlement into an American state, attention is given to such details as the location of the capital in an unbroken wilderness, at the instance of land speculators; to the Indian wars; to the coming of immigrants from various sections of this country, as well as from Europe; and to industrial and educational development. There is a chapter on Wisconsin's part in the War of the Rebellion, a struggle that influenced profoundly the development of the Ohio-Lake region. One could desire fewer facts and a larger discussion of leading topics, such as, for example, the Indian policy of Lewis Cass, which is dismissed with a few words of implied censure. The author exercises a large toleration towards the over-boastful explorers, the crafty traders, and the many political speculators who played a large part in the development of the state. In fact the record of their doings causes wonder over such an excellent outcome as the present condition of Wisconsin betokens. The index covers over thirty pages, which indicates the thoroughness of the work.

C. M.

Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D., Secretary and Superintendent of the Society. Volume XVIII. (Madison, the Society, 1908, pp. xxv, 557.) This volume is composed of three sections. In the first Dr. Thwaites continues that chronological presentation, which he began in volume XVI. of the series, of contemporary documents concerning the French régime in the history of the upper Gréat Lakes having special but not exclusive reference to events connected with Wisconsin. Volumes XVI. and XVII. have covered the period from 1634 to 1748. The present volume proceeds from 1743 to 1760. Most of the documents are derived from the archives of the Ministry of the Colonies in Paris, some having been selected from the "Correspondance Générale" or series of letters received, some from "Série B", the series of outgoing instructions and letters. Some of the most important documents, however, are translations from Margry, like the narrative of Céloron or the memoir of Bougainville, or are derived from papers of the Grignon family, descendants of Charles Langlade, or other documents in the possession of the Wisconsin society. Next follows a section, of about the same length, consisting of a selection of documents relating to the British régime in Wisconsin from 1760 to 1800. Two-thirds of this material has already been printed, but the editor and his assistants have added to all parts many valuable notes, including a profusion of biographical details. The editor concludes by printing the register of marriages kept in the parish of Michilimackinac from 1725 to 1821. The volume has good illustrations and a good index. There are a considerable number of misprints in the foot-notes, especially in the proper names. To retain in translations (all the French documents are pre-

sented in translation) the capitalization of the originals does not seem to the reviewer commendable. The Society has also issued, in a good reprint, the sixth volume of its *Collections*, first printed in 1872.

An ally of the Society is the Wisconsin History Commission, consisting of the governor of the state, the professor of American history in the state university, the secretary of the Society, the secretary of the Library Commission and a representative of the Grand Army of the Republic. This body, lately established by statute, is charged to gather and arrange the material for a history of Wisconsin's part in the Civil War. The commissioners have proceeded to inaugurate a series of "Original Papers", of which the first is a small but tasteful volume entitled *A View of the Vicksburg Campaign* (pp. xii, 104), by the late Col. William F. Vilas, while the second, *Capture and Escape: A Narrative of Prison and Army Life*, by Brevet Brigadier-General John A. Kellogg, formerly colonel of the Sixth Wisconsin Infantry (pp. xvi, 201), is one of the most interesting narratives of the sort ever anywhere written.

Minnesota: The North Star State. By William Watts Folwell. [American Commonwealths.] (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1908, pp. vii, 382.) This book is written by a former president and present professor of the University of Minnesota. He urges as an apology for adding his to the list of existing Minnesota histories that he has had the good fortune to reach "original sources of information not accessible to his predecessors". Some which are mentioned among "the most important of them" raise the question as to why they were not accessible to his predecessors, if it is true that they were not. The entire absence of foot-notes or citations of authorities makes it impossible for one not conversant with these sources to judge how extensively they have been used. However, the frequent mention of manuscripts and the numerous brief quotations in the body of the text are presumptive evidence that considerable use has been made of them.

The book is decidedly popular in tone. The frequent use of slang phrases is not commendable, though they lend a sort of raciness to the style that will doubtless be pleasing to many. The conspicuous use of uncommon words and phrases is suggestive of a certain staginess that is not a usual accompaniment of serious scholarship. Whatever its demerits, the work has the decided merit of readableness. It obeys the injunction recently uttered by an eminent statesman in the hearing of many of the readers of this review, "It is better to be flippant than dry". It is better still to be neither. The author does not hesitate to incorporate a good story though, as he sometimes suggests, it may lack confirmation.

The text is subdivided into nineteen short chapters. Most of the titles are suggestive of the contents, though a few are fanciful. They

are as follows: The French Period; The English Dominion; Minnesota West Annexed; Fort Snelling Established; Explorations and Settlements; The Territory Organized; Territorial Development; Transition to Statehood; The Struggle for Railroads; Arming for the Civil War; The Outbreak of the Sioux; The Sioux War; Sequel to the Indian War; Honors of War; Revival; Storm and Stress; Clearing Up; Fair Weather; A Chronicle of Recent Events. The index covers fifteen pages. There is no bibliography. Anyone who reads this little book with care will have a fairly good understanding of the history of Minnesota. Although without confirmation elsewhere one cannot be quite sure just how much is fact and how much fiction, yet, in the main, it seems to be trustworthy.

Lives of the Governors of Minnesota. By James H. Baker, A.M. [Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Volume XIII.] St. Paul, the Society, 1908, pp. xii, 480.) The author has occupied several political positions in his state and has been closely associated with the men whose lives he has here sketched. In his preface he partially disarms criticism by saying, "I am fully aware of the difficulty of preserving a strict impartiality under circumstances of personal friendship. Relations of amity, or of hostility may insensibly sway the mind. I profoundly appreciate the difficulty of writing contemporaneous annals, and still more of writing the history of men yet in the midst of affairs". If he deviates from the truth it is in the direction of extravagant commendation rather than undeserved censure. His purpose seems to have been to apotheosize Minnesota's chief executives. To each of the eighteen he devotes a chapter. They are as follows: Ramsey, first territorial governor, 1849 to 1853, and second state governor, 1860 to 1863; Gorman, territorial governor, 1853 to 1857; Medary, territorial governor, 1857 to 1858; Sibley, first state governor, 1858 to 1860; Swift, third state governor, 1863 to 1864; Miller, 1864 to 1866; Marshall, 1866 to 1870; Austin, 1870 to 1873; Davis, 1874 to 1876; Pillsbury, 1876 to 1882; Hubbard, 1882 to 1887; McGill, 1887 to 1889; Merriam, 1889 to 1893; Nelson, 1893 to 1895; Clough, 1895 to 1899; Lind, 1899 to 1901; VanSandt, 1901 to 1905; and Johnson, since 1905.

The author's almost eighty years may be pleaded as an excuse for numerous errors in date, a very faulty style, and an unpleasantly obtrusive egotism. As a loving tribute of an aged man to his eminent friends, most of whom have preceded him to the grave, it is a highly commendable effort. Only as a funeral oration is the extravagantly florid rhetoric of the first chapter excusable. The style of subsequent chapters is more sober. Throughout, the volume has the good quality of being entertaining. As a means for instilling patriotism, state pride and respect for magistrates, it deserves nothing but approval.

Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1907-1908. Edited by George W. Martin, Secretary. Volume X. (Topeka, State Printing Office, 1908, pp. xiii, 767.) Limited space precludes even a list of the contents of this interesting and valuable volume. Secretary Martin and his collaborators as well as the writers of the various papers are to be congratulated on the production of such a painstaking and scholarly work. Fifty-six essays by nearly as many writers are crowded into its closely printed but still easily readable pages. Several of the productions are each composed of many separate papers, such as the collections of biographical sketches of members of early legislatures. Numerous foot-notes attest the care with which the work has been done and reveal a wealth of original material well worth the notice of other than Kansas historians. A carefully prepared double-column index of nearly one hundred pages enhances the usefulness of the volume. Forty-eight maps, plans, portraits, and landscapes illustrate the text.

This extensive material is conveniently grouped under seven heads: Addresses at Annual Meetings, two papers; One Hundred Years Under the Flag, fifteen papers read at the centennial celebration in 1906 of Zebulon M. Pike's action in lowering the Spanish flag and raising that of the United States in 1806 on Kansas soil near the present village of Republic; Statecraft, thirteen papers relating to territorial struggles and early state history; The Indian, nine papers telling the characteristics and doings of various Indian tribes and individuals that lived on Kansas soil; The Soldiers of Kansas, three papers regarding the participation of Kansas troops in the Civil War and in Indian struggles; Miscellaneous papers, nine; Personal Narrative, five papers of memoirs and reminiscences.

The most noteworthy contribution is the treatise on "The White Man's Foot in Kansas", by John B. Dunbar of Bloomfield, N. J., son of an early missionary to the Indians of Kansas and Nebraska, a philologist and student of the history of the American Southwest. He treats of Coronado's expedition of 1540; Of our Earliest Knowledge of Kansas; of Juan de Padilla, the pioneer missionary of Kansas, a member of Coronado's band who returned next year and lost his life in attempting to start a mission; and of Governor Oñate's explorations in Kansas, about 1600. This paper, covering nearly fifty pages, is of large interest to all students of Southwest history or of Spanish-American relations in general. Others deserving special mention are: "Some Aspects of The English Bill for the Admission of Kansas", by F. H. Hodder; Rev. Joab Spencer's two papers on the customs, manners, language, traditions, and folk-lore of two tribes of Kansas Indians; "A Royal Buffalo Hunt", by J. A. Hadley, and a second account of the same by C. M. Beeson, the royal personage of the hunting party being the present Czar's uncle, the Grand Duke Alexis, while on his special mission to this country in 1871.

A History of the Philippines, by David P. Barrows (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1908, pp. 332), is a new edition of a book whose first issue (1905) was commended in these columns as the best available survey of this field of history. Designed as a text-book for Philippine schools (but never so used, since its author had become director of the insular school system before it was published), it is necessarily brief; but it is far preferable to Foreman or the other popular works in English that are usually cited. It was assailed by some Catholics as unfair to Spanish friars and Jesuits, but the author states, in this second edition, that he is unable to acquiesce in the criticisms made and, after careful review, has modified only a few paragraphs. In actual fact, the attacks made on the book in 1905 and 1906 can hardly be explained except as part of a personal campaign to oust Dr. Barrows from his position at the head of the Philippine schools. He is, if anything, unduly lenient in the judgments passed in this book upon the work of friars and Jesuits, as reference to the writings of Spanish Catholics themselves would readily prove.

JAMES A. LEROY.

Américains et Japonais, by Louis Aubert (Paris, Armand Colin, 1908, pp. 430), gives a far better survey of Japanese-American relations than has yet been published in the English language. The pending questions are considered throughout in the light not only of study on the ground in America and the Orient and of an exhaustive examination of contemporary sources of all sorts, but with reference constantly to the historical background, as regards both nations, the Pacific ocean in the past, and the record of European contact with Asia.

Documents relating to the Seigniorial Tenure in Canada, 1598-1854. Edited with an Historical Introduction and Explanatory Notes by William Bennett Munro, Ph.D., LL.B., Assistant Professor of the Science of Government in Harvard University. [Publications of the Champlain Society, volume III.] (Toronto, 1908, pp. cxxiii, 380.) The documents in this volume are of a most varied nature. Each has been given its place not merely as illustrating a phase of the subject but as a type of much other material of its kind. A number of them were printed previously, mostly in works not easily accessible. The present collection is in the original languages and, accordingly, in two parts. The first, covering the period to 1760, consists of French documents, untranslated; the second, which carries the work to the abolition of seigniories, is wholly English. In length the French portion exceeds slightly the other. The historical introduction, an able survey exhibiting the relative importance of the documents, deals mainly with the French period. After the conquest, seigniorialism lost the reason for its existence, and was given merely a decent burial.

Though provision for feudal tenure was made in the earliest chapters of New France, a seigniorial system was first planted effectually by the disbandment and settlement of the Carignan-Salières regiment, according to a project submitted by Talon in 1667. Seigniorialism flourished, thus, barely a century. It was not invented for the colony. It was a contemporary French institution, decadent indeed, yet not recognized as such; and in early Canada, as in medieval France, it served a purpose as a means of defence in a turbulent time. From absenteeism and other abuses in the home land, Canadian feudalism was comparatively free. Its weakness lay in the failure of many seigniors to people their fiefs sufficiently, a failure due in part to sheer want of numbers in the colony. Feudalism, notwithstanding this disadvantage, was not the cause of Canada's fall. Rather, it gave to a population, so scant in comparison with her southern rivals, an artificial strength which retarded the English conquest, without ultimately preventing it. After 1760 many seigniors, though their rights were guaranteed in the surrender, joined the exodus to France. Their fiefs were sacrificed to English buyers, with keen insight into the revenue to be developed from feudal dues which had yielded little enough in the old days of turmoil. Feudalism as a financial speculation proved, however, to be an increasing public injury. In 1854 the tenure of the seigniors was commuted to freehold, without charge by the crown. The value of this concession was deducted from the lump sum or annual quit-rent fixed by commissioners as due to the seignior from his *habitants* for the commutation, in turn, of all his feudal privileges and claims.

The seigniorial system of Canada, in its rise and decline, is well illustrated in this collection. The available material is large. Space in the volume is economized by confining to extracts the less important documents. Important documents are given at length, notably the report of Catalogne, himself a seignior and an engineer, in 1712, and most of the report of the Commission of 1843, appointed to investigate the workings of the seigniorial system and to offer proposals for its abolition. Catalogne's report is mainly topographical. It is a trustworthy and comprehensive description of all the seigniories in New France, based on a personal inspection made at the request of the intendant.

H. M. BOWMAN.

A Canadian Manor and its Seigneurs. By George M. Wrong, Professor of History in the University of Toronto. (Toronto, Macmillan, 1908, pp. 295.) This attractive little volume embodies the results of an excursion which the author has made along one of the many interesting by-paths of Canadian history. The hamlet of Murray Bay, on the Lower St. Lawrence, has for many years been known as a spot to which Nature has been uncommonly kind, and its attractions of mountain, gulf and stream have served to draw to the neighborhood a select

circle of summer cottages, chiefly men of prominence in academic and political life, and among them the present president of the United States. To none of these however does it seem to have occurred until very recently that the place had a historical interest. But a rambling old manor-house with its thick walls of crude masonry seemed to hark back to seigniorial days and when Professor Wrong joined the local group of summer residents his antiquarian instincts were promptly aroused. In this volume therefore he tells the story which he has been able to glean from a patient study of local records, family letters, diaries, and other papers many of which had long since been consigned to the oblivion of the manor-house attic.

It is the story of the manor of Malbaie, which was first granted in 1653 by the Company of One Hundred Associates to Jean Bourdon, surveyor-general of New France, but which in the course of time reverted to the French crown and was re-granted in 1672 to a soldier of fortune, Philippe Gaultier, Sieur de Comporté. After further vicissitudes of ownership it was finally given by General James Murray, governor of Quebec, to Captain John Nairne, a Scottish soldier who came to Canada with the 78th Highlanders during the Seven Years' War and had his part in the Battle of the Plains. Nairne retired from the army on half-pay and took up his duties as seignior, accomplishing much in the development of the property. He was a prolific letter-writer with an attentive ear for general and neighborhood gossip. After the fashion of his time he kept copies of his correspondence and it is from these that Professor Wrong has been able to draw much that is both informing and of interest. Nairne was an active figure in the defence of Canada during the Revolutionary War and as major of the Royal Scottish Emigrants was mentioned for conspicuous gallantry in the hand-to-hand encounter at the Sault au Matelot. After his death in 1802 the seigniorship passed to his son, Thomas Nairne, also a soldier, who served in the earlier campaigns of the War of 1812 and was killed in action at Chrysler's Farm.

It is around the careers of the two Nairnes that Professor Wrong has woven most of his interesting narrative; but in the concluding chapters of the book there is included an excellent general survey of neighborhood life during the seigniorial epoch. The author's portrayals of local types are faithful, clear and just; his attitude toward the ancient local institutions of French Canada is discriminating but thoroughly sympathetic; and although his story is one of dramatic interest he has given us real history and not historical fiction. When the time comes for the history of Canada to be written in definitive form, studies of this sort will serve greatly to smooth the historian's way.

The publishers of this volume should have a word. They have done their part with uncommon care and good taste.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

Tumultos y Rebeliones Acaecidos en México. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, publicados por Genaro García. Tomo X.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1907, pp. 261.) This volume contains six documents: the account by Jerónimo Sandoval of the rising of January 15, 1624, against Viceroy Gelves; that by Juan de Torres Castillo of the disturbance in Nejapa, Ixtepeji and Villa Alta in 1660; that by Antonio de Robles of the pacification in Tehuantepec in 1660; that by Cristóbal Manso de Contreras of the disturbance in Guadalcázar in 1660; that by an anonymous eye-witness of the outbreak in Mexico in 1692; and the instructions of Viceroy Marquina to the royal audiencia of Guadalajara concerning the treatment of the Indians engaged in the rising of 1800 in Tepic and the measures to be taken in consequence of that rising. Of these, only the last can be properly described as hitherto unpublished. The others are reprints from published works and belong to the class "muy raros", from which, as well as from that of "documentos inéditos", the editor of this series has compiled it. The narrative by Sandoval is reprinted from *Nuevos Autógrafos de Cristóbal Colón y Relaciones de Ultramar* (Madrid, 1902); that by Torres Castillo (Mexico, 1662), from a copy belonging to the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid; that by Robles, from his life of Archbishop Dávalos (Mexico, 1757); that by Contreras (Mexico, 1661), from a copy in possession of Canon D. Vicente de P. Andrade; and the account of the outbreak of 1692, from vol. LXVII. of the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos* (Madrid, 1842-1895). The document relative to the insurrection of the natives at Tepic follows a manuscript in the Library of the Museo Nacional in Mexico.

Señor García says that these documents show the error of the opinion generally adopted until now that the long period of Spanish domination was characterized by an undisturbed peace. It does not seem that this is the opinion that has been generally adopted. At any rate, if such a view has obtained popular currency in Mexico, it can hardly be derived from the best known historians. The four risings to which the six documents relate—for the narratives of Torres Castillo, Robles, and Contreras deal with what are but different aspects of the same movement—have all received more or less attention from such writers as Cavo, Vetancurt, Zamacois, Alamán and Bancroft. There is in *Documentos para la Historia de México* (Mexico, 1852-1857), serie II., tom. II., III., a large mass of materials bearing on the outbreak against Gelves; and there is much more, both in manuscript and in print, in the Bancroft collection. Yet, though on the whole the inclusion of this volume in the series which Señor García is publishing can not be said to have brought any new revelation of fundamental truth, it has made more generally accessible a number of documents relative to an important aspect of the history of Mexico and may therefore be regarded as worth while.

GEORGE P. GARRISON.

Autógrafos Inéditos de Morelos y Causa que se le Instruyo.—México en 1623 por el Bachiller Arias de Villalobos. [Documentos Inéditos, etc., ed García, XII.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1907, pp. 281.) This volume consists as its title indicates, of two distinct parts, each with two subdivisions; the first part including (1) a series of unpublished letters by Morelos, and (2) the record in the case of the Inquisition against him. This case was, of course, distinct from that of the captaincy-general of Mexico, which resulted in his conviction and execution; and the title should have been such as to show which case is meant.

This volume also is, except for the Morelos letters it contains a reprint. The record of the case against Morelos is from the *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México*, by José Toribio Medina (Santiago de Chile, 1905); and *México en 1623*, from an original in possession of the "Lafragua" Library of the College of the State of Puebla. The same library has the originals of the letters of Morelos referred to. Señor García says that the work of Medina—which, by the way, Lea found so valuable in writing *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*—has had almost no circulation in Mexico; and that the copy of the original edition of *México en 1623* in the "Lafragua" Library is the only one in existence.

The series of Morelos letters given in this volume numbers forty-six. While they perhaps form no very weighty contribution to historical knowledge, their publication must, because of the place of their writer in the history of Mexico, be welcome to the people of that republic. They serve to show that even in Mexico there are some documents worthy of notice relating to the War of Independence which have escaped the assiduous industry of Hernández y Dávalos.

A few of the documents belonging to the reprint from Medina of the case against Morelos are also to be found in the collection of Hernández y Dávalos, e. g., the letter of Inquisitor Flores to Viceroy Calleja, November 23, 1815, and the reply (García, pp. 68-70; Hernández y Dávalos, VI. 11). The sentence of Morelos in the record is given also by Lea (see *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, p. 543). In editing this document, both he and Medina followed copies—the references indicate that they did not use the same copy—in the archives of Simancas. There are, however, important variations in the matter of it as given by Lea on the one hand, and in the García reprint of the extract from Medina on the other; and it would be interesting to know how these discrepancies originated.

The second part of the volume consists of (1) an account of the ceremonies connected with the oath of allegiance which Mexico swore to Philip IV., written in prose with a liberal sprinkling of verses; and (2) a rather lengthy résumé in verse of the history of the City of Mexico up to the year 1623, entitled "Mercurio". Señor García says of it that, while it is wanting in method and style, it is a most valuable

source of information for archaeologists and historians; and this may well be believed. The reader can hardly be certain whether the title of the part including these two subdivisions, "Mexico in 1623", is due to Villalobos himself, or to the editor of the reprint. This should have been made clearer.

GEORGE P. GARRISON.

TEXT-BOOKS

Readings in English History drawn from the Original Sources, intended to illustrate a *Short History of England*, by Edward P. Cheyney. (Boston and New York, Ginn and Company, pp. xxxvi, 781). Professor Cheyney in his preface calls attention to what will at once be acknowledged as a particular merit in his book: it draws on a "greater variety of historical material" than is usual in such compilations. It is indeed a most interesting and valuable collection of illustrative material, covering the entire period of English history, and drawn from well-nigh every kind of a contemporary source. Some teachers may feel that the book is too long for high-school students. This, however, is a merit and not a fault, for no one is compelled to use everything in the book, and here is an opportunity for such teachers to make a selection quite impossible in other collections of readings on English History. The introductory paragraphs to the various selections are all that could be asked, clear, concise and instructive.

Several minor criticisms may be made. The date when the sources used were written ought to be given in every instance and words not now in common use should be defined. Professor Cheyney quotes from Howell's *Letters* as if they were authentic sources, which they are not.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

Readings in Modern European History. By James Harvey Robinson, Professor of History in Columbia University, and Charles A. Beard, Adjunct Professor of Politics in Columbia University. Volume I. *The Eighteenth Century: The French Revolution and the Napoleonic period*. (Boston and New York, Ginn and Company, 1908, pp. xx, 410.) These readings are designed to accompany chapter by chapter the first volume of the authors' *Development of Modern Europe*. Of the hundred and eighty-four selections, each averaging about two pages in length, some three-score are from the French, a score from the German, three from Latin, and one from Spanish. The translations are spirited, and, so far as tested, accurate, except for some slips in proof-reading and the rendition of *Schlesien* by *Schleswig* (p. 80). In the English selections the spelling has been modernized, the paragraphing improved, and slight unindicated liberties taken with the original text.

A goodly number of the readings in this volume are of the constitutional kind which merit and richly reward careful study—Bossuet on

the divine nature of kingship, Montesquieu on the three powers of government, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and many other aptly chosen decrees of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period. A still larger number of the readings are of the interesting and lively kind, which charm and entertain, and which are valuable because they give the flavor of the olden times—Madame de Sévigné's story of how a *chef* committed suicide from chagrin because the roast did not quite go round and the fish was late when Louis XIV. was dining; Frederick the Great's wonderful *marginalia*; and delightful excerpts from Saint-Simon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Arthur Young, Thomas Jefferson and the Mercy-Argenteau correspondence. In the case of Frederick's stirring harangue before Leuthen the prefatory note, with which the authors introduce each reading, ought perhaps to indicate that this somewhat apocryphal Retzow version did not appear until more than forty years after the event and is largely concocted from the memoirs of Tempelhoff and Kaltenborn. A few of the selections seem scarcely worth while; the *ex parte* views of individuals on several wars and the deceitful proclamations on the partitions of Poland are not particularly valuable, and are likely to leave the student with a very false idea of the true motives and facts.

At the end of the volume is a bibliography of twenty well-packed pages. This is no mere list of unappreciated titles, but an excellent critical classification which guides the student quickly on to the fundamental works.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Constitutions and Other Select Documents illustrative of the History of France, 1789-1907. By Frank Maloy Anderson, Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. Second edition, revised and enlarged. (Minneapolis, H. W. Wilson Company, 1908, pp. xxvii, 693.) The first edition of this very useful source-book appeared in 1904. The principal difference between that and this is in details. Among the few documents added, the most important and most numerous relate to the very recent conflict between the French government and the Vatican. The translations have been worked over and numerous minor changes have been made. Some additional references have been inserted. The original pagination has been preserved as far as possible, so that references to the first edition will usually be found on the corresponding or the next page of this.

No work of this kind could be beyond criticism; but this perhaps approaches perfection as nearly as could be expected. All documents included are important. Some fault might be found with the proportion of the volume. About one-third is devoted to the six years from 1789 to 1795, another third to the twenty years from 1795 to 1815, and the remaining third to the century since 1815. A few periods of large importance are almost entirely ignored. For example, only six

pages are devoted to the period from 1816 to 1829. Only one document, covering about half a page, falls between the middle of 1830 and the beginning of 1848. Revolutions are not made in a moment. The preparatory steps, though not so exciting, are as interesting as the more spectacular acts of the period of violence, and often more important. Few students of the period, however, would be willing to have these faults, if indeed they be considered faults, corrected by omitting any considerable number of documents given.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

John Boyd Thacher, author of *The Continent of America: Its Discovery and its Baptisms*, of *The Cabotian Discovery*, of *Christopher Columbus: His Life, His Work, His Remains*, and of other works, died in Albany on February 25, at the age of sixty-one.

Professors Gross and Haskins will be absent from Harvard University during the second half-year, spending the period in Europe. The absence of the former is due to recent illness. His place is supplied by Dr. Charles L. Wells of New Orleans, formerly professor in the University of Minnesota.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of Texas has accepted an appointment as professor of American history in the Leland Stanford Junior University, and begins work there in October. Dr. Edward B. Krehbiel of the University of Chicago goes there at the same time as associate professor of modern history. Dr. Krehbiel's Adams Prize essay on the Interdict under Innocent III. will soon be in the hands of the printer, for publication as the first of the American Historical Association's new series of prize essays.

Professor Ernst Daenell of the University of Kiel is spending some months in Washington, engaged in preparations for the writing of a history of the United States in the series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte* edited by Professor Lamprecht.

An international congress of archivists and librarians will be held at Brussels in 1910. Reports on various questions will, so far as possible, be printed and distributed in proof before the opening of the congress. The committee of organization is as follows: president, M. A. Gaillard, archivist general of the kingdom; vice-president, Father Van den Gheyn, conservator of manuscripts at the Royal Library of Belgium; secretary, M. L. Stainer, adjunct-conservator at the Royal Library; treasurer, M. H. Van der Haeghe, chief of section in the general archives of the kingdom.

Mr. N. W. Thomas has issued his second annual *Bibliography of Anthropology and Folk Lore* (London, Nutt, 1908, pp. 74), containing titles of works published within the British Empire during 1907. The entries number 874.

The *Historisch-Pädagogischer Literatur-Bericht* for 1907 (Berlin, Hofmann, 1908, pp. vi, 248) has been published as the seventeenth

Beiheft of the Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte.

Dr. G. F. Black of the New York Public Library has issued a provisional *Bibliography of the Gypsies*, printed privately for the members of the Gypsy Lore Society, 6 Hope Place, Liverpool (1909, pp. 139), and distributed in order that those interested may aid in making the work as complete as possible by reporting errors and omissions.

M. Salomon Reinach of the French Academy has published an extensive work entitled *Orphéus, Histoire Générale des Religions* (Paris, Champion, 1909, pp. 650).

Henry Charles Lea's Historical Writings (New York, J. F. Wagner) is an inquiry into their method and merit by Dr. Paul Maria Baumgarten.

A Syllabus on Historical Geography, by Mr. Don E. Smith of the University of California (Berkeley, University Press, 1908, pp. 47), is intended for beginners in this field. An introductory bibliographical note is followed by syllabi of fifteen topics—relation of man to geographical environment; physiography of Europe; ethnography of Europe; the earliest civilized lands; Alexander's empire, etc.

The Library of Congress has issued a *List of References on International Arbitration* (pp. 151), compiled under the direction of Mr. A. P. C. Griffin.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W.-M. Kozłowski, *L' Idée d'une Philosophie Sociale comme Synthèse des Sciences Historiques et Sociales* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, October).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Under the title *Classification Paléthnologique* (Paris, Schleicher, 1908, pp. 60), M. A. de Mortillet gives a short résumé of the classification of the great stages in the development of prehistoric civilization in Europe, especially in the West, accompanied by figures of objects typical of each stage.

R. R. Marett's *The Threshold of Religion* (London, Methuen, pp. xix, 173), contains five studies in comparative religion reprinted from *Folk-Lore* and elsewhere.

M. J. Toutain's *Études de Mythologie et d'Histoire des Religions Antiques* (Paris, Hachette) contains critical papers which have appeared in periodical publications and books of reference, here grouped into three sections—general papers and questions of method; Greek mythology and religion; and the mythology and religion of Rome and the Roman world.

Au Temps des Pharaons (Paris, Colin) by A. Moret, adjunct conservator of the Musée Guimet, treats of the restoration of the Egyp-

tian temples, Pharaonic diplomacy, Egypt before the Pyramids, the Book of the Dead, Magic in Ancient Egypt, and "Autour des Pyramides".

The University of Chicago Press has published the first part, with two maps, of *Researches in Assyrian and Babylonian Geography* (Chicago, 1909, pp. 59).

Professor J. P. Mahaffy is publishing through Putnams the Lowell lectures delivered by him in 1908-1909, which have been brought together into a volume entitled *What Have the Greeks Done for Civilization?*

The first half of the second volume of Julius Kaerst's *Geschichte des Hellenistischen Zeitalters* (Leipzig, Teubner, pp. xii, 430), continues the historical narrative to the battle of Ipsus. The principal part of the book, however, is a detailed description of Hellenistic culture and of the Hellenistic state, wherein it is attempted to make clear the essence of Hellenism in its various manifestations.

In the first fascicle of the seventeenth volume of the transactions of the Reale Accademia dei Lincei, session of January 19, 1908 (Rome, Salviucci, 1908, pp. 1-38), Professor Ettore Pais discusses the value as an historical source of the *Fasti* of the ancient Roman republic.

The first number has appeared of the quarterly *Studi Storici per l'Antichità Classica* (Pisa, Enrico Spoerri), edited by Professor Pais, the intended publication of which has been noted in these pages (XIII. 401). It contains, besides reviews and notices, the following articles: I Duci dei Sanniti nelle Guerre contro Romo, by G. Beloch; La così detta Retra di Licurgo, by G. Niccolini; Sulla Cronologia della Prima Guerra Macedonica, I., by V. Costanzi; Antifonte? by G. Pasquali; Delle Guerre dei Romani coi Liguri per la Conquista del Territorio Lunese-Pisano, by A. Solari; L'Autobiografia ed il Processo "Repetundarum" di P. Rutilio Rufo, I., II., by E. Pais.

The Macmillan Company announces for publication during the spring a work by Professor G. W. Botsford on *The Roman Assemblies*.

Professor Guglielmo Ferrero's Lowell lectures, 1908, are being published by Putnams under the title *Characters and Events of Roman History*. The topics considered are: Corruption in Roman History; History and Legend of Antony and Cleopatra; Roman Conquest of Gaul; Julia and Tiberius; Wine in Roman History; Nero; Roman History and Modern Education.

In E. H. Parker's work, *Ancient China Simplified* (London, Chapman and Hall), the author, who is professor of Chinese in the Victoria University of Manchester, describes conditions in China during several centuries following the middle of the ninth century B. C., when, as he believes, the historical life of China began.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. B. Grundy, *Herodotus the*

Historian (Quarterly Review, January); M. Rostowzew, *Geschichte des Ost- und Süd-Handels im Ptolemäisch-Römischen Ägypten* (Archiv für Papyrusforschung, IV. 3, 4); F. Schemmels, *Die Hochschule von Athen im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert p. Chr. N.* (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, XI. 9).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Apropos of J. Kulischer's recent work, *Warenhaendler und Geldhaendler im Mittelalter*, which has been printed separately from the seventeenth volume of the *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung*, Dr. F. Arens has contributed an article on medieval trade in money and in commodities to the December number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*.

Under the direction of Professor A. Cartellieri, Dr. Wolf Stechele has edited the *Chronicon Universale Anonymi Laudunensis*, from 1154 to the conclusion of the chronicle in 1219 (Leipzig, Dyksche Buchhandlung; Paris, Picard, 1909, pp. 85).

The fourth fascicle of the first volume of the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, published at Quaracchi, contains among other matter a plan for preparing a history of the Franciscan order in the old French provinces, by Father A. Béguet, and the continuation of an article by Father Pérez on the Franciscans in the Far East.

Mr. C. Raymond Beazley is understood to be elaborating his Lowell Institute lectures of last year into a book, to bear probably the title of *European Expansion in the Fifteenth Century*, and to extend over the period from 1415 to 1488.

Documentary publications: R. Wolkan, *Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, I., *Briefe aus der Laienzeit (1431-1445)*, 1, *Privatbriefe* [Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, II., *Diplomataria et Acta*] (Historical Commission of the Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Hölder, 1909, pp. xxviii, 595).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Norden, *Prinzipien für eine Darstellung der Kirchlichen Unionsbestrebungen im Mittelalter* (Historische Zeitschrift, CII. 2).

MODERN HISTORY

Messrs. Bell have published in Bohn's library a translation, revised by Mr. G. R. Dennis, of Ranke's *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations, 1494-1514*. Mr. Edward Armstrong has contributed an introduction. The earlier translation in the same collection has long been out of print.

The sixth number in the series of *Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche* (Berlin, Trowitzsch), edited by N. Bon-

wetsch and R. Seeberg, is *Thomas Campanella, ein Reformator der ausgehenden Renaissance* (1909, pp. xvi, 154) by Professor J. Kvačala.

M. Arthur Chuquet is the director of a new journal of modern history, *Feuilles d'Histoire du XVII^e au XX^e Siècle* (Paris, rue de Fleurus, 38). When the first number was published in February, a bi-monthly issue was intended; now, however, a monthly issue is proposed. The first number includes articles on *Les Mémoires de Primi*, by A. Chuquet; *Les Lois de la Monarchie*, by René Pigal; *Lord Cromer et la Question d'Égypte*, by Achille Biorès; unpublished documents and miscellaneous matter.

An account of the negotiations by which in the eighteenth century France tried to renew the alliance with the Sublime Porte concluded in the sixteenth century by Francis I. is being published by L. Rousseau under the title *Les Relations Diplomatiques de la France et de la Turquie au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, de Rudeval, 1908, pp. 396). The first volume embraces the period from 1700 to 1716.

The first volume of the Historical Research Society of Siam, entitled the *Phra-Rājavicāraṇa*, contains the reminiscences of a sister of the first king of the present dynasty, from 1767 to 1820, edited by the present king with a commentary, notes, and documents from the royal archives which throw new light on the relations of Siam with its dependencies and other countries.

The eleventh volume of the *Cambridge Modern History* is entitled *The Growth of Nationalities* (New York, Macmillan, 1909, pp. 1044). The period covered in the history of most of the European states extends from 1840 or 1845 to about 1870, but the history of Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, India and the Far East is begun about the year 1815.

The British officers attached to the Japanese and Russian forces in the field, during the campaign of 1904-1905 in Manchuria, have published their reports in three volumes, and two cases of maps, entitled *The Russo-Japanese War* (London, Wyman).

From the authoritative pen of Professor E. G. Browne comes a *Brief Narrative of Recent Events in Persia, with a translation of the Four Pillars of the Persian Constitution* (London, Luzac, pp. 101).

A translation of a *History of Contemporary Civilization* by M. Ch. Seignobos has been edited by Professor J. A. James, and issued by Scribners (1909).

Documentary publications: Comte Henry de Castries, *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc, 1530-1845*, Première Série, *Archives et Bibliothèques de Pays Bas*, II. (Hague, Nijhoff); J. Šusta, *Die Römische Kurie und das Konzil von Trient unter Pius IV.* [Aktenstücke zur Geschichte des Konzils von Trient, II.] (Historical Commission of the

Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Hölder, 1909, pp. xxvii, 605); H. Günter, *Die Habsburger-Liga, 1625-1635; Briefe und Akten aus dem General-Archiv zu Simancas* [Historische Studien, 62, published by Dr. E. Ebering] (Berlin, Ebering, 1908, pp. xvi, 487); G. de Grandmaison, *Correspondance du Comte de la Forest, Ambassadeur de France en Espagne, 1803-1813*, III., October 1809-June 1810 (Paris, Picard, 1909, pp. 492) [published for the Société d'Histoire Contemporaine]; L. Schemann, *Correspondance entre Alexis de Tocqueville et Arthur de Gobineau, 1843-1859* (Paris, Plon, pp. 355).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Feret, *Une Négociation Secrète entre Louis XIV. et Clément XI. en 1715* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); É. Driault, *Bonaparte et le Recès Germanique de 1803* (Revue Historique, January-February); P. Muret, *La Question Romaine en 1849 et le Problème des Alliances en 1869 et 1870, d'après un Ouvrage Récent* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, December); William R. Thayer, *Cavour and Bismarck* (Atlantic Monthly, March).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Mr. Arthur M. Burke's *Key to the Ancient Parish Registers of England and Wales* (London, The Sackville Press) gives the date of the earliest entry in every parish register throughout England and Wales, with references to all cases in which transcripts have been printed, and a few other notes.

M. H. G. Harrison intends to publish a two-volume *Bibliography of British Monasticism*, which aims at being a complete guide to the manuscripts and printed works (general and topographical) relating to the religious orders and houses in the British Isles from the earliest times to the end of the nineteenth century.

A new impression of Mr. J. Horace Round's *Feudal England*, long out of print, has been issued by Sonnenschein, London.

In the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* for September-December, M. L. Delisle catalogues 109 original charters of Henry II. and twenty documents emanating from other kings and from various dignitaries from the time of William the Conqueror to 1170. All these manuscripts, which are preserved in various English depositories, have been photographed by the Rev. H. Salter, and are accessible in this form in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The Age of Owain Gwynedd (London, Nutt, 1908) by Paul Barbier of the University of Leeds is an account of the history of Wales from 1135 to 1170, the period just prior to the loss of Welsh independence when the struggle with the Anglo-Norman monarchy was at its height.

Under the title *Die Ältesten Streitschriften Wiclifs* (1908, pp. 74), Professor J. Loserth has published in vol. CLX. of the *Sitzungsberichte*,

phil.-hist. Kl., of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna (Vienna, Hölder), studies relating to the beginnings of Wiclif's activity in church politics and to the transmission of his writings.

The first volume of a work of unique value to students of English history has been issued by the Oxford University Press under the title *Historical Portraits: Richard II. to Henry Wriothesley, 1400-1600*. The volume contains a general introduction on the history of portraiture in England, and one hundred and eight portraits, with brief biographies. The lives have been written by Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher, and the portraits chosen by Mr. Emery Walker. It is hoped to extend the series to the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Earl of Crawford expects to bring out in March or April, 1909, his great series of Tudor and Stuart proclamations, in four quarto volumes, embracing many documents additional to those mentioned in his *Hand-List of Proclamations*.

The third volume of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge University Press) is entitled *Renascence and Reformation* and includes chapters on "Reformation Literature in England", by the Rev. J. P. Whitney, "Reformation Literature in Scotland", by Professor P. Hume Brown, "The Dissolution of the Religious Houses", by the Rev. R. H. Benson, and "Chroniclers and Antiquaries", by Mr. Charles Whibley.

Students of the history of education will welcome Professor Foster Watson's *Tudor Schoolboy Life: The Dialogues of Jean Luis Vives* (London, Dent). Professor Foster has translated the dialogues, which were published by Vives in 1538 to train boys in colloquial Latin, and which incidentally throw light on the school-boy's daily life.

The tercentenary of Milton's birth has brought forth a harvest of appropriate publications, of which the most noteworthy is Professor C. H. Firth's paper on *Milton as an Historian*, published by the Oxford University Press from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, volume III. From the same volume of *Proceedings* comes *A Consideration of Macaulay's Comparison of Dante and Milton*, by W. J. Courthope.

Christ's College Magazine for Michaelmas term, 1908 (Cambridge, University Press), is a Milton tercentenary number including among other brief articles two on Milton and his College and one on the Political Philosophy of John Milton.

The Rev. John Willcock, whose meritorious biography of the ninth earl of Argyll has been noted in these pages (XIII. 681), is writing a Life of Clarendon based in part upon the considerable fresh material discovered since Lister's *Life* was published.

Sir William Temple (Oxford, Blackwell, 1908, pp. 138) is the subject of the Gladstone Essay for 1908, by Mr. Murray L. R. Beaven.

Mr. John Lane is publishing *The Last Journals of Horace Walpole*, two volumes, edited by Mr. A. F. Steuart.

The Royal Society: Some Account of the 'Letters and Papers' of the Period 1741-1806 in the Archives with an Index of Authors (Oxford, printed for the author, 1908, pp. 73), a brochure compiled by Dr. A. H. Church, F. R. S., treats of a series of manuscripts numbering over 36,000, contained in 127 volumes. While the majority of these documents have been published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, some have never appeared in print. Dr. Church's somewhat desultory notes upon the unpublished papers refer to the following by American authors: a letter from Benjamin Franklin, dated February 4, 1751, which he prints (pp. 10-13); a copy by Peter Collinson of part of a letter to him from Franklin, dated September 23, 1756, relative to his having been chosen a member of the Royal Society (printed on p. 14); and a letter dated November 16, 1774, from Professor John Winthrop of Cambridge, who sends a transcript of the inscription on Dighton Rock. A letter from Capt. James Cook, dated from Rio de Janeiro, November, 1768, is printed in full (pp. 17-18).

In *The County Lieutenancies and the Army, 1803-1814* (London, Macmillan, pp. xix, 328), Mr. J. W. Fortescue describes the measures adopted by Pitt and other British statesmen to recruit the British army during the Napoleonic wars.

Captain Josceline Bagot has published a largely documentary work in two volumes entitled *George Canning and his Friends* (London, Murray, 1909, pp. xiii, 423, 463), comprising a selection from the private Canning correspondence in the possession of Lord Clanricarde, the editor and others, covering nearly the whole of the statesman's official career.

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb will soon publish through Longmans a book on *English Poor Law Policy, 1834-1908*.

The Essex Archaeological Society has arranged to reprint a small edition of the first five volumes of its *Transactions* (1858-1873), which are now very costly and difficult to obtain. They include some papers of especial interest to American genealogists. Subscribers' names should be sent to the Manager, The St. Catherine Press, 8 York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W. C.

The Cambridge University Press will shortly issue the third and concluding volume of Professor Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, covering the period from 1689 to 1843.

Dr. David Hay Fleming, until recently the honorary secretary of the Scottish History Society, is publishing through Hodder and Stoughton a work on the *Reformation in Scotland: Its Causes, Characteristics and Consequences*, an enlargement of the Stone Lectures for 1907-1908.

Mr. Fisher Unwin is publishing a new work on *Pre-Historic Rhodesia*, by Mr. R. N. Hall, who has already issued two volumes on the same subject.

British government publications: *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Henry III., 1234-1237; *Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids*, 1284-1431, vol. V., Stafford-Worcester; *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, I., 1488-1529.

Other documentary publications: A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, A. D. 500 to 1286*, chronologically arranged, translated, and annotated (London, Nutt, pp. xvi, 402).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Liebermann, *Einleitung zum Statut der Londoner Friedensgilde unter Æthelstan* (reprinted from the *Mélanges Fitting*); *Sir Henry Wotton* (Quarterly Review, January); E. von Halle, *Die Company of Merchant Adventurers und der Ausgang ihrer Niederlassung in Hamburg, 1808* (Internationale Wochenschrift, II. 14, 15); Herbert Paul, *George Canning* (New Quarterly, January); Mgr. Ward, *English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin Review, January); *Whigs and Radicals before the Reform Bill* (Edinburgh Review, January); *The Victorian Chancellors* (Edinburgh Review, January); O. Krauske, *Macaulay und Carlyle* (Historische Zeitschrift, CII. 1); K. Vollers, *Lord Cromer und sein Egypten* (Historische Zeitschrift, CII. 1); *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh Review, January); R. Dunlop, *Truth and Fiction in Irish History* (Quarterly Review, January).

FRANCE

M. Léon Le Grand of the Archives Nationales is preparing for the Librairie Champion a work on the sources for the history of France before 1789 in those archives. Ch. Schmidt's *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France depuis 1789 aux Archives Nationales* was published by the same house.

To carry out an arrangement made last year between the Ministries of Justice and of Public Instruction, the procurators general are depositing in the departmental archives the political documents prior to 1855 preserved in the archives of their offices. These consist principally of the reports periodically compiled by the procurators general on the political, moral and economic conditions in their districts, together with the documents on which these reports are based.

The well-known epigraphist E. Espérandieu has published the second volume of his *Recueil Général des Bas-Reliefs de la Gaule Romaine* (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1908, pp. viii, 478), the first volume of which appeared in 1907.

The eighth volume of *Memoirs and Documents* published by the Society of the École des Chartes contains studies in history and political

geography by G. de Manteyer relating to *La Provence du I^{er} au XII^e Siècle* (Paris, Picard).

M. Barroux's *Essai de Bibliographie Critique des Généralités de l'Histoire de Paris* (Paris, Champion, 1908, pp. vi, 153), is a selected, annotated, classified list of the best works on the history of Paris.

Émile Mâle, whose work, *L'Art Religieux du XIII^e Siècle en France*, was crowned by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, has issued a sequel to that volume entitled *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France: Étude sur l'Iconographie du Moyen Age et sur ses Sources d'Inspiration* (Paris, Colin, 1908, pp. 550), in which the history of art is studied in relation to the history of ideas.

Under the title *Dante e la Francia, dall' Età Media al Secolo di Voltaire* (Milan, Hoepli, pp. xxvi, 560; xiv, 381), Professor Arturo Farinelli has written a work of immense learning which is virtually "a history of the influence of Italian culture in France" for the period treated.

We have already noted (XIII. 211) an important work contributed by M. Jean Guiraud to the history of Languedoc. The same author has recently published three additional volumes under the title *Inventaires Languedociens du XIV^e Siècle* (Paris, Picard). The first volume consists of an essay on private life in Languedoc in the fourteenth century; the second gives the text of the inventories; the third contains a glossary of the inventories, forming a supplement to the *Glossarium* of Ducange.

Students of English history as well as of French history will welcome R. Delachenal's important two-volume *Histoire de Charles V. (1338-1364)* (Paris, Picard).

MM. Hachette are publishing the second volume of M. P. Imbart de la Tour's *Les Origines de la Réforme*. This volume, entitled *L'Eglise Catholique, La Crise et la Renaissance*, is a comprehensive study of the Roman Catholic Church at the advent of Luther.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for January contains the text of an interesting group of documents relating to the administration of the Isle de Bourbon, 1701-1710.

The second part of the eighth volume of M. E. Lavisse's *Histoire de France* relates to *Le Règne de Louis XV. (1715-1774)* (Paris, Hachette), and is by M. H. Carré, of the University of Poitiers.

The Life of Philibert Commerson, D. M., Naturaliste du Roi (1909, pp. xvii, 242), by the late Captain S. Pasfield Oliver, edited by G. F. Scott Elliot, has been published by Murray. Commerson accompanied Bougainville in his voyage around the world (1766-1769), and his letters deal, among other things, with the Argentine, Tahiti, Madagascar and the French colony at Mauritius.

The eminent economist Maxime Kovalevsky, of the University of St. Petersburg, has published a work on *La France Économique et Sociale à la Veille de la Révolution* (Paris, Girard).

The Commission on the Economic History of the French Revolution has decided upon the publication of the *procès-verbaux* and reports of the Committees on Mendicity and on Public Aid. The work has been entrusted to MM. Camille Bloch and A. Tuetey.

The third fascicle of M. P. Caron's *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France depuis 1789* (Paris, Cornély, 1908, pp. 160), is entirely devoted to military history. The fourth fascicle, which will appear this spring, will contain the concluding portion of military history, religious history, and the beginning of economic and social history.

M. Vitrac has reprinted *Le Journal du Comte P. L. Roederer* (Paris, Daragon, 1909), a series of notes which form an important source of information for the period of the Consulate. A small edition was published over fifty years ago, but the work had become very rare.

Frédéric Masson's two volumes entitled *Autour de Sainte-Hélène* (Paris, Ollendorff) give many interesting details connected with Napoleon's last years.

In preparing his work on *Frère d'Empereur: Auguste de Morny et la Société du Second Empire*, M. Frédéric-Loliée has been permitted to examine unprinted documents of the Ministry of the Interior, including the Archives Secrètes de la Sûreté.

We noted some time ago (XII. 949) the appointment of a commission to publish the diplomatic papers of the French Foreign Office relating to the origin of the Franco-German war. It is understood that the first two volumes, in course of publication, deal with the years 1864 and 1865. It is probable that at least eight volumes will be published, and that the series will not be completed for many years.

The fourth volume of M. G. Hanotaux's *Histoire de la France Contemporaine* (Paris, Furne), bears the sub-title *La République Parlementaire* and extends from the formation of the cabinet of the Duc de Broglie after May 16, 1877, to the death of Gambetta on December 31, 1882.

Documentary publications: Ch.-V. Langlois, *Doléances Recueillies par les Enquêteurs de Saint Louis et des Derniers Capétiens Directs* (Revue Historique, January-February); *Les Requêtes du Palais (XIII^e-XVI^e Siècle): Style des Requêtes du Palais au XV^e Siècle* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, September-December); *Recollections of Baron de Frénilly, 1768-1828*, edited with introduction and notes by A. Chuquet, translated by F. Lees (London, Heinemann; New York, Putnams, 1909, pp. 402); A. Keller, *Correspondance, Bulletins et*

Ordres du Jour de Napoléon, I., De Brienne au 13 Vendémiaire (Paris, Mericant); A. Tuetey, *Les Papiers des Assemblées de la Révolution aux Archives Nationales: Inventaire de la Série C., (Constituante, Législative, Convention)* [Society for the History of the French Revolution] (Paris, Cornély, pp. xviii, 300); Prince Murat, *Lettres et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de Joachim Murat, 1801-1815*, II., *Armée d'Observation du Midi*, con.; *République Cisalpine: République Italienne* (Paris, Plon, 1909); Princess Radziwill, *Duchesse de Dino (puis Duchesse de Talleyrand et de Sagan): Chronique*, I., 1831-1835 (Paris, Plon); E. Rousse, *Lettres à un Ami*, I., 1845-1870; II., 1870-1880 (Paris, Hachette) [inclusés à diary kept during the siege of Paris and the commune; M. Rousse had become attorney general shortly before]; G. Bapst, *Maréchal de Canrobert*, IV. [Memoirs, 1868-1870] (Paris, Plon); Élie Reclus, *La Commune au Jour le Jour, 18 Mars-28 Mai, 1871* (Paris, Schleicher, 1908).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Calmette and P. Vidal, *Les Régions de la France*, VI., *Le Roussillon*, I. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, December); P. Richard, *Origines de la Nonciature de France* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); J. Letacounoux, *Les Transports en France au XVIII^e Siècle*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, January); A. Girard, *La Réorganisation de la Compagnie des Indes, 1719-1723*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, December); De Sérignan, *La Vie aux Armées sous la Révolution*, concl. (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); P. Caron, *La Question des "Volontaires", à propos d'une Enquête en Cours* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, January); Ch. Bournisien, *La Vente des Biens Nationaux: L'Application des Lois* (Revue Historique, January-February); G. Monod, *Michelet, de 1843 à 1852* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, December); Sir Ernest Satow, *The Establishment of the Third Republic* (Quarterly Review, January).

ITALY

Siena: The Story of a Medieval Commune (Scribners, 1909), by Professor Ferdinand Schevill, long in preparation, is now about to appear.

Mr. Edward Hutton has rendered a service to students of Italian history by bringing out a new edition of the standard work *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, illustrating the Arms, Arts, and Literature of Italy, 1440-1630*, by James Dennistoun of Dennistoun (New York, John Lane, three volumes). By means of editorial notes, which contain abundant references to the latest authorities, the work has been brought up to date. A full index and over a hundred illustrations have been added.

Mrs. H. M. Vernon's *Italy from 1494 to 1790*, recently issued in the

Cambridge Historical Series (Cambridge University Press), treats with especial fullness the period subsequent to 1559.

Unpublished letters of Victor Emmanuel I., Charles Felix, Charles Albert and others, and two memorials by King Charles Albert, are included in a volume entitled *Dieci Anni di Storia Piemontese, 1814-1824* (Turin, Bocca), edited by Count Mario degli Alberti for the Piedmont committee of the Società per la Storia del Risorgimento.

Under the title *Last Days of Papal Rome*, Messrs. Constable (London), are publishing a translation by Miss Helen Zimmern of a work by R. de Cesare, which the author has abridged for the purpose of this translation. The period covered extends from 1850 to 1870.

Documentary publications: P. F. Kehr, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum: Italia Pontificia*, III., *Etruria* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1908, pp. lii, 492).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

The Verdun prize, which is awarded every five years to the author who during that period has made the most notable contribution to German historical writings, has been given to Dr. S. von Riezler of Munich for his *Geschichte Bayerns*.

The eleventh volume of Professor Felix Dahn's *Die Könige der Germanen* treats of *Die Burgunden* (Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel, 1908, pp. xxi, 258).

The third volume of the *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes und seiner Kultur*, by Heinrich Gerdes (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot), is devoted to the Hohenstaufens and their time, especially to the inner development of the period.

No connected account of the history of German humanistic historical writing has appeared in recent years except that in the first part of Wegele's history of German historiography. Hence there was need of such a comprehensive work as Paul Joachimsen's *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus*, which is being published by Teubner (Leipzig).

A six-volume edition of the works of Aventinus has recently been completed by the issue of the last volume, which contains among other matter the hitherto unprinted text of the *Germania Illustrata*. The work may be obtained from C. Kaiser, Marienplatz, Munich.

An atlas containing 1760 reproductions of old copper and wood engravings, illustrating German life from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, has been published by Eugen Diedrichs in two volumes entitled *Deutsches Leben der Vergangenheit in Bildern*. The illustrations are not the same as those in the excellent series of *Monographien*.

Dr. J. Schmidlin is contributing a work on *Die Kirchlichen Zustände in Deutschland vor dem 30jährigen Kriege nach den Bischöflichen*

Diözesanberichten an den Hl. Stuhl to the series of *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen* to L. Pastor's edition of Janssen's history of the German people. The first two hefts of the seventh volume of the *Erläuterungen* comprise the first part of Dr. Schmidlin's work, relating to Austria (Freiburg, Herder, 1908, pp. lxvi, 187).

A contribution to the history of the economic policy of the Prussian sovereigns in the eighteenth century, *Die Entwicklung der Leinen-, Woll- und Baumwollindustrie in der ehemäl. Grafschaft Mark unter Brandenburg-Preussischer Herrschaft* (Münster, F. Coppenrath, 1909, pp. vii, 128), by Dr. A. Overmann, forms the nineteenth number in the series of *Münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung*, edited by Professor Aloys Meister and his colleagues.

A large amount of contemporary historical material, including illustrations and extracts from letters, periodicals, diplomatic papers and many other forms of writing, has been brought together in the two volumes issued by Friedrich Schulze under the title *Die Franzosenzeit in Deutschland 1806-15 in Wort und Bild der Mitlebenden* (Leipzig, Voigtländer).

Mr. W. H. Dawson's book on *The Evolution of Modern Germany* (London, Unwin; New York, Scribners) describes the transformation of the country from the middle of the last century to the present day.

A work by Count Julius Andrassy, dealing with the period from 896 to 1619, has been translated by C. Arthur and Ilona Ginever under the title *The Development of Hungarian Constitutional Liberty* (London, Kegan Paul, pp. 465).

Of much importance for the more recent constitutional development are the Hon. C. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen's two large volumes on *The Political Evolution of the Hungarian Nation* (London, National Review Office).

Professor K. Dändliker, the well-known authority on Swiss history, is writing a *Geschichte der Stadt und des Kantons Zürich* (Zurich, Schulthess), the first volume of which comes down to 1400 and includes a plan of medieval Zurich.

The third part of volume eight, new series, of *Mémoires et Documents*, published by the Society for the History and Archaeology of Geneva (Geneva, Jullien), consists of a long monograph on commerce and industry at Geneva during the French domination, 1798-1813, written from unpublished documents by É. Chapuisat (1908, pp. 355-699). The first part of the eleventh volume of the same series contains an illustrated paper by E. Demole on the numismatics of the bishopric of Geneva in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and an essay by É.-L. Burnet on the chronology used in the charters of the diocese of Geneva in the twelfth century.

Documentary publications: *Inventare des Grossherzogl. Badischen General-Landesarchivs*, III. (Karlsruhe, Müller, 1908, pp. vi, 264); A. Werminghoff, *Concilia Aevi Karolini*, I., II. [Monumenta Germaniae Historica] (Hanover, Hahn, 1908, pp. xi, 467-1015); O. Holder-Egger, *Alberti de Bezanis, Abbatis S. Laurentii Cremonensis, Cronica Pontificum et Imperatorum* [Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum] (Hanover, Hahn, 1908, pp. xviii, 154); E. Baasch, *Quellen zur Geschichte von Hamburgs Handel und Schifffahrt im 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Heft 1 (Hamburg, 1908, pp. 170).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Brackmann, *Über den Plan einer Germania Sacra* (Historische Zeitschrift, CII. 2); S. Rietschel, *Die Städtepolitik Heinrichs des Löwen* (Historische Zeitschrift, CII. 2); A. Bugge, *Kleine Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte der Deutschen Handelsniederlassungen im Auslande* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, VI. 2); F. M. Schieles, *Luther und das Luthertum in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Schule und der Erziehung* (Preussische Jahrbücher, CXXXII. 3); K. Müller, *Die Anfänge der Konsistorialverfassung im Lutherischen Deutschland* (Historische Zeitschrift, CII. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The thirtieth report on the historical archives of the Netherlands, *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven, 1907* (Hague, 1908, pp. 799), contains the usual accounts of progress and accessions in both the archive at the Hague and those in the provinces and of the use made of them by historians, the latter interesting in their variety and in the picture they give of Dutch historical activity. Especial attention has of late been given to the collection and preservation of local and *waterschap* archives. The Committee of Advice on National Historical Publications, besides the continuance of its usual activities, has sent an agent to inventory the materials for Dutch history at Dunkirk, Valenciennes and other towns of northern France. Especial interest attaches to Dr. Brom's report on his calendar of papers for Dutch history in Italian archives. The first fruits of that undertaking have appeared, *Archivalia in Italië belangrijk voor de Geschiedenis van Nederland*, I., *Rome, Vaticaanisch Archief*, part 1 (Hague, Nijhoff, pp. xxx, 464), in which some 1295 documents, of dates from 1248 to 1757, but chiefly of the sixteenth century, are described.

Die Niederländer im Mittelmeergebiet zur Zeit ihrer höchsten Machtstellung, by Dr. H. Wätjen, constitutes the second number in the series of essays on the history of trade recently initiated by the *Hansische Geschichtsverein* and previously noticed in these pages (XIV. 194).

The principal contents of the fourth part of the sixty-seventh volume of the *Bulletin* of the Royal Historical Commission of Belgium (Brus-

sels, Kiessling, 1908, pp. lxi-lxxxviii, 269-303), are the report of M. J. Cuvelier on his researches in the archives of Holland for acts of the States General of the Netherlands during the Burgundian period, and the texts of several accounts of a corporation of Bruges in the fourteenth century, communicated by M. de Pauw. The Commission has determined to print the index, now ready, to the *Correspondance du Cardinal Granvelle*.

We should have noted earlier M. Eug. Hubert's study of *Les Pays-Bas Espagnols et la République des Provinces-Unies depuis la Paix de Munster jusqu'au Traité d'Utrecht (1648-1713): La Question Religieuse et les Relations Diplomatiques* (Brussels, Lebègue, 1907, pp. 481). The author has a unique knowledge of the political, diplomatic and religious situation in Belgium under the Austrian régime, and his comparison of conditions there and in the United Provinces is based on a minute analysis of documentary evidence.

The second part of Mr. D. C. Boulger's *History of Belgium*, published by the author from 12 Bloomsbury Square, London, W. C., extends from the battle of Waterloo to the death of Leopold I.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

É. Driault has contributed a long "general review" of the Eastern Question to the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* for December.

Mr. R. Nisbet Bain, whose *Slavonic Europe* was reviewed in the October number of this journal (XIV. 110), is publishing through Methuen a study of *The Last King of Poland and his Contemporaries*, based on many hitherto unknown documents.

Professor Adolf Warschauer, archivist of the state archives of Posen, has contributed to the *Mitteilungen der K. Preussischen Archivverwaltung* (Leipzig, Hirzel), the thirteenth heft, entitled *Mitteilungen aus der Handschriftensammlung des Britischen Museums zu London, vornehmlich zur Polnischen Geschichte* (1909, pp. 80).

The Mongols in Russia, by Jeremiah Curtin (London, Sampson Low), is a continuation of *The Mongols: A History*, reviewed in an earlier number of this journal (XIII. 562).

A study of the origins of modern Russia, by M. K. Waliszewski, has been issued by MM. Plon-Nourrit under the title *Le Berceau d'une Dynastie: Les Premiers Romanov, 1613-1682*.

From the Oxford University Press comes a handsome illustrated volume, *Rhodes of the Knights* (1909), by Baron de Belabre, for some years consul at Rhodes, who having studied in detail the palaces and fortifications built by the Knights of Saint John during their residence in the island, attempts to show the connection between the monuments and the social and military life of their builders.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Professor Fish expects to finish by July his work in Rome for the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. After supplementary labors in Naples and Venice he will return to America to complete his report. Professor Marion D. Learned of the University of Pennsylvania sailed for Germany late in February, to spend six months in making a systematic inventory of manuscript materials for the history of the German emigration to America. Mr. Leland will return to Paris in June, to spend the next four months in the completion of his *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives of Paris*. Professor Bolton's Mexican guide is still in course of preparation. In the search for letters of delegates to the Old Congress Professor Burnett has covered the collections in Baltimore and most of those in New York. Dr. James A. Robertson has been preparing for the press the list of transcripts of Spanish archive-documents on American history now preserved in America. Mr. David W. Parker has finished a large section of the proposed calendar of papers in Washington relating to the territories. The Institution has at length issued the *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge*, compiled by Professor Andrews and Miss Davenport, a volume of 499 pages. Without anticipating the functions of its reviewer, we may say that it contains a very great amount of fact useful to the investigator into the colonial history of English America.

The *Report of the Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government*, appointed by President Roosevelt in February, 1908, as an assistant committee to the Committee on Department Methods, has been printed by the latter as a quarto pamphlet of 41 pages. On February 11 the President sent it to Congress with a message, and message and report have since been printed as Senate Doc. No. 714 of the session concluded March 4. The report contains a review of the course hitherto pursued by the government in the matter of historical publications; a general survey of the publications hitherto made and of the gaps still existing between or among them; a body of recommendations for filling such gaps, especially by the inception of a series of National State Papers, conceived as a continuation, modernized, of the old *American State Papers*; a body of considerations respecting the system which the government ought to pursue in order to secure proper direction of such work and proper quality in the product, with a statement of the systems pursued by other governments; and finally, a series of suggestions for the organization of a permanent Commission on National Historical Publications, with

a bill which, it is hoped, may be introduced in the Sixty-first Congress. Copies of the report have been sent to all members of the American Historical Association, and it is hoped that all who find themselves in general agreement with its conclusions will use their influence to secure from Congress a more scientific and economical system for dealing with this important problem.

All of the proofs of vol. I. of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1907 have been read; those of vol. II., Texan diplomatic material, are now being collated with the original documents in Austin.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons expect to bring out some time in April the Report of the Committee of Eight on History in Elementary Schools.

Writings on American History, 1907, the second volume of the annual bibliography edited by Miss Grace G. Griffin, is all in type except the index, and may be expected to come from the press (Macmillan Company) in May.

The New Netherland volume in the "Original Narratives" series may also be expected to appear in May.

In the last *Year Book* of the Carnegie Institution Mr. Wilberforce Eames announces that he has completed the manuscript for the continuation of Sabin's *Dictionary of Americana* from "Smith" to the end of the alphabet.

The fifth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at the University of California, November 21, 1908. Professor E. D. Adams of Stanford University read a paper on English Interest in the Annexation of California, which we shall have the pleasure of printing in a future number. Other papers were read by Mr. Don E. Smith of the University of California, on The Viceroy of New Spain in the Eighteenth Century, by Professor J. N. Bowman of the same university, on the Pacific Northwest and the Pacific Ocean, and by Mr. F. J. Teggart, curator of the Bancroft Library, on Explorations of the Missouri River before Lewis and Clark. There was also an extended discussion of the report of the Committee of Seven. About sixty persons were present at each session and thirty-five attended the banquet in the evening.

In the Pan-American Scientific Congress held at Santiago, Chile, December 25, 1908, to January 5, 1909, history had a small place. Among the papers which we note upon the programme was one by Dr. Hiram Bingham on the reasons why the English colonies, on achieving their independence, became a single nation, while the Latin-American colonies did not even confederate; others were, Tendencies toward Federalism and Unitarism in Latin America, by Esteban Guardiola;

Foundations of English and Spanish Colonial Civilization in America, by Professor Bernard Moses; The Initiation and Commencement of the South American War of Independence, by Luis Arce; The Historical Literature of Chile, by Luis Galdames; The Work of the Historians of the United States, by Professor W. M. Sloane; America in the Pacific, by Professor A. C. Coolidge; The Evolution of the Principle of Arbitration in America, by J. F. Urrutia, Colombian minister of foreign affairs; and The Most Favored Nation Clause in American Commercial Treaties, by Julio Philippi.

The Library of Congress has received by transfer from the Department of State the applications for office during the presidency of George Washington (described in Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide*, p. 55); from the Pension Office, Revolutionary account books, almanacs, journals and diaries, and orderly books, formerly filed in the Record Division (*ibid.*, p. 212); from the office of the Secretary of the Interior, papers relating to the suppression of the slave trade, and efforts made in 1863 to colonize negroes (*ibid.*, p. 202). It has also received by gift of Mrs. William Reed, William B. Reed's diary of the mission to China, 1857-1859; by gift of the Rev. A. B. Clark of South Dakota, Battiste Good's Winter Count, from 900 A. D. to 1907; by gift of J. P. Maclean of Franklin, Ohio, miscellaneous papers relating to Richard McNemar and the Shaker movement in Ohio; besides some additional Jefferson and Richard Bland Lee papers, and minor accessions.

Among the numerous articles in the *Journal of American History*, volume II., no. 3, are: "The Genesis of California", by Z. S. Eldredge; portions of General Washington's order book (in possession of Mrs. E. F. Brown); "First Newspapers in America", by L. H. Weeks and E. M. Bacon; "Autobiography of a Bavarian Immigrant, 1784" (translated from the original manuscript in the possession of Mrs. I. B. Hasselman); "First Court Trials in America", by J. C. Eno; "First White Owners of Land in America", by T. W. Bicknell.

The *Magazine of History* is printing (November, December and January issues) the journal of the committee who built the ships *Providence* and *Warren* for the United States in 1776, edited by James N. Arnold. In the December issue is printed a letter from William Whipple and Josiah Bartlett to Meshech Weare, June 26, 1776, and one from Whipple to Bartlett, February 7, 1777. The "member from N. Carolina" mentioned by Whipple was not Aedanus Burke, as stated in a footnote, but Thomas Burke. There are several reprints in these issues, beside continued articles hitherto mentioned.

The December number of the *American Monthly Magazine* contains an article on "The Quinton's Bridge Skirmish", March 17, 1778, by Augusta Austin Pettit, and one on Virginia Revolutionary forts, by Mrs. Mary C. Bell Clayton.

Among the contents of the *American Historical Magazine* for November are: "Washington's Army in Lowantica Valley, Morris County, New Jersey", by A. M. Sherman; "Heroes of the Battle of Point Pleasant", by Delia A. McCulloch; and a portion of the diary of an officer in the Indian country in 1794, contributed by Ernest Cruikshank.

In the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society for September the series of letters from the Baltimore archives is continued, as is also the correspondence, from the archiepiscopal archives at Quebec, relating to the dioceses of New Orleans and St. Louis. Of especial interest in the first mentioned series are the letters of Father Badin to Bishop Carroll, written from Kentucky in 1796. Rev. T. C. Middleton contributes to this issue an account of "A Typical Old-Time Country Mission: St. Paul's of Mechanicsville, New York".

Professor Francis N. Thorpe's new edition of Poore, so enlarged as to be virtually a new work, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters and other Organic Laws of the States, Territories and Colonies now or heretofore forming the United States of America*, is beginning to be issued from the Government Printing Office. It will form a series of seven octavo volumes.

In Miss Hasse's series of indexes to the economic material in the public documents of the American states, the Carnegie Institution has recently published the volumes for New York (pp. 553) and California (pp. 316); that for Illinois is in the press.

The issue of the *German American Annals* for November and December contains a paper by Dr. G. G. Benjamin entitled: "Germans in Texas". The paper gives an account of German immigration from 1815 to 1848 and of the reasons which led the early settlers into Texas. About half the pages of this issue are devoted to the exercises of "German Day of Founders' Week", October 6, 1908, the two hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the arrival of the first German settlers of Germantown. One feature of the exercises was the laying of the cornerstone of a monument to Francis Daniel Pastorius. Several of the addresses delivered on the occasion are here printed.

German Literature in American Magazines, 1846-1880 (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 263, pp. 188), by M. H. Haertel, is an analytical study of the interest in German life and culture manifested by Americans during the period under consideration. In pursuing the study a large number of journals has been examined, and 83 pages of the monograph are occupied with a chronological list of the references used. A similar study for the period prior to 1846, by Dr. S. H. Goodnight, was noted in the issue of the REVIEW for July.

Professor A. B. Faust's *German Element in the United States*, which won the Conrad Seipp prize of \$3000, will be published during the year by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

The New York Public Library has issued: *German American Researches: The Growth of the German American Collection in the New York Public Library during 1906-1907*, by R. E. Helbig. It appears in both English and German texts, reprinted from the *German American Annals* and *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, respectively

Bulletin No. 2 of the United States Military Academy is a catalogue of manuscripts, rare books, memorabilia and the like in the library of the academy, prepared by Dr. Edward S. Holden, librarian. The catalogue shows numerous letters and documents dating from 1774 to the present time, many of which would appear to have value not only for military but also for political history. A considerable number of the letters are printed in full. The arrangement of the catalogue is chronological.

Volumes I. and II. of Mr. Robert W. Neeser's *Statistical and Chronological History of the United States Navy* have come from the press of the Macmillan Company.

Old South Leaflet No. 197 is a reprint of Noah Webster's essay (published in 1785) advocating a firmer national government, together with the correspondence between Webster and Madison concerning the pamphlet. No. 198 of the leaflets is a reprint of Webster's history of the United States published (1790) in his *American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking*.

The Primitive Aryans of America, by T. S. Denison (published by the author at Chicago, pp. 189), is mainly a philological study. The author maintains that "the Mexican language is Aryan in vocabulary and in verb conjugation" and aims to show the relationship of the Aztecs and kindred tribes to the Indo-Iranians.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Messrs. Duffield have issued a reprint of Crèvecoeur's *Letters of an American Farmer*, with a preface by Professor W. P. Trent and an introduction by Ludwig Lewisohn.

In the January issue of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* is an article by Robert E. Peabody on the noteworthy career of a Revolutionary sea-captain, John Manley of Marblehead. In the same issue is begun the publication of the records of the vice-admiralty court at Halifax, Nova Scotia. These records are for the period of the Revolution and also for the War of 1812.

It is announced that a work entitled *Napoleon and America*, by Edward L. Andrews, will be issued shortly by Mitchell Kennerly.

A correspondent has called our attention to the fact that there are two editions, identical in title-page and date (1834) but different in pagination, of the first two volumes of the *Annals of Congress*. Refer-

ences in official and historical books have apparently been usually made to the pages of the second of these editions.

Since the publication of the *Fillmore Papers* by the Buffalo Historical Society a large mass of Fillmore papers, previously supposed to have been destroyed, has come to light. They are mostly letters to Fillmore. Selections from them will be printed by Mr. Severance in a subsequent volume.

Houghton Mifflin Company have issued *The Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln*, prepared by J. Henry Lea and J. R. Hutchinson. The volume, which is a handsome quarto, contains numerous documents, photogravure facsimiles, etc. Among the many other books on Lincoln which are appearing may be mentioned *Abraham Lincoln: Tributes from his Associates*, edited by William Hayes Ward and published by the firm of Crowell; *The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln and its Expiation*, by D. M. DeWitt, published by Macmillan; Henry C. Whitney's *Life of Lincoln*, edited by M. M. Miller (Baker and Taylor Company); and *Abraham Lincoln*, by Brand Whitlock, published in Small, Maynard and Company's "Beacon Biographies". Lincoln bibliographies were issued by the public libraries of Boston, Brooklyn and Chicago.

The one hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth was celebrated on February 12 by many of the historical societies of the country, with exhibitions of Lincolniana and with addresses and other exercises. Among those who delivered addresses at the celebration held at Springfield, Illinois, were the British ambassador, Mr. James Bryce, and the French ambassador, M. Jusserand.

The Lincoln Tribute Book: Appreciations by Statesmen, Men of Letters, and Poets at Home and Abroad, edited by Horatio S. Krans (G. P. Putnam's Sons, pp. x, 146), contains about sixty-five selections from half as many sources representing all phases of Lincoln's life and character. The book includes a Lincoln centenary medal from the second design by Roiné, as also a brief history of the medal and a sketch of the artist.

G. P. Putnam's Sons announce for early publication *The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution*, by W. P. Pickett.

Jefferson Davis: A Judicial Estimate, an address delivered by Bishop Charles B. Galloway at the University of Mississippi, June 3, 1908, has been issued as a bulletin of the university.

Volume VII. of the *Papers* of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts is *Kentucky and Tennessee Campaigns and their Battles*.

It is agreeable news to all students of recent American history that Mr. James Ford Rhodes has determined to continue his history of the United States from the year 1877, the point at which the seventh volume, published three years ago, was brought to a conclusion.

Mr. G. H. Boyd's valuable reference book on tariff legislation and debates in Congress from 1846 to 1897, mentioned in our last issue (XIV. 416), has now been printed in a considerable edition as Senate Doc. No. 547, 60th Congress, 2d Session. Its title is *Customs Tariffs: Senate and House Reports, 1888, 1890, 1894, 1897* (pp. 482).

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The first *Report* of the State Historian of Maine, Dr. Henry S. Burrage, has been issued. One of the efforts which the State Historian has been making is to secure as complete a roll as is possible of the officers and men from Maine who were with General Pepperrell at the capture of Louisbourg in 1745. Effort has also been directed to gathering or locating materials relating to the history of Maine prior to 1820, and to preserving and systematizing all the public archives.

The Maine Historical Society has come into possession of the journal kept by Rev. John Wiswell of Falmouth (now Portland) while serving as chaplain of an English vessel holding a letter of marque. Wiswell had previously been chaplain in the Continental service.

New Hampshire as a Royal Province, by William H. Fry, is a recent issue of the "Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law".

The *New Hampshire Genealogical Record* prints in its October issue the list of New Hampshire privateers, 1776-1782, which was prepared for the Library of Congress by Mr. C. H. Lincoln.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has appointed special committees to provide for the preparation of special editions of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, of the *Journal* and papers of Governor John Winthrop and of the diaries and papers of Increase and Cotton Mather. It is intended that the editions of Bradford and Winthrop shall be more elaborate than any heretofore produced, marked by the best scholarship and accompanied by notable illustrations. A much-needed definitive edition of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* will follow.

The Prince Society expects before long to publish the sixth and seventh volumes of its *Edward Randolph*, of which the first five volumes were published in 1898 and 1899. It will also issue a volume of documents relating to colonial currency, edited by Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis.

The Revolutionary regimental article in the January issue of the *Massachusetts Magazine* is "Colonel Ephraim Doolittle's Regiment", by F. A. Gardner. In the "Department of the American Revolution" appear some documentary materials relating to the brigantine *Independence*.

The Story of the Old Boston Town House, 1658-1711, by Colonel J. H. Benton, has been privately printed at Boston.

The principal contents of volume XIII. of the *Historical Collections of the Topsfield Historical Society* (Topsfield, Massachusetts, 1908, pp. 168) are the witchcraft records relating to Topsfield which have been gathered by the editor, Mr. George F. Dow, from the original records and documents in the custody of the clerks of courts for Essex County, from the Massachusetts archives, from the manuscript collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society and of the Essex Institute. An historical sketch of "Topsfield in the Witchcraft Delusion" is contributed by Mrs. Abbie Peterson Towne and Miss Marietta Clark.

Historical Catalogue of the Members of the First Baptist Church in Providence, Rhode Island (pp. 190), compiled and edited by Rev. Dr. Henry M. King with the aid of Charles F. Wilcox, has been issued in Providence. The work includes an outline of the history of the church and contains several portraits and other illustrations.

The twelfth volume of the *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, a book of 500 pages, was issued in January. Its sub-title is *Lists and Returns of Connecticut Men in the Revolution, 1775-1783*. It contains supplementary official lists and returns of soldiers serving from different towns, as well as some rolls not previously printed. "Its chief value will be found to consist in the addition, in the case of a great majority of the soldiers, of the name of the town from which the soldier came." The society has recently received about four hundred letters of the family of General Jabez Huntington of Norwich, dating from 1758 to 1814. The greater part of them were written by his son, the distinguished General Jedediah Huntington, during his service in the Revolutionary War.

A photographic reprint of Dr. Eleazer Wheelock's *Plain and Faithful Narrative of the Indian Charity School at Lebanon in Connecticut* has been brought out by George P. Humphrey, Rochester, New York.

The New York Historical Society has entered on the occupancy of its handsome new building at 170 Central Park West. The interior of the new building is not quite complete, but most of the volumes in the library have been arranged on their respective shelves.

The Macmillan Company announce for spring publication a *History of the City of New York*, by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer.

The Macmillan Company have issued a serviceable little volume of 115 pages entitled *Artificial Waterways and Commercial Development (with a History of the Erie Canal)*, by A. B. Hepburn. Although the Erie Canal appears only parenthetically in the title it is in reality the author's theme. The text abounds in figures and there are several pages of statistical tables.

The *Year Book of the Schenectady County Historical Society*, 1906-1908, contains, besides official reports, articles of some interest though

for the most part of local concern. "Early Church History of Schenectady", by E. C. Lawrence, and "Snake Dance of the Moqui Indians of Arizona", by Brigadier-General Charles L. Davis, may be mentioned.

An appropriate contribution to the celebration of the sesqui-centennial anniversary of the destruction of Fort Duquesne is the publication, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, of the letters of the officers in charge of the expedition. "Selections of the Military Correspondence of Colonel Henry Bouquet, 1757-1764", edited by Helen Jordan, appear in the October and January issues, and "Letters of General John Forbes, 1758", in that of January. Other articles of interest in the issue for October are: "Pirates and Privateers in the Delaware Bay and River", by William M. Mervine; "York, Pennsylvania, in the Revolution", by John C. Jordan; and "President Washington in New York, 1789", a caption covering four letters of Tobias Lear to Colonel Clement Biddle. In the January issue is a paper by Hon. Hampton L. Carson on "Dutch and Swedish Settlements on the Delaware", and "Reincke's Journal of a Visit among the Swedes of West Jersey, 1745". Of interest also is "Thomas Sully's Register of Portraits, 1801-1871" (begun in October), arranged and edited with an introduction and notes by Charles Henry Hart.

Recent accessions of manuscripts to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania have been eight war maps of General Knox, used in the campaign for the defence of the Delaware; sixty-two letters of General William Hand; and thirty-one documents and letters of the Revolution, including minutes of courts martial at Valley Forge.

It is announced that Dr. Ellis P. Oberholtzer has in preparation a history of Philadelphia, which will be brought out by the S. J. Clark Publishing Company of Chicago. The work is to be in four volumes and elaborately illustrated.

Mrs. I. M. E. Blandin is the author and Messrs. Neale of Washington are the publishers of a *History of Higher Education for Women in the South prior to 1860* (pp. 328). The history begins with the founding of the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans in 1727.

The Self-Reconstruction of Maryland, 1864-1867 (Johns Hopkins University Studies, Series XXVII., Nos. 1-2), by W. S. Myers, Ph.D., continues the study begun by the author in his monograph *The Maryland Constitution of 1864*, which appeared in Series XIX. of the Johns Hopkins Studies. The study, based mainly upon official publications and newspapers, not only throws light upon political conditions in Maryland but brings into view the relation between the state and national movements.

The December issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* brings to a conclusion Dr. Bernard C. Steiner's paper on Benedict Leonard Cal-

vert, Mr. Richard D. Fisher's contribution, "The Case of the Good Intent", and the selections from the Calvert Papers known as the "Proceedings of the Parochial Clergy".

Mr. A. J. Morrison, in a pamphlet entitled *The District in the XVIIIth Century: History, Site-Strategy, Real Estate Market, Landscape, etc.*, has reprinted the descriptions of the District of Columbia in the books of travel of Henry Wansey, Francis Baily, Isaac Weld, the Duke of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt and John Davis.

The contents of the January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* are for the most part the documentary series hitherto noted. Among the items from the Randolph manuscript are a letter from the governor and council of Virginia to the Privy Council in regard to Lord Baltimore, November 9, 1629; and the royal commission to the Earl of Dorset and others to consider the state of Virginia, June 17, 1631. Under the caption "Virginia in 1641-1649" appear a number of orders of the Council of State and of the Committee of Admiralty, 1649-1650. Among the "Miscellaneous Colonial Documents" are a petition to Governor Spotswood, September 4, 1713, in regard to the duty on imported slaves, and some documents relating to Virginia volunteers in South Carolina service in 1715. The selections of "Virginia Legislative Papers" are the interesting reports of Colonels Christian and Lewis during the Cherokee expedition of 1776. This number of the magazine contains the proceedings of the society at its annual meeting, January 1, 1909.

The librarian of the Virginia State Library, Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, will shortly issue his report, which will include special reports of the archivist, Mr. H. J. Eckenrode, and of the bibliographer, Mr. William Clayton-Torrence. Among the accessions recently made to the Department of Archives and History are the muster-rolls of the Virginia troops in the Revolutionary War, Virginia pension lists from 1788 to 1804 and the Prince George County court order-book for the years 1714-1720. The latter had disappeared during the Civil War and recently turned up at a book-sale in New York. The library has recently issued the sixth volume of the *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (pp. xxix, 551) of the years 1752-1758, and has in press a calendar of legislative petitions, covering the period from the beginning of the Revolution to the Civil War, and the first part (1608-1755) of a trial bibliography of colonial Virginia. The text of the bibliography for the years 1755-1776 was unfortunately burned while it was being put into type.

The Virginia Historical Society has received by gift from Mr. Herbert DuPuy, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the business correspondence of Henry Banks, a prominent merchant of Richmond during the period succeeding the Revolution. These papers are of value for the study of the commerce of the times.

The principal articles in the January issue of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* are the "Narrative of George Fisher" and the article on James Mercer, both continued from the October number of the *Quarterly*.

Mr. C. M. Long has prepared a volume on *Virginia County Names*, which has been published at Washington by Neale (pp. 207).

Dr. John W. Wayland, whose book *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia* recently appeared, writes for the January issue of the *Pennsylvania German* an article entitled: "The Pennsylvania-German in the Valley of Virginia". In the same issue of this periodical is reprinted an interesting campaign document in the form of a handbill bearing the headlines: "Political Facts, addressed, more especially, to the German Citizens of Bucks County, and their Descendants; (By a Meeting held at Rock Hill, August 30, 1800)".

The legislature of West Virginia has appropriated \$18,000 for the prosecution of the work of the state Department of Archives and History.

Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin No. 2, is a history of the North Carolina historical exhibit at the Jamestown exposition, together with a complete catalogue of the relics, portraits and manuscripts exhibited. The bulletin was prepared by Mary Hilliard Hinton, the custodian of the exhibit.

The *Narrative of Colonel David Fanning*, which appeared serially in the *Canadian Magazine*, has now been issued at Toronto, with introduction and notes by Judge A. W. Savary. Fanning's *Narrative of Adventures in North Carolina*, written in 1790, was printed in an incomplete form in Richmond in 1861, and reprinted in New York in 1864. The present text is presumed to be both complete and accurate.

With the beginning of its tenth volume, the editorial care of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* passes from the hands of Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., now secretary of the State Historical Commission at Columbia, into those of Miss Mabel L. Webber. The January number of the magazine contains the beginning of a series of letters written by Commodore Alexander Gillon in 1778 and 1779, an article by Mr. H. A. M. Smith on Willtown or New London, in his series on the early towns of South Carolina, a narrative of the second Tuscarora expedition, by Hon. Joseph W. Barnwell, incorporating much original material, and an historical narrative by the Indian trader Ludovick Grant, relating to Indian cessions of land from 1729 to 1756 and derived from the records of the probate court of Charleston.

The Georgia Historical Society will publish at once, as volume VII., part I, of the society's *Collections*, a translation of Montiano's account of the siege of St. Augustine by Oglethorpe. The volume will bear the title, *Letters of Montiano: Siege of St. Augustine*.

The biographical sketch of Richard Keith Call by his grand-daughter, Caroline Mays Brevard, begun in the July number of the *Quarterly of the Florida Historical Society*, is concluded in the issue for October. In the same issue, reprinted from the *Magazine of History*, is Mr. G. B. Utley's paper on the origin of county names in Florida.

In the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association for October, under the title "The Experiences of an Unrecognized Senator", appears the journal of O. M. Roberts, giving an account of his election to the Senate in 1866 and his experiences in Washington in the effort to obtain his seat. The address which the Texas delegation issued to the Congress and the people of the United States, dated January 1, 1867, is included in this journal. Professor Herbert E. Bolton contributes to this issue of the *Quarterly* some notes on Clark's *Beginnings of Texas*.

The Neale Publishing Company have issued *The Lone Star Defenders: A Chronicle of the Third Texas Cavalry, Ross' Brigade*, by B. S. Benton.

The Macmillan Company will shortly issue *The Story of the Great Lakes*, by Edward Channing and Marion F. Lanning.

The annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Society was held at Marietta, Ohio, on November 27 and 28. The first session of the meeting was devoted to the subject of manuscript collections, which included a paper by Miss Hortense Foglesong descriptive of the Charles G. Slack collection of manuscripts in the Marietta College Library. The principal address was by President S. C. Mitchell of the University of South Carolina, on Present Day Problems of the South. Others papers were "The Relation between Geography and History", by Miss Ellen C. Semple; "Historic Beginnings of the Ohio Valley", by Dr. W. J. Holland; "The Ohio River, its Improvement and Commercial Importance", by Colonel John L. Vance; and "Lord Dunmore's War", by Mr. Virgil A. Lewis. There was a meeting of history teachers, and a session devoted to papers on historic highways. The society is endeavoring to arouse interest in all phases of historical work in the region of the Ohio Valley, and especially to locate manuscripts and other valuable material in private keeping and ultimately, if possible, to direct it to some safe repository. The *First Annual Report* of the society, comprising the proceedings of the conference held at Cincinnati on November 29 and 30, 1907, has been issued by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society (Columbus, 1908, pp. 118).

Professor Archer B. Hulbert contributes to the October issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* a paper on Washington's tour to the Ohio in 1770. Several pages are devoted to an account of Washington's relations to the West and the causes which led to the tour, including the articles of Washington's Mississippi company, not hitherto

printed, and Washington's journal of the tour is subjoined. It is unfortunate that the journal was not put into different type from the body of the article; paragraphs inserted by the author should have been distinguishable to the eye from the journal. In the same number of the *Quarterly* is an elaborate article on "Old Fort Sandoski of 1745 and the 'Sandusky Country'", by Lucy Elliot Keeler. The article contains numerous illustrations, maps and plans. In the January number Mr. E. O. Randall writes of "Rutland: The Cradle of Ohio", and Mr. L. J. Weber gives a version of Morgan's raid.

In the July-September issue of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* appears the fourth installment of the Torrence Papers, arranged and edited by Professor I. J. Cox. The letters (1830-1841) relate mainly to the career of William Henry Harrison, some of them being from Harrison himself. The October-December issue is the annual report.

The department of archives and history of the Indiana State Library has recently obtained an almost complete file of Logansport newspapers, including the *Pottawatomie Times*, the first paper published in the Logansport region.

Mr. Arthur W. Dunn's suggestive paper on "The Civic Value of Local History", read before the Ohio Valley Historical Association at Marietta on November 29, appears in the December issue of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*. In the same issue of this periodical is reprinted, from the Indiana Senate Journal for 1821, a rare educational report.

Of chief interest in the recent numbers of the new *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are the articles by Dr. J. F. Snyder on "Prehistoric Illinois".

A *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, in two volumes, has been brought out by Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Company, Chicago. It is the work of E. W. Olson, who is named as editor, in collaboration with Anders Schön and M. J. Engberg. A large portion of the work consists of biographical sketches and there are numerous portraits.

After some interval the Chicago Historical Society has found itself able to resume the publication of volumes in its series of collections. Volume V., *The Settlement of Illinois*, by Professor Arthur Clinton Boggess of the Pacific University (pp. 267), a careful study of both social and political conditions, has just appeared.

It is understood that Judge Walter B. Douglas of St. Louis has undertaken for the Chicago Historical Society the annotation of the parish records of Ste. Anne de Fort Chartres, with a view to ultimate publication by the society, which possesses the original manuscript.

The Wisconsin Free Library Commission has issued, as "Study Outlines No. 23", *History of Wisconsin, 1634-1909*, to which is added a classified list of papers in the *Collections* and the *Proceedings* of the Wisconsin Historical Society (Madison, 1909, pp. 46).

The pages of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January are occupied mainly with Professor F. H. Garver's thorough account of the "Boundary History of Iowa Counties". Mr. John E. Brindley contributes a short account of the legislative reference movement.

The number of the *Annals of Iowa* for January, 1909, is entirely devoted to a memorial of Mr. Charles Aldrich, the founder and for eighteen years the curator of the State Historical Department of Iowa.

The Missouri Historical Society has recently received from Captain Francis Vallé an addition to its collection of Vallé Papers, consisting of a large number of letters and documents of the years 1770 to 1803. There are many letters from the Spanish lieutenant-governors of Upper Louisiana, from the commandants of the various posts and from leading citizens. The Vallé family was one of the most influential in that country, and these papers accordingly throw much light on the governmental and social condition of the people at that time. The society contemplates issuing a reprint of Gen. Thomas James's *Three Years among the Indians and Mexicans*.

Mr. W. G. Bek's account of "A German Communistic Society in Missouri", begun in the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review*, is concluded in the issue for January. "A Decade of Missouri Politics, 1860-1870", is a paper read by Judge H. C. McDougal before the State Historical Society of Missouri in 1904. The author avows that he writes "from a Republican viewpoint". Mr. William S. Bryan begins in this issue a series of articles relating to Daniel Boone.

The Arkansas Historical Association hopes to secure from the state legislature an appropriation enabling the association to continue its publications, and also the enactment of legislation creating a permanent history commission with a salaried secretary. The bill, which provides that the secretary shall take charge of all archives of the state not in current use, has already passed the senate.

The Kansas State Historical Society has recently acquired the manuscript memoirs of Dr. Alexander W. Reese, of Warrensburg, Missouri. The memoirs are for the years 1855 to 1866 and are concerned largely with the troubles of the Kansas border.

Bulletin No. 34 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is *Physiological and Medical Observations among the Indians of Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico*, by Aleš Hrdlička. The earlier pages of the volume treat of the Indian population in the region studied, the physical types represented, general and personal environments, habits of life, social condition, etc.

Professor Edmond S. Meany has prepared a *History of the State of Washington* which will shortly be brought out by the Macmillan Company.

Mr. Charles W. Smith's *Contribution toward a Bibliography of Marcus Whitman* (pp. 62), published in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, October, 1908, has been issued as a bulletin of the University of Washington.

It is announced that Professor W. D. Lyman of Whitman College is preparing for Messrs. Putnam's "Historic Rivers" series a volume on the Columbia River.

A new bilingual monthly published at Manila under the double title *Biblioteca Nacional Filipina—Philippine National Library* has commenced in its first number (dated October 30, 1908) a series of articles on the representation of the Philippines in the Cortes of Spain between 1809 and 1837, and on the legislative features of the "Philippine Republic", 1898-1899, as preliminary to the recent inauguration of an elective assembly in those islands. The editor, Señor Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, promises other series of historical interest, including especially the production of some hitherto unpublished manuscripts lying in the friars' archives at Manila.

A special report recently published at Manila as a Philippine government document, under the title *A History of Asiatic Cholera in the Philippine Islands*, by Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior, contains many hitherto unpublished statistics and other data regarding cholera epidemics under Spanish rule, and gives in general a much more complete history of the disease in the Philippines from 1819 to date than is elsewhere available.

Messrs. Dutton have issued *The Making of Canada, 1763-1814*, by Arthur G. Bradley.

It is announced that Messrs. Stanley Paul will shortly publish *Political Annals of Canada*, by A. P. Cockburn, a member of the first parliament of Ontario and of several Dominion parliaments.

The Canadian Military Institute has issued *Officers of the British Forces in Canada during the War of 1812-1815* (pp. x, 309), compiled by L. H. Irving, mainly from the records of land grants. The compiler has furnished numerous biographical and other annotations.

The papers of Thomas Talbot (1771-1853) have been edited by James H. Coyne, M.A., and printed for the author by the Royal Society of Canada. Talbot's activities in the first half of the nineteenth century in planting settlements along the northern coast of Lake Erie and his correspondence with persons of prominence in official life in England give to these papers a considerable value. A biographical account of Talbot is given in the introduction.

L'Abbé Holmes et l'Instruction Publique, by the Abbé Auguste Gosselin, is issued as a separate (pp. 127-172) from the *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, troisième série, 1907-1908. The Abbé Holmes was a native of Vermont (born in 1799) who passed into Canada in 1815, became a director of the seminary of Quebec, and had a large share in the preparation of the first law for normal schools, which was passed in 1836.

It is announced that the *Morning Chronicle* of Halifax, Nova Scotia, will shortly issue a new and complete edition of the speeches and public letters of the eminent statesman Joseph Howe, for many years the editor of that paper. The work is edited by Mr. J. A. Chisholm, K. C.

To the October number of *Acadiensis* Mr. D. R. Jack contributes an article on Early Journalism in New Brunswick. We regret to note that with this issue the publication of this attractive and well conducted journal is suspended.

Noticias Bio-Bibliográficas de Alumnos Distinguidos del Colegio de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Ildefonso de México, by Dr. Felix Osoreo, forms volumes XIX. and XXI. of the series *Documentos inéditos ó muy raros para la Historia de México*, brought out under the editorial charge of Genaro García (Mexico, Bouret, 1908, pp. xiv, 336, 320).

Mr. George W. Crichfield's *American Supremacy: The Rise and Progress of the Latin-American Republics*, in two volumes, has been issued by Brentano.

Messrs. George Barrie and Sons have issued *The Old and New Peru*, by Mrs. Marie Robinson Wright.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ernest Nys, *Les États-Unis et le Droit des Gens* (Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée, XI. 1); C. E. Hampton, *History of the Twenty-first U. S. Infantry* (Journal of the United States Infantry Association, March); Surgeon A. Farenholt, U. S. N., *A Short Account of Legislative Action in regard to the United States Navy up to the War of 1812, and Notes Concerning the Histories of Naval Vessels during that Period* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, December); C. O. Paullin, *Services of Commodore John Rodgers in our War with Barbary Corsairs, 1802-1806* (*ibid.*); R. N. Denham, Jr., *An Historical Development of the Contract Theory in the Dartmouth College Case* (Michigan Law Review, January); Jerónimo Becker, *La Cesión de las Floridas* (La España Moderna, December); George F. Mellen, *Henry W. Hilliard and W. L. Yancey* (Sewanee Review, January); E. P. Oberholtzer, *A Midnight Conference, and other Passages from the Papers of Secretary Salmon P. Chase* (Scribner's Magazine, February); R. W. Gilder, *Lincoln the Leader* (Century, February); W. H. Lambert, *A Lincoln Correspondence: Letters of Lincoln and Senator Lyman Trumbull* (*ibid.*); Gren-

ville M. Dodge, *What I saw of Lincoln* (Appleton's Magazine, February); James Grant Wilson, *Recollections of Lincoln* (Putnam's Magazine, February); Horace White, *Abraham Lincoln in 1854* (*ibid.*, March); Gideon Welles, *Diary* (Atlantic, February, March); Margarita S. Gerry, *Rutherford B. Hayes in the White House: Being the Reminiscences of William H. Crook* (Century, March); J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *The Freedmen's Bureau in North Carolina* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); General Kuropatkin, *The Treaty at Portsmouth* (McClure's Magazine, January); Benjamin Sulte, *Missions du Haut-Canada, 1634-1640* (Revue Canadienne, February).

The
American Historical Review

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND SLAVERY IN THE
MIDDLE AGES¹

THE abolition of slavery is one of the fair fruits of the Christian religion. The question is: To what extent did the medieval Church aid in the process?

¹ The text of this article [by Professor F. Pijper of the University of Leyden] was read before the International Historical Congress in Berlin in 1908. With the foot-notes, it forms a chapter in the forthcoming second volume of the author's "History of Penance and Confession in the Christian Church" (*Geschiedenis der Boete en Biecht in de Christelijke Kerk*, the Hague, Martinus Nijhoff). For the literature, see: H. Wallon, *Histoire de l'Esclavage dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1879), three vols.; J. Yanoski, *De l'Abolition de l'Esclavage Ancien au Moyen Age, et de sa Transformation en Servitude de la Glèbe* (Paris, 1860); Rivière, *L'Eglise et l'Esclavage* (Paris, 1864); Margraf, *Kirche und Sklaverei seit der Entdeckung Amerikas* (Tübingen, 1866); H. Wiskemann, *Die Sklaverei* (Leiden, 1866) in the *Werken* of the Haagsch Genootschap; J. Buchmann, *Die unfreie und die freie Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zur Sklaverei, zur Glaubens- und Gewissenstyrannie und zum Dämonismus* (1875); Overbeck, *Ueber das Verhältniss der alten Kirche zur Sklaverei im Römischen Reiche*, in the *Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche* (Schloss Chemnitz, 1875), pp. 158 ff.; Th. Zahn, *Sklaverei und Christentum in der alten Welt* (1879), in his *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 116-159; G. Uhlhorn, *Die christliche Liebesthätigkeit in der alten Kirche* (Stuttgart, 1882), pp. 184-189, 362-375; M. Fournier, *Les Affranchissements du Ve au XIIIe Siècle*, in the *Revue Historique* (Paris, 1883), vol. XXI., pp. 1-58; Th. Brecht, *Kirche und Sklaverei, Beitrag zur Lösung des Problems der Freiheit* (Barmen, 1890); G. Abignente, *La Schiavitù nei suoi Rapporti colla Chiesa e col Laicato, studio storico-giuridico, pubblicato in occasione della Conferenza Antischiavista di Bruxelles* (Turin, 1890); O. Langer, *Sklaverei in Europa während der letzten Jahrhunderte des Mittelalters, Programm des Gymnasiums zu Bautzen* (Bautzen, Ostern, 1891); G. F. Knapp, *Die Landarbeiter in Knechtschaft und Freiheit, Vier Vorträge* (Leipzig, 1891); E. Teichmüller, *Der Einfluss des Christenthums auf die Sklaverei im griechisch-römischen Alterthum, Ein Vortrag* (Dessau, 1894); J. K. Ingram, *History of Slavery and Serfdom* (London, 1895); A. Jerovšek, *Die antik-heidnische Sklaverei und das Christentum* (Marburg, 1903); L. Vanderkindere, *Liberté et Propriété en Flandre du IXe au XIIe Siècle* (Académie Royale de Belgique, *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, 1906, pp. 151 ff.); Rob. Roberts, *Das Familien- Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Quorân* (Leipzig, 1908) in the *Leipziger Semitistische Studien*, edited by Fischer and Zimmern, II. 6.

Throughout the Middle Ages slavery existed in the Christian lands of Europe, although from the thirteenth century onward serfdom replaced it to a considerable degree. There is no evidence that the Christian Church made any serious effort to abolish either slavery or serfdom in that age. There were slaves in all countries, and the Church seemed to approve of it; at least she gave no evidence of regret at being unable to reconcile this condition with the spirit of the Gospel. Sporadic individuals, to be sure, did express their conviction that the words of Christ, "All ye are brethren", would find an admirable practical application in the freeing of slaves. Church assemblies issued a small number of decrees intended to improve the lot of slaves. The Church, too, took the emancipated under her protection. Still the number of slaves was not noticeably decreased thereby. Unfortunately it cannot be denied that the Church made provisions whereby in certain cases freemen were reduced to slavery, and under some circumstances aided in establishing slavery where it did not before exist. Indeed the Church herself held many slaves, and opposed their emancipation.

The beginning of a letter of emancipation by Pope Gregory the Great is famous. Two slaves, Montana and Thomas, both belonging to the Roman Church, were freed by him. He alludes to the love of the Saviour, who did not hesitate to become man, in order to free us from the chains of bondage in which we lay, and restore us to our original freedom. "Man", he continues, "was created free in the beginning by Nature; he does well, therefore, who restores to men the freedom in which they were born."² A similar spirit breathes from a letter of emancipation issued, five centuries later, by the abbot and chapter of the abbey of St. Père in Chartres. It begins with the words: "In the name of Him, Who, to redeem a slave, did not spare His Son, but surrendered Him for us all, Jesus Christ our Lord."³ Another document of similar origin recalls the prophecy of Jeremiah (xxxiv.) in the time of King Zedekiah, when Jerusalem was being besieged by Nebuchadnezzar. The more prom-

² Gregory the Great, *Epistolae*, l. vi., ep. 12, in *Opera*, ed. J. B. Galliecioli (Venice, 1770), t. VII., p. 359. "Cum redemptor noster, totius conditor creaturae, ad hoc propitiatus humanam voluerit carnem assumere, ut divinitatis suae gratia dirupto quo tenebamur capti vinculo servitutis, pristinae nos restitueret libertati: salubriter agitur si homines, quos ab initio natura liberos protulit, et jus gentium iugo substituit servitutis, in ea qua nati fuerant, manumittentis beneficio, libertate reddantur."

³ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de St.-Père de Chartres*, ed Guérard, t. II. (Paris, 1840, in *Collection des Cartulaires de France*), no. 27, p. 286. "In ejus nomine qui, ut servum redimeret, filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum Ihesum Christum Dominum nostrum". The document dates from 1130 to 1150.

inent Israelites had agreed to proclaim a year of jubilee, that is, to free all slaves of Hebrew origin. The agreement however was not kept. For this reason the prophet declared that God would bring back the Babylonians, from whom the Jews had had a short respite, and would proclaim for Judah "a liberty to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine". This story teaches us, so says the letter of emancipation, how pleasing a sacrifice to God is the restoration of liberty to a man languishing in slavery.⁴ Again, a certain Richeldis is freed both for the love of the highest Emancipator, Almighty God, and because of the desire of her father.⁵ About the same time Count Fulk of Anjou and his sister Ermengardis promise to give a certain slave his liberty, "for the good of the soul of their father Fulk, and for the forgiveness of their sins".⁶

Nevertheless there is no evidence that many shared the religious views which found expression in these utterances. Whatever may have influenced the hearts of some of the best and noblest persons, they were powerless over against the majority, powerless in the face of the incalculable economic importance of slavery in the medieval world. Indeed there is no trace of serious effort, on any considerable scale, to change conditions. In the biographies of certain saints, one reads that before they entered the monastery they freed many slaves;⁷ of others, that they redeemed war-captives and sent them back to their homes free men.⁸ Such deeds may have provoked sympathy and even admiration, but they had no notable effect on the persistence of slavery as an institution.

It is necessary to consider the matter more in detail. One finds

⁴ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de St.-Père de Chartres*, ed. Guérard, t. II., no. 51, p. 507. "Quam gratum et acceptabile Deo sit sacrificium, hominem servituti mancipatum, restituere libertati prophetica illa sancti Jeremiae indicat historia." The document is from the time between 1130 and 1150.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Baluze, *Capitularia Regum Francorum* (Paris, 1677), t. II., col. 146. Cf. the formula of emancipation in E. de Rozière, *Recueil Général des Formules usitées dans l'Empire des Francs du Ve au Xe Siècle* (Paris, 1859), t. III., no. 65, p. 90: "Qui debitum sibi nexum relaxat servitium, praemium in futuro apud Dominum sibi retribuere confidat. Igitur ego, in Dei nomine, ille, pro remedio animae meae vel aeterna retributione, servum iuris mei, nomine illum, ingenuum esse praecipio." Another formula, *ibid.*, no. 69, p. 95 reads: "In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis. Si quis ex servientibus sibi aliqua mancipia ad sanctorum loca tradiderit, mercedem ob hoc in futuro ei provenire veraciter crediderit. Quapropter ego, in Dei nomine, N., servum iuris mei N. ad sanctum [illum] trado et ab omni iugo servitutis absolvo."

⁷ From the *Vita S. Romarici*, in Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens de la France* (Paris, 1741), III. 495. A certain Florus does similarly, *Vita S. Mauri*, *ibid.*, p. 417.

⁸ From the *Vita S. Eptadii*, in Bouquet, III. 381; *Vita S. Balthildis*, *ibid.*, p. 573.

slaves among the Christians of the seventh⁹ and eighth centuries;¹⁰ they are not lacking in the tenth¹¹ and eleventh;¹² in the twelfth,¹³ thirteenth,¹⁴ fourteenth,¹⁵ and later¹⁶ they still exist.

At a council held in Toledo (656) complaint was made that clerics sold Christian slaves to Jews. With many quotations from the Scriptures, the council prohibited this practice.¹⁷ Why did not the *Patres conscripti* condemn the whole slave-trade? They appeal to such a text as 1 *Corinthians*, xii, 13: "For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we are bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit." But they did not draw the conclusion: Slavery is contrary to the Gospel. No more did Raterius of Verona, when about three centuries later he wrote his *Praeloquia*. In it he addresses all classes of society. On the one hand he comforts the slave with the assurance that all men are brethren, on the other he exhorts him to see in his bondage an ordinance of divine providence.¹⁸

Art thou slave? Let it not grieve thee. If thou hast served thy master faithfully, thou shalt be a freedman of God, the Lord of us all, for in Christ are we all brethren. Hear what the Apostle says (1 *Pet.*, ii, 18): "Servants be subject to your masters with all fear". Both God and your earthly masters ye can fear in two ways, first with the fear of blows, scourging and imprisonment, and the eternal fire, since "who-soever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God" (*Rom.*, xiii, 2). But of this first fear it is said that love casteth it out. The other fear is of a purer kind and endures eternally. It is the fear of indolence and idleness, the fear of the loss of that glory which awaits those who labor vigorously. If now thou hast stolen hours from thy master, return them to thy Creator [*i. e.*, in the form of alms, etc.]. And do not think that thou art slave accidentally, and without the will of divine providence. Hear what Isidore says: "Because of the first man's sin, slavery was imposed by God on mankind as a punishment, in such a way that He mercifully destined those to slavery for whom He saw that freedom would not be fitting." Though this be a result of original sin,

⁹ Tenth synod of Toledo (656), c. 7, in Mansi, XI. 37 ff.

¹⁰ Synod of Dingolfing (769-771), c. 5, *ibid.*, XII. 851.

¹¹ Synod of Coblenz (922), c. 7, in Pertz, *Mon. Germ., Leges*, II. 17.

¹² Synod of Rome (1078), in Mansi, XX. 506.

¹³ Synod of Gran (1114), c. 29, *ibid.*, XXI. 106.

¹⁴ Peter of Exeter, *Summula seu Modus Exigendi Confessiones*, *ibid.*, XXIV. 845.

¹⁵ Synod of London (1328), c. 4, *ibid.*, XXV. 831.

¹⁶ Many evidences of the existence of slaves in the fifteenth century and later have been collected by Dr. Langer, *o. c.*, pp. 18 ff., 29 ff.

¹⁷ Tenth synod of Toledo (656), c. 7, in Mansi, XI. 37 ff.

¹⁸ Raterius, *Praeloquia*, l. I., tit. 14, in Martene, *Veteres Scriptores*, IX. 812 ff. The doctrine that the reason for the existence of slavery is to be sought in the fall of man and original sin is also found in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, pt. I., qu. 96, art. 4 (Lyons, 1686), p. 217. Cf. Langer, *o. c.*, p. 41.

still God has determined the lot of all men with perfect justice, in making one a slave and another a master, in order that the slave's opportunity of doing evil may be limited by the power of the master.

Finer words expressed the sentiments of the synod of Châlons (813):¹⁹

The indisputable truth is that persons of different classes, such as nobles, freemen, slaves, bondmen, tenants, and the like, belong to the Church. Therefore, it is fitting that all, clerics as well as laymen, who are placed over others should treat them with consideration and mercy, not only in the demanding of statute labor and taxes, but also in the collecting of debts. For they must not forget that these are their brethren, that they both have one God and Father, to whom they pray: "Our Father Who art in Heaven" and a single holy mother, the Church.

How did one become a slave? One way was by selling oneself because of poverty. It might so happen that a married pair sank into such need that the husband was compelled to sell himself, and did so with his wife's consent. In this way he secured sustenance for himself, and with the purchase-money he was in a position to keep his wife from starving. Sometimes the conditions were reversed, and the wife sold herself with the same intentions and with her husband's consent. In such cases the marriage was usually dissolved; to be sure the Church opposed this, but could not prevent and therefore yielded to it.²⁰ Besides this, one could mortgage himself. A synod at Paris early in the seventh century ordained that freemen who had sold or mortgaged themselves should if they repaid the money at once be restored to their former status. To demand back a greater sum than what had been paid for them, was not allowed.²¹ It is true that a synod at Rheims (about 624) forbade that anyone persuade a freeman to become a slave.²² Was much accomplished by it? It is only too true that the slave-trade continued to exist. Formulas of certificates of sale have been preserved in considerable numbers.²³ An estate is sold together with its slaves and serfs.²⁴ The penitential of Theodore of Canterbury secures to

¹⁹ Synod of Châlons (813), c. 51, in Mansi, XIV. 104.

²⁰ Synod of Vermeria (753), c. 6, in Pertz, *Mon. Germ., Leges*, I. 22.

²¹ Synod of Paris (613 ?), c. 14, in Mansi, X. 548.

²² Synod of Rheims (624-625), c. 17, *ibid.*, p. 596, "si quis ingenuum aut liberum ad servitium inclinare voluerit".

²³ Rozière, *Formules*, pt. 1., nos. 290-297. No. 291, p. 347, begins: "Magnifico fratri illi, ego ille. Constat me tibi vindedisse et ita vindedi servum iuris mei, nomine illum, non furem, non fugitivum, sed sanum corpore moribusque bonis constructum. Unde accepi a te pretium in quod mihi bene complacuit, valentem solidos tantos: ita ut ab hodierna die quicquid de supradicto servo facere volueris, liberam habeas potestatem."

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pt. 1., no. 270, p. 331.

the father the power to sell his son in case of need, provided the latter is not fourteen years old; after that the consent of the son is required. Whoever was fourteen years old could surrender himself into slavery.²⁵ According to Vinniaus the married freeman who had consorted with a slave should be compelled to sell the woman; if he had one or several sons by her he must set her free, and was not allowed to sell her.²⁶

While the slave-trade in general was not prohibited by the synod of Châlons (644), the selling of slaves outside the kingdom (that is outside of the dominions of King Chlodwig II.) was forbidden; the purpose was to prevent the delivery of Christian slaves into the power of Jewish masters.²⁷ Similar prohibitions were repeatedly issued. For instance the synod of Liftinā, under the presidency of Boniface, declared that it was unlawful to sell Christian slaves to heathen.²⁸ The English synod of Berkhamstead (697) is an exception. It decreed that if a slave had stolen, his master must at the discretion of the king either pay a sum of seventy *solidi* as compensation, or sell the slave beyond the sea.²⁹ Of prohibiting the trade in Christian slaves among Christians, there was never a word; no one thought of protesting against it, or at least, showed any inclination to do so. Duke Tassilo of Bavaria summoned a synod to Neuching (772). The first decree reads: "Duke Tassilo with the consent of the whole assembly [of bishops and abbots] has determined that no one may sell a slave outside the boundaries of his province, no matter whether the slave is his property, or has come into his power as a fugitive."³⁰ But observe, "the boundaries of his province"; everything hinges on that.

According to Regino of Prüm, too, not the slave-trade as such but slave-trade under certain conditions is punishable. For he enjoined that the bishop should inquire in his synodal court: "Has any one stolen, or by means of enticement secured possession of a freeman, another's slave, or a foreigner, and sold him into bondage out of the country? Has any one sold a Christian slave to Jew or heathen? Are the Jews selling Christian slaves?"³¹ It is always the same thing: only certain kinds of slave-trade are condemned. A

²⁵ *Poenitentiale Theodori*, c. 13, par. 1, 2, in Wasserschleben, p. 217.

²⁶ *Poenitentiale Vinniai*, par. 39, 40, *ibid.*, p. 117; *Poenitentiale Cummeani*, c. 3, par. 32, *ibid.*, p. 474.

²⁷ Synod of Châlons (644), c. 9, in Mansi, X. 1191.

²⁸ Synod of Liftinā (743), c. 3, in Pertz, *Mon. Germ., Leges*, I. 18.

²⁹ Synod of Berkhamstead (697), c. 27, in Mansi, XII. 114.

³⁰ Synod of Neuching (772), c. 1, *ibid.*, p. 853.

³¹ Regino, *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, I. II., interr. 41, p. 210.

foreign Christian, who had fled from his home because of persecution, had been taken in by another Christian, whom he served for many years for wages; he was finally rated as a slave by his master, and sold. Regino of Prüm, in whose time this occurred, disapproved of it very strongly.³² But who ever protested against the slave-trade as such?

A slight change of opinion seems to be evident at the synod summoned to Coblenz by the Frankish King Charles the Simple and Henry I. of Germany. It was there asked what should be done with one who sold a Christian. The unanimous answer was, that he should be considered guilty of murder.³³ But note well that there is no mention of the selling of non-Christians. Even the evil specifically mentioned in the decree was not extirpated by it, as is evident from an *Ordo Poenitentiae* of the time of Otto III.³⁴ In 1009 in England, the only censure is that Christians, sometimes innocent ones, were sold out of the country, even to heathen people.³⁵ In the time of Gregory VII., the Scots still sold their wives.³⁶ According to the synod of Szabolcs (1092), if a priest instead of taking a wife had chosen a servant or a slave as a companion, she was to be sold and the proceeds were to be given to the bishop.³⁷ A shocking condition is revealed by a decree of the synod of London (1102): "Let no one dare hereafter to engage in the infamous business, prevalent in England, of selling men like animals."³⁸ The stern prohibition provokes sympathy, and reflects credit on the English bishops. Still, it is to be observed that the slave-trade, not slavery, was condemned. And did this sentence affect every form of slave-trade, or only that particular form then prevalent in England? Be that as it may, the slave-trade continued in England. The English, even before they suffered from poverty and starvation, were in the habit of offering their sons and relatives for sale in Ireland. The Irish obtained English slaves not only from merchants, but also from robbers and pirates. On the other hand the English penetrated into Ireland and made slaves of the Irish.³⁹

³² Regino, *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, l. 11., interr. 77, p. 214.

³³ Synod of Coblenz (922), c. 4, in Pertz, *Mon. Germ., Leges*, II. 17.

³⁴ See the *Ordo*, with questions, in Schmitz, p. 748.

³⁵ Synod of Aenham (1009), in Mansi, XIX. 300.

³⁶ Gregory VII., *Ad Lanfrancum Cantuariensem*, *ibid.*, XX. 374.

³⁷ Synod of Szabolcs (1092), c. 2, *ibid.*, p. 759.

³⁸ Synod of London (1102), c. 27, *ibid.*, p. 1152: "ne quis illud nefarium negotium, quo hactenus in Anglia solebant homines sicut bruta animalia venundari, deinceps ullatenus facere praesumat."

³⁹ Synod of Waterford, according to Giraldus Cambrensis (1158), *ibid.*, XXI. 861; synod of Armagh (1171), *ibid.*, XXII. 123 ff.

The synod of Herstal (779) under the presidency of Charlemagne decreed that slaves could be sold only in the presence of a representative of the ecclesiastical or temporal power, that is, of the bishop or count, the archdeacon or the *centenarius*.⁴⁰ What was the object of this order? Perhaps it was to regulate the slave-trade, to subject it to hard and fast rules.

Some came under the power of others through theft; both free-men and slaves were stolen.⁴¹ Slavery was also ordained as a punishment for theft, prostitution or other sins.⁴²

From all appearances, medieval society must have contained a much larger number of slaves than has been generally supposed.⁴³ In spite of all prohibitions Christian slaves served Jewish masters.⁴⁴ Mothers had their children nursed by slaves.⁴⁵ Monasteries possessed slaves. From the penitential of the Greek Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, it appears that the Greek monks did not have slaves, but that the Roman monks did.⁴⁶

A shocking fact is that the Church herself often possessed slaves. We find slaves of the Church in Spain,⁴⁷ in the kingdom of the Franks,⁴⁸ in Germany,⁴⁹ in Hungary,⁵⁰ in Italy.⁵¹ Occasionally slaves of the Church were admitted to holy orders. The synod of Toledo (655) required, however, that they must first have secured emancipation through the bishop.⁵² Clerics of this kind were forbidden to acquire private property. They could not inherit or buy anything from parents or relatives. Should they in the name or through the assistance of some free man succeed in acquiring anything, they were to be whipped and imprisoned until the Church recovered the

⁴⁰ Synod of Herstal (779), c. 19, in Pertz, *Mon. Germ., Leges*, I. 38.

⁴¹ Synod of Neuching (772), c. 3, in Mansi, XII. 854; Regino, *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, I. 11., interr. 41, p. 209; *Poenitentiale Valicellianum* I., c. 62, in Schmitz, p. 296.

⁴² *Poenitentiale Theodori*, c. 12, par. 8, in Wasserschleben, p. 214.

⁴³ Synod of Soissons (853), c. 10, in Pertz, *Mon. Germ., Leges*, I. 418; Nicolas I., *Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum*, c. 21, in Mansi, XV. 412; synod of Mainz (888), c. 12, *ibid.*, XVIII. 81 ff.; synod of Rome (1078), *ibid.*, XX. 506.

⁴⁴ Twelfth synod of Toledo (681), c. 9, *ibid.*, XI. 1035 ff.; Regino, *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, I. 11., interr. 41, p. 210.

⁴⁵ *Epistola Pastoralis Vulfadi*, in Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, p. 102.

⁴⁶ *Poenitentiale Theodori*, c. 8, par. 4, in Wasserschleben, p. 210.

⁴⁷ Synod of Emerita (666), c. 15, in Mansi, XI. 83 ff.; synod of Toledo (675), c. 6, *ibid.*, p. 141; synod of Saragossa (691), c. 4, *ibid.*, XII. 44 ff.

⁴⁸ Synod of Aachen (817), *Capitula ad Episcopos*, c. 6, in Pertz, *Mon. Germ., Leges*, I. 207; *Hludovici I. Capitulare*, c. 13, *ibid.*, p. 216.

⁴⁹ Synodal statutes of Boniface, c. 7, in Mansi, XII., app., p. 108.

⁵⁰ Synod of Gran (1114), c. 29, *ibid.*, XXI. 106.

⁵¹ Synod of Pavia (1018), c. 3, in Pertz, *Leges*, II. 562.

⁵² Synod of Toledo (655), c. 11, in Mansi, XI. 29.

deeds to the acquired property.⁵³ It was cruel law that sons and daughters of such ecclesiastics, of whatever rank, even though born of a free mother, were, together with all their property, regardless of how it was acquired, to remain the property of the Church, never to be freed from their sad state.⁵⁴

A pronouncement of the great synod of Aachen discloses something astonishing: "Many bishops admit into the number of the clergy only bondmen, who dare not complain of any treatment because they fear hard blows or a cruel reduction to slavery. This is not to say that persons of good reputation among the slaves of the Church may not be admitted to holy orders, but, that no prelate shall entirely exclude the nobles."⁵⁵ Church slaves could accept no protection from another authority.⁵⁶ No one might buy the inheritance of a slave of the Church; if he did, he lost both the purchase money and the object bought.⁵⁷ It was Charlemagne who, probably at the mixed assembly of princes and bishops at Paderborn (785), issued the capitulary, which among other things was designed to secure revenue for local churches. The peasants were to vacate for the church to which they belonged a farm-yard and two *mansi* of land, and each one hundred and twenty of them were to give the church a male and a female slave.⁵⁸

The Trullan synod (692) decreed that the freeing of a slave must occur before three witnesses.⁵⁹ A synod of Berkhamstead assumed that emancipation took place at the altar.⁶⁰

Did the Church earnestly promote the freeing of slaves? She decreed that Jews might not buy or possess Christian slaves; if they

⁵³ Synod of Pavia (1018), c. 5, in Pertz, *Leges*, II. 562.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 4, *ibid.* At the synod of Gran (1114), c. 29, in Mansi, XXI. 106, it is said that children of such clerics "inter liberos ecclesiae habeantur". This probably has the same meaning, but Hefele has translated it in another sense: they "werden freie Angehörige der Kirche". *Conciliengeschichte*, second ed., V. 323.

⁵⁵ Synod of Aachen (816-817), c. 119, in Mansi, XIV. 230 ff.

⁵⁶ Synod of Worms (783), c. 12, in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 47.

⁵⁷ Synod of Leon (1012), c. 7, in Mansi, XIX. 337. A similar idea is contained in a decree of the synod of Aschaffenburg (1292), c. 22, *ibid.*, XXIV. 1093: "De servis et mancipiis ecclesiarum in civitatibus residentibus, post eorum mortem ecclesiae debita jura quorum servi et mancipia fuerunt, recipere minime prohibeantur." Hefele translates as follows: "Ist der Knecht oder Sklave einer Kirche, der in einer Stadt wohnte, gestorben, so darf die Kirche nicht gehindert werden, das in Empfang zu nehmen, was ihr bei solchem Todfalle zusteht."

⁵⁸ *Capitulare*, c. 15, in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 49.

⁵⁹ Synodus quinisexta (692), c. 85, in Mansi, XI. 980.

⁶⁰ Synod of Berkhamstead (697), c. 9, *ibid.*, XII. 112.

did, such slaves became free.⁶¹ Vinniaius fixes as one of the punishments of a perjurer the manumission of a slave; but he allows the substitution of a donation to the poor equivalent to the slave's price;⁶² elsewhere the punishment was emancipation and a fine.⁶³ The female slave who bore her master one or more sons,⁶⁴ or in general who bore him children, was freed.⁶⁵

Otherwise the freeing of slaves was hindered rather than helped. If a father in his will granted freedom to all his slaves, his daughter could require the restoration of one-third of them on the ground of the illegality of the testament.⁶⁶

From the fact that the Church was not disposed to give her freedmen entire independence, and nearly always attached severe conditions to liberation, it can be most easily seen that she was not inclined to adopt mild policies toward her slaves. Bishops could not free slaves of the Church, unless they reimbursed the Church out of their own property. Otherwise, it was said, they would be taking from the poor what they did not themselves give. A bishop's successor might reclaim men freed by him.⁶⁷ In the eleventh century these regulations were included by Burchard of Worms⁶⁸ and Ivo of Chartres⁶⁹ in their collections of canons. They were inserted by Gratian⁷⁰ and in the decretals of Gregory IX.⁷¹ If a bishop desired to free a church slave, without reserving the right of protection to the Church, he must in council give the Church, in place of the one freed, two other slaves equally valuable and disposing of an equal amount of money. This exchange was made permanent through a document signed by the priests who were present. Under such conditions manumission was unhindered, the theory being that the bishop had previously acquired possession of the slave. Should such a freedman later complain or testify

⁶¹ Synod of Toledo (633), cc. 59, 66, in Mansi, X. 633, 635; Burchardus Wormaciensis, *Decretorum Libri XX.*, l. IV., c. 85, fol. 128^{vo}; Ivo, *Decretum*, pt. I., c. 279, fol. 41^{vo}; pt. XIII., c. 99.

⁶² Vinniaius, *Poenitentiale*, c. 22, in Wasserschleben, p. 113.

⁶³ *Poenitentiale Cummeani*, c. 5, par. 4, *ibid.*, p. 477.

⁶⁴ Vinniaius, *Poenitentiale*, c. 40, *ibid.*, p. 115; *Poenitentiale Valicellanum I.*, c. 21, in Schmitz, p. 277; *Poenitentiale Casinense*, c. 22, *ibid.*, p. 404.

⁶⁵ *Poenitentiale Bedae*, c. 3, par. 16, in Wasserschleben, p. 222.

⁶⁶ *Capitulare Francicum*, synod of Diedenhofen (783), c. 9, in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 47.

⁶⁷ Synod of Toledo (633), c. 67, in Mansi, X. 635.

⁶⁸ Burchardus Wormaciensis, *Decretorum Libri XX.* (Paris, 1550), l. III., c. 189, fol. 106^{vo}.

⁶⁹ Ivo, *Decretum* (Louvain, 1561), pt. III., c. 249, p. 109^{vo}.

⁷⁰ C. 39, C. XII., qu. 2.

⁷¹ C. 4, X., de rebus ecclesiae (3. 13).

against the church to which he had belonged, he again became a slave of that church.⁷² Bishops who left property to the Church, or who had acquired properties, lands or slaves for their church could manumit slaves of the Church to the value of that property.⁷³

Frequently emancipation was coupled with conditions. Idana's son, who in his testament confirmed freedom formerly granted, limited this freedom by the words, "only under observance of the conditions set down in the brief of emancipation".⁷⁴ In general the conditions made by the Church were oppressive. The chapter of the abbey church of St. Père in Chartres required of the freedman the perpetual performance of his former duties as a bondager (*homo*).⁷⁵ The chapter of Notre Dame in Paris often granted freedom on conditions of the payment of a large sum, either in one payment or in annual installments. The inhabitants of the village of Wissous paid at one time a thousand Parisian pounds for their freedom, those of Orly four thousand pounds.⁷⁶ The same chapter freed more than one *homo* (slave or bondman) with the purpose of admitting him to the clergy. If, however, such an one married or withdrew from the clerical status, he fell back into his former condition. In order to prevent the property of any church slave or bondman from falling into the hands of free men, no freedman was allowed to inherit, buy, or in any way acquire property from parents or relatives. Finally, he was required to take an oath that he would not summon to court any one subject to the jurisdiction of the chapter without the chapter's consent.⁷⁷

The assertion that these limitations on the freedom of the emancipated were not designed to be burdens⁷⁸ can hardly be considered more than a cheap evasion. A few illustrations will best show how hard the treatment occasionally was. A certain Haimo

⁷² Synod of Toledo (633), c. 68, in Mansi, X. 635; Burchardus, *o. c.*, I. III., c. 176, fol. 105; Ivo, *o. c.*, pt. III., c. 237; pt. XVI., c. 65; c. 68, C. XII. qu. 2. Gratian adds a detailed commentary. This is evidence that at that time the matter still had practical significance.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, cc. 69, 70, 71, in Mansi, X. 636.

⁷⁴ *Diplomata*, ed. J. M. Pardessus (Paris, 1843), t. I., no. 413, p. 212: "quos de servientibus meis per aepistolam ingenuetatis laxavi, in integra ingenuetate resedeant; tamen secundum quod eorum aepistolas loquetur."

⁷⁵ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint Père de Chartres*, ed. Guérard (Paris, 1840), (*Collection des Cartulaires de France*), t. II., no. 27, p. 286: "fidelitate erga ecclesiam nostram et libero hominio ex more retento".

⁷⁶ *Cartulaire de l'Église de Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. Guérard (Paris, 1850), t. I., préf., pp. cci ff.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, t. II., no. 45, pp. 66 ff.; cf. no. 97, p. 88.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, t. II., no. 4, p. 378, *De manumissione Hugonis Olearii*: "non tamen causa honerande libertatis".

was the son of a free father and a slave mother belonging to a monastery. Children of such marriages were slaves.⁷⁹ When this Haimo sought emancipation for himself, his sisters Ermengardis and Roscelina, and their children, he secured it only on condition of the complete surrender of their inheritance, consisting of plots of ground in two villages.⁸⁰ Are the opening words of the document recording this transaction, "In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis", more than a commonplace? Radulf Conduit married the daughter of Hugo of Villa Nova, a slave of the abbey of St. Père in Chartres. *Ipso facto* he and his children sank to the status of a slave. What were the conditions of his freeing? First, he was to be under the obligations of a bondager of the monastery (*hominium*); secondly, he was to present to the abbey a shop having an annual income of eight to ten *solidi*; finally, he was to divest himself in advance of all property he should have at his death.⁸¹ A similar surrender of the paternal inheritance was required of the Richeldis mentioned on an earlier page.⁸²

Freedmen were often placed under the protection (*patrocinium*) of the Church.⁸³ This protection naturally extended first to freedmen of the Church. Was it of advantage to them? They and their children must give assurance of their emancipation to each new bishop upon his accession to office. If they withdrew themselves from the protection of the Church, they lost their freedom.⁸⁴ These provisions were incorporated in canon law together with the above described limitations of a bishop's rights to emancipate.⁸⁵ They were however soon found to be inadequate, and the synod of Toledo (638) decreed that freedmen of the Church and their children must, at the accession of each new bishop, exhibit the certifi-

⁷⁹ This was according to the book of the canon law, c. 15, C. XXXII., qu. 4. But see c. 8, X. (1. 18) in the Decretals of Gregory IX. According to these regulations the son of a slave and a free mother can be ordained. The rubric of the canon: "natus ex patre servo et libera matre, liber est, et licite promovetur", does not quite agree with its contents.

⁸⁰ *Cartulaire de St. Père de Chartres*, t. I., c. 8, p. 9 (about 1001).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, t. II., no. 36, pp. 293 ff. (about 1101-1129).

⁸² *Ibid.*, t. II., no. 51, pp. 507 ff.

⁸³ Synod of Paris (614-615), c. 5, in Mansi, X. 539 ff.; in Pardessus, *Diplomata*, I., testament of Remigius (533), p. 88, "hos totos, fili fratris mei, Lupe episcopo, sacerdotali auctoritate defensabis"; *ibid.*, t. II., testament of Desiderius (653), p. 101: "libertos meos tibi matri Ecclesiae tuoque advocato commendo. Semper quaeso virtute sanctitatis tuae ab insidiis quorumcumque defensentur, ut sub tuo se patricinio pervenisse congaudeant."

⁸⁴ Synod of Toledo (633), cc. 69, 70, 71, in Mansi, X. 636.

⁸⁵ Burchardus, *o. c.*, l. III., cc. 176, 184, 185, fol. 105^{vo}, 106; Ivo, *o. c.*, pt. III., cc. 238, 244, 245, fol. 108^{vo}, 109; in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, c. 3, X., de rebus ecclesiae (3. 13); c. 61, C. XII., qu. 2.

cates of their emancipation before him, in the presence of the assembled faithful. The bishop must confirm them anew, and the freedmen must again declare that they would render the *obsequium* due to the Church.⁸⁶ A synod held at the same place in 655 determined that neither freedmen of the Church nor their descendants could ever marry free-born persons ("Romani" or "Gothi"). What they had from the Church they might not transfer to another; if they wished to sell it, they must first offer it to the bishop. But they might at any time sell or give it to their children or relatives, provided they were slaves or freedmen of the same church.⁸⁷ In the light of the foregoing there is nothing strange about the complaint made at the synod of Aachen (809) that many priests devoted themselves both day and night to worldly matters, to slaves, to the vineyard and to the garner.⁸⁸

That the Church did not admit the slaves of others to holy orders, unless their emancipation was incontestable, was no doubt salutary. Only those freedmen, says the synod of Toledo (633), whose patrons have retained no *obsequium* may become clerics; otherwise, they would still be subject to one who could reduce them to slavery.⁸⁹ No one was to persuade a slave to become a clerk or monk, without his master's consent.⁹⁰ Emancipation must precede ordination. Thus, no one may dedicate the servant of another to the service of the Church before he is freed;⁹¹ that is, the bishop is forbidden to ordain any man who is not freed.⁹² The *colliberti*, a class between the freemen and the slaves, were subject to similar rules. The synod of Bourges (1031) declared that neither slaves nor *colliberti* could become clerics, until their masters had granted them freedom in the presence of witnesses.⁹³

In the Oriental Church, the rules differed somewhat. If a slave, who had fled to a monastery because of theft or insubordination, were seized and proved guilty, the *Nómos* of John of Antioch provided that he and the stolen goods should be returned; but if in the meantime more than three years had elapsed this need not be done. If the slave left the monastery, his master could again make him a slave. A slave ordained with his master's knowledge,

⁸⁶ Synod of Toledo (638), c. 9, in Mansi, X. 666; included in Gratian's *Decretum*, c. 64, C. XII., qu. 2.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* (655), cc. 13, 17, in Mansi, XI. 29 ff.

⁸⁸ Synod of Aachen (809), c. 2, in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 160.

⁸⁹ Synod of Toledo (633), c. 73, in Mansi, X. 637.

⁹⁰ Synod of Aachen (789), cc. 23, 57, in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 57, 62.

⁹¹ Synod of Riesbach (799-800), c. 30, *ibid.*, p. 79.

⁹² Synod of Tribur (895), c. 29, in Mansi, XVIII. 146 ff.

⁹³ Synod of Bourges (1031), c. 9, *ibid.*, XIX. 514.

and without his protest, remained free. If it occurred without the master's knowledge, the latter could reclaim the slave at any time within a year. If for any reason the ordained slave returned to the worldly status, he must be restored to his owner.⁹⁴

Rights derived from prescription in these matters were also recognized in the Occident. If a girl under twelve years of age voluntarily took the veil, and her master did not reclaim her within a year, he lost all rights to her.⁹⁵ In spite of the laws, many irregularities occurred in the ordination of former slaves. For instance, witnesses were bribed to testify to the actual manumission of a given person; tricks of every kind were used. The ordination of a man, whose father or grandfather had come from elsewhere, made an especially difficult case because information as to whether the ancestor was free-born, freedman or slave, was not obtainable. If the legal master appeared and granted freedom, all was well; but if the master refused to do so, the clerk was compelled to become a slave once more. In case the master agreed to the ordination, he could retain all property of which the person ordained⁹⁶ was disposing.

Ratherius of Verona insisted that every slave seeking ordination should show his certificate of emancipation.⁹⁷ A decree of the synod of Hohenaltheim (916) discloses peculiar conditions. A master had had his slave educated and ordained, and in the meantime, had given him clothing and sustenance. In the course of time the priest became arrogant and refused to say mass for his former master or to sing the canonical hours or the psalms; he did not pay proper respect to his master and boasted: "I am free. I can serve at my pleasure whom I choose." Whose part did the synod take; the master's or the priest's? The former's; it anathematized the priest and excluded him from communion, until he should mend his ways and obey his master. If he continued stubborn, the bishop who ordained him was to degrade him and restore him to his former owner. Whoever had knowledge of this condition of affairs and received such a priest or failed to restore him to his master, or refused to give him up, was to suffer a like anathema, and be excluded from communion, be he bishop or count, clerk or layman.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ *Joannis Scholastici, Patriarchae Constantinopolitani, Nomocanon*, tit. 33, in G. Voellius and H. Justellus, *Bibliotheca Iuris Canonici Veteris* (Paris, 1661), t. II., pp. 639 ff.

⁹⁵ Synod of Tribur (895), c. 24, in Mansi, XVIII. 144 ff.

⁹⁶ "Capitulum ex Augustorum nostrorum libro", in the letter *Hincmari Laudunensis ad Remensem*, in *Hincmari Remensis Operum tomus posterior* (Paris, 1645), p. 343.

⁹⁷ Ratherius, *Synodica ad Presbyteros*, in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, p. 378, col. 2.

⁹⁸ Synod of Hohenaltheim (916), c. 38, in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 560.

The English king, Henry II., extended the prohibition against ordaining unfree persons to include bondmen, in the decree: "sons of peasants may not be ordained without the consent of the lord on whose domain they were born."⁹⁹ The most humane position is that taken by the synod of Worms (868): If a bishop ordains a slave as priest or deacon, knowing that he is unfree, the slave shall remain clerk, but the bishop must give his master double compensation. If the bishop did not know he was a slave, those must pay the compensation who testified that he was free and sought his ordination.¹⁰⁰

Despite all prohibitions, there were always among the clergy actual slaves, that is, persons over whom others could exercise rights and from whom statute labor could be required.¹⁰¹ Naturally there was strong opposition to such an one's becoming bishop.¹⁰² Indeed, it occurred that certain laymen claimed an archdeacon on the ground that he was not free but their slave.¹⁰³

Occasionally the Church opposed the advancement of slaves to important positions. Since it had happened that slaves or freedmen had through royal favor risen to palatine offices, and had then persecuted their former masters, the synod of Toledo (683) forbade such an advancement in the future. Only freedmen or slaves of the fisc could thereafter be promoted to such offices. (Hefele adds: because they belonged to no other master than the king, and were not bound to private service.)¹⁰⁴

The worst feature of all is that the Church created slavery where it did not already exist. Since conspiracy and high treason were frequent, they were threatened by the synod of Toledo (693) with heavy penalties. Not only the guilty but also their descendants were condemned to perpetual slavery as subjects of the fisc.¹⁰⁵ Whoever took vows at springs, trees or groves, or made heathen offerings, and ate of them in honor of the gods, was sentenced, the noble to a fine of sixty, and the serf to fifteen *solidi*. If he

⁹⁹ Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), c. 16, in Mansi, XXI. 1190.

¹⁰⁰ Synod of Worms (868), c. 40, *ibid.*, XV. 876.

¹⁰¹ Synod of Poitiers (1078), c. 8, *ibid.*, XX. 498; synod of Melfi (1089), c. 11, *ibid.*, p. 723: "nullum jus laicis in clericos esse volumus et censemus. Unde cavendum est, ne servilis conditionis, aut curialium officiorum obnoxii ab episcopis promoveantur in clerum."

¹⁰² Synod of Toledo (633), c. 19, *ibid.*, X. 624; synod of Poitiers (1078), c. 8, *ibid.*, XX. 498.

¹⁰³ Synod of Valence (855), c. 23, *ibid.*, XV. 12.

¹⁰⁴ Synod of Toledo (683), c. 6, *ibid.*, XI. 1068 ff.; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, III. 321.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* (693), c. 10, in Mansi, XII. 78.

could not pay the fine, he became a slave of the Church until he had paid. Soothsayers and diviners were to be given to the Church or to priests (as slaves) according to a capitulary framed by Charlemagne at the synod of Paderborn (785).¹⁰⁶

If after his ordination any cleric, from a bishop down to a subdeacon, should have children by a servant, or a free woman, the parents should be canonically punished, the children lose their inheritance and become perpetual slaves of the Church in which the father served.¹⁰⁷ Some churchmen, not living in honorable wedlock, consorted with strange women or their own slaves. Bishops were instructed to secure such women and sell them. This hard law was promulgated in Spain, at the beginning of the seventh century.¹⁰⁸ If a subdeacon refused to give up his wife, he was to be removed from his ecclesiastical office and benefice. If, however, after being warned by his bishop, he still failed to yield, his wife was to be made a slave by the prince.¹⁰⁹ In England not only the movable property of priests, deacons, subdeacons and canons, who had wives, became the property of the bishop, but also the "concubines" themselves.¹¹⁰ The synod of Cologne (1083) threatened everyone who broke the Peace of God, or was guilty of murder or assault, with dire punishment. In the first place he must be banished and his property confiscated by his heirs. If these ventured to give him any assistance, the property must be taken from them, and he himself must thereafter belong as a slave to the royal domain.¹¹¹ A woman of noble rank who had deserted her husband three times was to be put under penance, and was to be prohibited from marrying again; but if she was a woman from the people she must be sold without hope of regaining her freedom. A noble who wrongly accused his wife of infidelity must pay an adequate fine. If he would not, or could not do so, his head must be shorn and he must be sold as a slave. If anyone abducted the bride of another without her consent, she must be returned to her betrothed; but the robber, if of noble rank, must give the canonical compensation, do penance, and lose all hope of marriage. If he could not pay the required sum, he must be sold into perpetual

¹⁰⁶ *Capitulare*, c. 21, in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 49.

¹⁰⁷ Synod of Toledo (655), c. 10, in Mansi, XI. 29; synod of Ofen (1279), c. 26, *ibid.*, XXIV. 283.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* (633), c. 43, *ibid.*, X. 630.

¹⁰⁹ Synod of Melfi (1089), c. 12, *ibid.*, XX. 724: "principibus licentiam indulgemus, ut eorum feminas mancipient servituti."

¹¹⁰ Synod of London (1108), c. 10, *ibid.*, XX. 1231. Cf. synod of London (1127), c. 7, *ibid.*, XXI. 356.

¹¹¹ *Constitutio Pacis Dei*, in Pertz, *Leges*, II. 56.

bondage. If anyone abandoned his wife, and refusing to come to terms with her, permitted himself to be put into prison for debtors, he became a slave forever on the ground of his hatred for his wife. And should he be seen at any time enjoying liberty, he must again be sold.¹¹²

According to a synod in Palestine, in the time of the Crusades, a thief who could not restore stolen properties became the slave of the man whom he had robbed.¹¹³ Certain Christians furnished the Saracens with arms, iron and ship-timber, helped them in their wars against Christians, and even took service on their piratical craft; the property of such was to be confiscated by the civil authorities, and they themselves became the slaves of those who captured them.¹¹⁴ Baptized Jews could have no intercourse with the unbaptized. If they did, and persisted in their relations with the infidels, the latter became the property of the Christians and the former were publicly whipped.¹¹⁵ This law was incorporated in the canon law; it is found in Burchard, in Ivo, and in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.¹¹⁶

Elizaëus was a slave of the church of Egabra. His bishop freed him. Afterwards he became proud and rebellious and attempted to poison the bishop and otherwise harm the church. The sentence of the synod of Seville (619) was that he should again become a slave, because anyone who had rebelled against his bishop and his former mistress, the Church, did not deserve to have his emancipation recognized.¹¹⁷ This sentence was adopted by Ivo¹¹⁸ and Gratian.¹¹⁹ If a female slave belonging to the Church was freed in church, or by letter of emancipation, and thereafter married a slave, she again became the slave of the Church. But if a free Bavarian woman married a slave and refused to render service to the Church, she might go her way, according to the synod of Neuching (772); but children born of such marriage were slaves and could not go with their mother.¹²⁰ The decree of the synod of Toulouse (1119): No churchman or layman may

¹¹² Synod of Gran (1114), c. 53, in Mansi, XXI. 109.

¹¹³ Synod of Nablus (Neapolis) (1120), c. 23, *ibid.*, p. 266.

¹¹⁴ Third council of the Lateran (1179), c. 24, *ibid.*, XXII. 230 ff.; synod of Montpellier (1195), c. 2, *ibid.*, p. 668; fourth council of the Lateran (1215), *ibid.*, p. 1066; council of Lyons (1245), *ibid.*, XXIII. 631.

¹¹⁵ Synod of Toledo (633), c. 62, *ibid.*, X. 634.

¹¹⁶ Burchardus, *Decretorum Libri XX.*, l. iv., c. 84, fol. 128^{ro}; Ivo, *Decretum*, pt. I., c. 278, fol. 41^{vo}; c. 12, C. XXVIII., qu. 1.

¹¹⁷ Synod of Seville (619), c. 8, in Mansi, X. 559 ff.

¹¹⁸ Ivo, *Decretum*, pt. XVI., c. 66, p. 437.

¹¹⁹ C. 62, C. XII., qu. 2.

¹²⁰ Synod of Neuching (772), c. 10, in Mansi, X. 854.

enslave a freeman, whether clerical or lay¹²¹—is fairly to be noticed. Obviously, there were those who opposed making free men slaves. Did their opinions excite sympathy in wider circles? There is no evidence of it.

In 1376 Gregory XI., at enmity with the Florentines, excommunicated them and ordered them to be plundered, captured and reduced to slavery in all places whatsoever.¹²² And Nicholas V. in 1452 empowered Alphonso V. of Portugal to make war on all Saracens, heathen and other foes of Christ, to despoil them and reduce them to slavery.¹²³

What was the condition of slaves in this period? From the materials at hand there is no reason to believe that their condition was one easily borne.

Some precepts can indeed be adduced which manifest a humane spirit; but there are only slight indications that the Church seriously attempted to ameliorate the lot of slaves. Kindness no doubt promoted the instruction for confessors found in a penitential: "If slaves come to you, do not burden them as you would their masters, since slaves are not independent; but reduce their penance to one-half."¹²⁴ Considerably after this, Bishop Peter of Exeter, in his guide for confessors, prescribed that confessors should carefully note whether they are dealing with slaves or freemen.¹²⁵ A slave who perjured himself at his master's instigation should have a light penance, according to the decree of the synod of Hohenaltheim.¹²⁶ Theodore of Canterbury declared it illegal to take from a slave the money he earned by his own work.¹²⁷ To work on Sundays, whether voluntarily or at the command of a master was (to slaves) forbidden. If, however, a slave worked on Sunday by the order of his master, an English synod ruled that the slave became free, and that the master should be fined thirty *solidi*.¹²⁸ On the Monday,

¹²¹ Synod of Toulouse (1119), c. 5, in Mansi, XXI. 227.

¹²² The document in O. Raynaldus's continuation of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius (Lucca, 1752), t. VII. (XXVI.), ad ann. 1376, num. 5, p. 280: "personas ipsorum omnium . . . exponimus fidelibus, ut capientium fiant servi." Cf. Langer, p. 39.

¹²³ A document of June 18, 1452, in Raynaldus, *o. c.*, t. IX. (XXVIII.), ad ann. 1452, num. 11, p. 600: "tibi Saracenos et paganos . . . subiugandi illorumque personas in perpetuam servitutem redigendi concedimus facultatem."

¹²⁴ *Poenitentiale Casinense*, c. 105, ad calcem, in Schmitz, p. 429. Cf. *Poenitentiale Valicellanum I.*, prolog., in Schmitz, p. 243.

¹²⁵ Peter of Exeter, *Summula*, in Mansi, XXIV. 845.

¹²⁶ Synod of Hohenaltheim (916), c. 25, in Pertz, *Leges*, II. 558.

¹²⁷ *Poenitentiale Theodori*, c. 13, par. 3, in Wasserschleben, p. 217.

¹²⁸ *Capitula Dacheriana*, c. 15, *ibid.*, p. 146; English synod (691-692), c. 3, in Mansi, XII. 57; synod of Berkhamstead (697), cc. 10, 11, *ibid.*, p. 112.

Tuesday and Wednesday before Christmas all slaves were to be excused from work in order to be free to take part in the general fasting.¹²⁹

In the late Middle Ages, at least, "bondmen and others of unfree status" were considered qualified to make a last will.¹³⁰ The threat of the synod of Szabolcs (1092) to punish with a twelve days' penance on bread and water any master, who failed to bring the corpse of his slave to church, indicates a laudable sentiment.¹³¹ Regino of Prüm required the investigation in the synodal court of those cases in which persons were accused of adultery in their own homes with their maids or slaves.¹³² This procedure no doubt afforded slaves some protection. Something similar was aimed at in the rule ordering the removal of all female slaves and freedwomen from monasteries and the residences of clerks.¹³³ Nicholas I. demanded that fugitive captive slaves be pardoned, and faithful slaves be leniently treated.¹³⁴ It was illegal to restrain a slave who ran away during the Peace of God.¹³⁵ Pippin, king of Lombardy, issued a capitulary at a synod about 781 which gave detailed instructions for the recovery of fugitive slaves.¹³⁶

Over against this stands the law that no slave could be the plaintiff in court.¹³⁷ Neither could freedmen testify in court against freemen; only in the third generation did their descendants become competent to act as witnesses.¹³⁸ In all probability no one opposed the corporal punishment of slaves for centuries.¹³⁹ They were punished by being stripped of their clothing and beaten with rods. Regino of Prüm relates that several persons protested against this to the bishop or his servants. The way in which he tells of it, however, makes it appear quite unlikely that he considered these complaints justified; rather the contrary.¹⁴⁰ Slaves who engaged in idolatrous practices, worshipped stones, lighted torches, made offer-

¹²⁹ *Leges Ecclesiasticae Aethelredi Regis*, c. 2, in Mansi, XIX. 319.

¹³⁰ Synod of London (1328), c. 4, *ibid.*, XXV. 831; "ascriptitiorum vel aliorum servilis conditionis testamenta vel ultimas voluntates".

¹³¹ Synod of Szabolcs (1092), c. 25, *ibid.*, XX. 772.

¹³² Regino, *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, l. II., interr. 37, p. 209.

¹³³ Synod of Mainz (851-852), c. 7, in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 416.

¹³⁴ Nicolai I. *Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum*, cc. 21, 97, in Mansi, XV. 412, 431.

¹³⁵ *Constitutio Pacis Dei in Synodo Coloniensi*, in Pertz, *Leges*, II. 59.

¹³⁶ *Capitulare*, c. 9, *ibid.*, I. 43 ff.

¹³⁷ Synod of Rheims (624-625), c. 15, in Mansi, X. 596.

¹³⁸ Synodal statutes of Boniface, c. 15, *ibid.*, XII., app., p. 109.

¹³⁹ John of Antioch, *Nomocanon*, tit. 36, in Voellius and Justellus, *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici Veteris*, II. 644 ff.

¹⁴⁰ Regino, *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, l. II., interr. 76, p. 214.

ings at trees or springs, were to be whipped by the bishop or judge, and given in shackles to their masters; if he failed to punish them he was excommunicated.¹⁴¹

That churchmen mutilated their slaves with their own hands, or made others do so (*truncationes membrorum aut per se inferant aut inferenda praecipiant*), is a hideous fact.¹⁴² There are instances of slaves dying of hunger.¹⁴³ Whoever killed his slave without the foreknowledge of the judge was excommunicated for two years.¹⁴⁴ The object of this law was commendable; but the frequent reiteration of it leads one to surmise that the evil persisted for a long time.¹⁴⁵ One penitential extends its prohibition to cases in which the slave was actually guilty, and a judicial sentence had been rendered; even the master who killed his slave must do a year's penance.¹⁴⁶ "If thou art free and hast killed an innocent slave at thy master's command, thou shalt do penance a whole year, and three times forty days in each of the two following years", says an opinion of Regino of Prüm. If the slave deserved death only forty days' penance was necessary.¹⁴⁷ In the period immediately succeeding the conversion of the Germans, it sometimes happened that Christians sold their slaves to heathen for human sacrifices.¹⁴⁸ Happily nothing is heard of it later; indeed the capitulary of Charlemagne at the synod of Paderborn threatened death to anyone making human sacrifice.¹⁴⁹

Whoever knowingly took a slave to wife must keep her;¹⁵⁰ the

¹⁴¹ Synod of Rouen (682), c. 11, in Mansi, XI. 1037. Cf. synod of Berkhamstead (697), c. 14, *ibid.*, XII. 113. Further information on the punishment of slaves: *Constitutio Pacis Dei in Synodo Coloniensi* (1083), in Pertz, *Leges*, II. 56-58.

¹⁴² Synod of Emerita (666), c. 15, in Mansi, XI. 83 ff.; synod of Toledo (675), c. 6, *ibid.*, p. 141; Rabanus Maurus, *Poenitentium Liber*, c. 30, printed together with his *De Clericorum Institutione* (Cologne, 1532), quat. R., fol. 1.

¹⁴³ Synod of Frankfurt (794), c. 4, in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 72.

¹⁴⁴ *Poenitentie Cummeant*, c. 7, par. 29, in Wasserschleben, p. 480.

¹⁴⁵ Rabanus Maurus, *Poenitentium Liber*, c. 14, printed together with his *De Clericorum Institutione* (Cologne, 1532), quat. Q., fol. ii^{ro}; also his *Epistola ad Heribaldum*, c. 2, printed together with Regino, *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, ed. Baluze (Paris, 1671), p. 473; Regino, *o. c.*, l. II., interr. 1, 10, pp. 205 ff.; *Poenitentie Parisiense*, c. 53, in Schmitz, p. 687; *Poenitentie Halitgarii*, l. IV., c. 4, *ibid.*, p. 723; *Poenitentie Valicellanum III.*, *ibid.*, p. 783; *Poenitentie Laurentianum*, c. 42. *ibid.*, p. 788 (five years' penance).

¹⁴⁶ *Poenitentie Arundel*, c. 7, in Schmitz, p. 440.

¹⁴⁷ Regino, *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, l. I., c. 300, *Ordo ad dandam Poenitentiam*, p. 141.

¹⁴⁸ *Gregorius III. Papa Bonifatio* (732), in Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina* (*Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, t. III.), p. 94.

¹⁴⁹ Synod of Paderborn (785), c. 9, in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 49.

¹⁵⁰ Synod of Vermeria (753), c. 13, *ibid.*, I. 23.

same is true of a free woman who deliberately married a slave. But if a freeman married a wife, believing that she was free, and later learned that she was unfree, he could dismiss her and marry another.¹⁵¹ It has been stated that a free man who sold himself into slavery could reacquire his former status by paying the sum he had received. If he had a free wife, his children by her were forever free.¹⁵² Slaves who have united themselves with female slaves without a nuptial ceremony shall, says Nicephorus Chartophylax, be excommunicated and parted from their wives until the ceremony is performed.¹⁵³ This order seems harsh, but it unquestionably fostered respect for the marriages of slaves. The same thing is true of the following, respecting marriages between slaves of different masters: such unions, to be valid, required the consent of both masters.¹⁵⁴ It is true also of the decision of the synod of Vermeria (753): "If through sale a slave be separated from his wife, also a slave, each should be urged to remain thus (*i. e.*, not to marry again) in case we cannot reunite them."¹⁵⁵ An excellent attitude is that of the synod of Châlons (813):¹⁵⁶

We have learned that certain masters, acting on usurped authority, dissolve the legitimate marriages of their slaves, thus ignoring the word of the Gospel: "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder". Let no such marriages be dissolved, even if the slaves do not belong to the same master, provided the marriage was legally performed and both masters gave their consent.

On the whole, however, there are good reasons for believing that the marriage ties of slaves were pretty loose. If, for example, two slaves were joined in wedlock by their common master, and one of them was thereafter freed, that one was permitted to marry again, if the freedom of the other could not be bought.¹⁵⁷

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¹⁵¹ Synod of Compiègne (757), cc. 7, 8, in Pertz, p. 28. Cf. synod of Dingolfing (769-771), c. 10, in Mansi, XII. 852.

¹⁵² Synod of Bonneuil (Paris, 618 ?), c. 14, *ibid.*, X. 548.

¹⁵³ Nicephorus Chartophylax, *Ad Monachum Theodosium*, in *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, III. 48.

¹⁵⁴ Ahyto Basiliensis, *Capitulare*, c. 21, in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, I. 398.

¹⁵⁵ Synod of Vermeria (753), c. 19, in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 23.

¹⁵⁶ Synod of Châlons (813), c. 30, in Mansi, XIV. 99.

¹⁵⁷ *Poenitentiale Theodori*, c. 13, par. 4, 5, in Wasserschleben, p. 217.

ENGLISH CONSPIRACY AND DISSENT, 1660-1674, II.

WITH the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in the spring of 1664 the hopes of the revolutionary party opposed to the English government, so rudely dashed by the collapse of their plot of the preceding year, began to revive. Even those shrewd and experienced exiles whose lack of faith in miracles had kept them from any active share in the previous designs against Charles and his ministers, now began to take an interest in the possibility of overthrowing their rivals in England by means of foreign interference or aid.¹ The summer of 1664 which was spent by England, and Holland in warlike preparations was a time of earnest negotiation between the conspirators, the exiles and the Dutch.² In Holland the disaffected English saw what they had previously lacked, a source of money, arms and supplies, a base of operations, and a possible ally. In them the Dutch saw a rich recruiting ground and a possible means of diversion within England itself. Many English soldiers and sailors driven by poverty or persecution had taken service in Holland.³ The prospect of war drew many more to that country. Ludlow was approached with the offer of a commission, and two of his companions, Colonels Say and Biscoe, went to Holland to enter Dutch service. Thither came Algernon Sidney, and it was presently said that 160 old officers were gathered there, many of them in Dutch pay.⁴ Meanwhile the English revolutionaries, despite their recent reverses, were equally active at home. Those who had escaped were reported mad for revenge, and plotting to that end.⁵

The administration, meanwhile, in the face of these activities, had taken steps to protect itself on the assembling of Parliament. A commission was appointed to look after the fortifications of the Tower, and disbanded officers and soldiers ordered by proclamation

¹ Clarendon, *Life, Continuation*, par. 524 ff.; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ed. Firth, II. 341, etc.; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 562, 566; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 279, 426, 434, 610, 615, etc.; *id.*, 1664-1665, pp. 6-89 *passim*.

² *Somers Tracts*, VIII. 439 ff.; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664-1665, p. 191.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 140; Ludlow, II. 381-389.

⁴ Ludlow, and *Somers Tracts*, *ut supra*; Ludlow, II. 345.

⁵ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 554-597 *passim*. Williams, *History of English Journalism*, p. 186, note, declares there was an "organized campaign of seditious journalism", for participation in which a printer, John Twyn, was hanged in this year.

to absent themselves from London and Westminster from March 30 to September 30, and meanwhile not to carry any weapons.⁶ Among various causes of uneasiness, 'prentice riots in London, the machinations of one Evan Price in the north, and rumors of plots everywhere,⁷ the administration was at once relieved and alarmed to discover what they had long suspected, that contributions were systematically collected to aid the agitators. One John Knowles of Pershore, it appeared, had for some years handled the funds thus collected for the "Protestants of Piedmont" and the "Polonian exiles", to be used, it was believed, for the relief of those opposed to the government, at home as well as abroad.⁸ Examinations were continued probing the recent plot, and at least one of its contrivers was released in hope of gaining more evidence.⁹ Among the more interesting developments it was found that arms had been brought into England under guise of use by the Royal African Company, which threw some light on the obscure incident of the two Whites, who were connected with it.¹⁰ The Dutch were said to be encouraging the rising resistance to the Conventicle Act by distributing the heads of that measure in England under title of "An Act for suppressing the worship of God", and while the more moderate sects had determined to keep within its provisions and increase their numbers quietly, the more desperate planned to rise with Dutch aid.¹¹ One of the leaders of the late plot, Mason, escaped from York Castle, and no further information being obtainable from its chief promoter, Atkinson, he was duly hanged.¹² This summer of 1664 was not without more exciting incidents. The discovery of a "desperado plot" to seize the Tower and Whitehall led to arrests which checked the design.¹³ The enforcement of the Conventicle Act revealed the great strength of the sectaries in London,¹⁴ and at York, at Exeter, at Barnstaple and Plymouth it was considered necessary to keep forces on foot against sedition.¹⁵ Finally, in August, that devoted servant of the administration, Major Riordan, wrote that he had been so far successful in his patriotic designs against the

⁶ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 520, 530; Pepys, *Diary*, *passim*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *ut supra*; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 519, 545.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-678 *passim*; *id.*, 1664-1665, pp. 39, 89, 99.

⁹ *Id.*, 1663-1664, pp. 556-664 *passim*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 586.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 587, 621, also *passim*, pp. 606-659.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 635, 638, 664, 676; *id.*, 1664, p. 5.

¹³ *Id.*, 1663-1664, p. 671; *id.*, 1664, pp. 6-35 *passim*; *cf.* also, for other measures, *ibid.*, pp. 615-667 *passim*.

¹⁴ *Id.*, 1663-1664, pp. 71, 603-678 *passim*; *id.*, 1664, pp. 44-82 *passim*.

¹⁵ *Id.*, 1663-1664, p. 654; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XV. 7, p. 97.

refugees in Switzerland as to have compassed the assassination of the ex-chancellor, Lisle.¹⁶

The meeting of Parliament in November was preceded by royal orders to the Mayor and Aldermen of London to search in person every Sunday for conventicles. This was accompanied by the usual proclamation against old officers and soldiers remaining in the City.¹⁷ The main concern of the session was the impending war which was formally declared in February, 1665. It was not begun without a last attempt to conciliate the Dissenters. Anglesey and Ashley presented to the Lords a proposal to sell indulgence in the form of licenses to Nonconformists. But the joint opposition of Clarendon, the Duke of York, and the bishops, with their respective followers, was too great and to the King's chagrin the proposition was defeated. In his closing speech he confined his remarks to the bills offered, but warned the members against the republicans and the Dutch.¹⁸

That warning, at least, was sincere and better founded than perhaps even the King or his ministers knew. For at this very time Say was writing Ludlow that there was certain to be a rising in England in connection with a Dutch attack, and that 30,000 men, a third of whom were land soldiers under old officers, with a fleet and money were at their service to restore the Commonwealth.¹⁹ That English troops and especially officers were being enlisted by the Dutch was beyond question. It was further reported that there were definite designs for a combined rising of the sectaries and a Dutch attack, involving the seizure of Bristol, a Dutch descent on the east coast, and the release of Lambert, but that this would not take place before the Dutch put to sea in May.²⁰ De Witt was indeed slow to yield to the pleadings of Sidney and his friends for the encouragement of insurrection. His own position was too vulnerable, and he had no desire to alienate the English government more than was absolutely necessary.²¹ None the less the design proceeded. A Frenchman, Marchant, was seized and sent to the Tower under strong suspicion of plotting Lambert's release, and additional measures were taken to secure that dangerous prisoner.²² A design of the "desperadoes", Blood, Lockyer, Jones, Wise, Carew

¹⁶ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, August, 1663-1664; also Ludlow, as above.

¹⁷ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664-1665, pp. 7, 79.

¹⁸ *Secret History*, pp. 127 ff.; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, par. 583-595; *Parliamentary History*, IV. 296-317.

¹⁹ Ludlow, II. 376 ff.

²⁰ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664, pp. 140, 207, 216, for the plan, pp. 126-191 *passim*, also pp. 197-219; cf. also pp. 234-235, and Burnet, I. 414 (ed. 1833).

²¹ Burnet as above; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, V., ch. vii.

²² *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664-1665, p. 198.

and Lee was unearthed. Their plan was to take houses near the Tower and Whitehall, and surprise those points as the prelude to a general rising.²³ Prompt action averted the danger, but the principals escaped, and the local officials everywhere were warned that the project was still on foot and were ordered to use all means to suppress it.²⁴ The capture of John Atkinson, "the stockinger" of Askrigg, much wanted for his share in the late plot, brought little result beyond the seizure of some revolutionary literature, nor was the capture of the collector-general of the sectaries, Knowles, of more value than in checking his own activities.²⁵ Hardly were these small successes achieved when warnings arrived from Scotland that Colonel Carr was recruiting there under a Dutch commission, and that Major-Generals Hepburn and Munro, General Leslie (Lord Newark) and others should be secured.²⁶ These, with other alarms, led to the disarming of suspected persons in western Scotland, the arrest of seamen thought to be corresponding with the Dutch, the issue of orders to local authorities to levy militia assessments and keep forces on foot, and the despatch of additional spies to Holland.²⁷

The issue depended, however, not on these disjointed designs of discontented sectaries but on the success of the fleet. The defeat of the Dutch in the battle of Lowestoft, on June 3, 1665, brought to an end for the time the hopes of those who had counted on an English naval disaster.²⁸ The administration was correspondingly elated, but their rejoicing was short-lived. On the heels of victory came the plague which by June had produced a reign of terror in London. The court and most of the clergy fled before it. In consequence Nonconformist ministers emerged from their hiding places, and resumed their sacred office. Conventicles increased and conspiracy again raised its head.²⁹ Early in the summer the authorities unearthed a design, known from the name

²³ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664-1665, pp. 259-263, 271; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 7, pp. 34-35; cf. also *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, Heathcote, pp. 146, 182; *id.*, *Various*, II. 121, 235, 246; also *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664-1665, pp. 169, 172.

²⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 7, pp. 34-37; *id.*, *Various*, II. 379; also *id.*, XIII. 4, p. 464; XIV. 4, p. 75; also *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664-1665, pp. 286-287.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-372 *passim*, for Atkinson. For Knowles, *ibid.*, pp. 330, 442, 466, 497; cf. also *id.*, 1663-1664, p. 292, and *id.*, 1661, p. 87.

²⁶ *Id.*, 1664-1665, pp. 344-431 *passim*; cf. also Willcock, *A Scots Earl*, pp. 138-139.

²⁷ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664-1665, pp. 363-392 *passim*, also pp. 314, 348; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, Heathcote, p. 191.

²⁸ Clarendon, *Life*, *Cont.*, par. 638 ff.; Pepys, June 13, etc.; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664-1665, pp. 407, 412, 437, 442.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 431-518 *passim*; Calamy, *Nonconformist Memorials*, ed. Palmer, I. 57; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, August, 1665, *passim*.

of its chief victim, as the Rathbone Plot, an old plan in a new, and, under the circumstances, a more dangerous form. It contemplated the capture of the Tower by men crossing the moat in boats and surprising the undefended walls. Governor Robinson and General Browne were to be killed, and, strange precursor of the later catastrophe, the City was to be fired. The date set for the attempt was the sacred day of the Cromwellians, September 3. The seizure of the Tower was to be accompanied by risings throughout the country, especially in the west, and in Scotland.³⁰ The steps taken by Albemarle indicate how serious he considered the danger. As early as June 28 all old soldiers were ordered from the City. Officials of the northern counties were warned to be on their guard and seize suspicious persons. Long lists of warrants were issued and hundreds of arrests made. In one month fifty-five prisoners were sent to Lincoln Castle alone. Troops were ordered up to assist the local authorities if necessary. The Duke of York, on his way to Hull to inspect the fortifications, requested blank commissions for use in an emergency, and secured the promise of Lord Fairfax to aid the King in case of disturbance. In Scotland many arrests were made, including the generals Hepburn, Munro and Montgomery. Portsmouth was secured against surprise, and in London Albemarle took extraordinary precautions. Conventicles were vigorously suppressed, forces were recruited, and a steady stream of prisoners passed before the duke for examination on their way to the Tower. Special pains were taken to guard that stronghold, and its officers were ordered, among other things, to have three ships' lading of arms and ammunition ready for instant use against the King's warning. The danger passed, though not without further alarms among which the seizure of twenty barrels of powder being carried to Malmesbury gave substance to the darkest suspicions. The design was sifted, the guilty determined and held, and the others released.³¹

With this Parliament came together at Oxford, fearful of the plague in London. It is not surprising that, in the midst of war, disturbed by such recent alarms, meeting in a strange place and under protection of troops, the few members who had ventured to come together followed the Chancellor's lead in urging reac-

³⁰ Macpherson, *Life of James II.*, Docts., 1665; Pepys, September 1, 1665; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, par. 596; Ludlow, II: 489.

³¹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664-1665, pp. 451-582 *passim*; *id.*, 1665-1666, pp. 2-550 *passim*; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Var.*, II, 120. Willcock, *A Scots Earl*, p. 139, adds Colonel Robert Halket and William Rolston to those arrested at this time.

tionary measures. Stimulated by the recent revelations they hurried through the so-called 'Five Mile Act' by which Dissenting preachers and teachers were forbidden to come within five miles of a city or corporate town, save on a duly certified journey. Not content with this a bill imposing an oath of passive obedience on the whole nation was introduced and almost passed. Finally they voted to recall the English then in Dutch service under penalty of being declared guilty of high treason.³²

Meanwhile the alarms continued. On October 23 hurried orders had been sent to the eastern counties to call out the militia and secure the Isle of Ely from the "fanatics or other enemies", and two companies were sent to guard Yarmouth.³³ The Somerset forces were warned to seize the agitator, Colonel Bovett, and prevent a possible rising.³⁴ Throughout November and December arrests and examinations were stimulated by news of a plot set for January 1.³⁵ The chief difficulties appeared in the north and Scotland,³⁶ and were as much financial as religious, the receivers of hearth money reporting that they met many obstacles even from the justices of the peace in those districts.³⁷ On December 16-17 twelve persons were committed to York Castle and two days later the northern authorities were informed by Albemarle that a rising was projected in Lancashire and Cheshire by some persons lately home from Holland and were ordered to secure the disaffected. His commands were carried out and Lord Freschville who took some of the conspirators reported the design on December 24. It was petty enough. One John Wilson and his father-in-law, Bradshaw, who had been released by Buckingham from York Castle on promise of good conduct after the plot of 1663, had raised men and money in the northern counties. Wilson confessed, and though other prisoners denied complicity they were all punished. With this success, and some letters from Blood and Carr which indicated that those much-wanted plotters were seeking or pretending to seek accommodation with the government, the agitations of 1665 came to an end.³⁸

In many respects the year had gone well for the administration.

³² *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 317-332; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, par. 691 ff.; Ludlow, II. 394.

³³ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, pp. 24-25.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁵ *Id.*, 1665, p. 277.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 72, 76; Willcock, *A Scots Earl*, p. 139.

³⁷ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XIV. 4, p. 76.

³⁸ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, pp. 91-176 *passim*; cf. also *id.*, 1661-1662, p. 481; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Var.*, II. 121.

The Dutch had been defeated, the plots unravelled. But the domestic disaffection was not lessened and the plague had seriously crippled a principal source of supply. The new year began with a fresh series of alarms. In January Louis XIV. declared war against England, according to his agreement with the Dutch. A plan to kill Charles was reported and stringent measures taken to protect his person against assassination.³⁹ And late in the month orders were issued to the authorities of the coast counties to prepare against invasion and insurrection, which grew increasingly probable.⁴⁰ Early in February definite information of a design to seize Dover was transmitted to the government by one Schaick, a Dutch merchant there.⁴¹ Similar designs were reported from other places, notably Liverpool.⁴² Rumors of Richard Cromwell's participation in these new plans became so frequent that through his servant Mumford he took steps to deny them specifically to the Council, whom he petitioned to withdraw his name from the proclamation recalling English fugitives and permit him to live quietly in Paris under an assumed name, safe from creditors and conspirators alike.⁴³ Ludlow also resisted all entreaties to join the proposed expedition, though passports were issued to him and to Sidney in March to travel through France. Sidney, however, threw himself into the scheme, and appealed in person to Louis XIV. for 100,000 crowns to finance the expedition. Of that sum he was promised but a fifth, which was considered inadequate for the purpose. Meanwhile the proclamation recalling the fugitives appeared. Scott, Honeywood, Kelsey, White, Burton, Cole, Desborough, Spurway, Radden, Richardson, Grove and Phelps were summoned by name to render themselves before July 23 or be attainted of treason.⁴⁴ Two weeks later Colonel John Rathbone and seven other officers and soldiers were found guilty of the plot of the preceding September and presently executed.⁴⁵

This was the last considerable event in the contest until the meeting of the fleets,⁴⁶ on which, as in the preceding year, every-

³⁹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, p. 210, etc.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-214, 224-273 *passim*, especially January 25, pp. 2, 3, 4, February 12, etc.; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XIII. 4, p. 446; XV. 7, p. 101; Ludlow, II. 492.

⁴¹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, pp. 239, 409.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 270, 281, 299; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, Ormonde, III. 209-210.

⁴⁴ Ludlow, II. 381, 386, 393-394, 396-397; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, pp. 318, 342; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Algernon Sidney".

⁴⁵ Pepys, March 23-April 6; Ludlow, II. 489.

⁴⁶ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, pp. 340-409 ff., for rumors.

thing hinged. On June 1 they met off the Dunes in a terrible four days' battle. Neither side was victorious, though Albemarle was saved from defeat only by the opportune arrival of Rupert. Under the circumstances even a drawn battle was felt to be a success for it prevented a Dutch landing and a possible rising.⁴⁷ The old duke's bull-dog courage was in fact criticized on precisely that ground. "It would have been better", said Carteret, "had he retreated earlier, rather than venture the loss of both fleet and crown, as he must have done had not the Prince arrived."⁴⁸ The result of the battle did not, as in the preceding year, restore quiet. A general feeling of uneasiness pervaded the country, and men began to be anxious about the stability of the government.⁴⁹ The City refused the King's request for a loan and monied men in the north were said to be, like those in London, anti-royalist and unwilling to lend to the crown.⁵⁰ These things, with the alarm of invasion, greatly disturbed the administration.⁵¹ Governors of forts and garrisons were ordered on June 26 to repair their fortifications, victual for two months and fill up their quota of soldiers. At the same time the lord lieutenants were instructed to make the militia ready against invasion, commissions were issued to nine persons, including Buckingham and Monmouth, to raise regiments of horse to be paid from the militia money.⁵² On the other hand it was reported that though some leaders promised a rising if troops were landed, the Dutch relied on their sailors rather than their soldiers, while Albemarle and Rupert both declared that the enemy would not land as they had no horse and their foot was only fit to man ships.⁵³ In any event nothing would be done till after the next battle. Nevertheless disaffection presented serious difficulties. Deal was even reported so "dismally affected" that it was not safe to quarter troops there.⁵⁴ Another plan was discovered to release Lambert,⁵⁵ and the desperadoes were said to be kept from rising only by dissensions among themselves and lack of money.⁵⁶ The government acted promptly on its information. Many London houses, including that of Lady Rolles, were searched for suspicious persons, papers and

⁴⁷ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, p. 422; Ludlow, II. 492.

⁴⁸ Pepys, June 11, 1666.

⁴⁹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, pp. 442-522 *passim*.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 356, 376, 442, 469.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 461, 466, 475-476, 489; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Var.*, II. 122.

⁵³ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, pp. 469, 476, 485.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 477, 487-488.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 522.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 488, 521.

arms.⁵⁷ The design to release Lambert was thwarted and the governor of Guernsey was ordered to hang de Briselone, Sieur de Vancourt, the governor of the Isle of Chanzy, who had been captured in the attempt, together with the master of the ship in which it was proposed to carry off the general, and in case of invasion a significant blank was left in the instructions.⁵⁸ As the crisis approached a change came over the temper of the people. The lord lieutenants were warned on July 15 to be on their guard against disaffection and invasion, and if a landing was attempted to give no quarter.⁵⁹ On that same day the first fruits of the policy toward the refugees appeared, for, to the general surprise, Desborough arrived in England to submit to the proclamation.⁶⁰ Other signs were no less encouraging. In the face of actual invasion men laid aside their differences. The deputy lieutenants of York set an example for the rest of the kingdom by subscribing £2000 for defense.⁶¹ The Nonconformists were reported from many quarters as ready, even eager, to fight the Dutch and French though there were doubts as to whether it was wise to enlist them and "let them count their numbers".⁶² And though warnings of the most desperate designs were received from Westmoreland, though 1800 men were reported ready to rise in London and the King's life was declared to be in imminent danger, the success of all these plans rested on the fortunes of the fleet.⁶³ They were soon determined. On July 25 the Dutch and English met off Sheerness and the English were wholly successful. Two days later they made a descent on the coast of Holland burning some towns and destroying much shipping and merchandise.⁶⁴

The relief was great. The Council ordered thanksgivings to be offered for the victory, and every fourth man of the militia to be dismissed.⁶⁵ Immediate advantage was taken of the confusion and depression of the disaffected to gain the submission of the remaining refugees. The informer Grice who had revealed the Rathbone Plot was engaged to secure Blood, Jones, Palmèr and

⁵⁷ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, pp. 477, 497.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 522; hanged October 3, *id.*, *Add.*, 1660-1670, p. 727.

⁵⁹ *Id.*, 1665-1666, p. 538.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 529, 544.

⁶¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Var.*, II. 122-123.

⁶² *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, pp. 532-533, 587; *id.*, 1666, p. 3; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Var.*, II. 122-123; *id.* XII. 7, pp. 40-41, for alarms and plots; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665-1666, p. 546, for Nonconformists.

⁶³ *Cf.* note 62.

⁶⁴ Scott, *Rupert*, p. 315; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666, pp. 16-17.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Alexander who were said to have gone to Ireland to do mischief.⁶⁶ Custis again approached Dr. Richardson, and an agent was employed to gain over Colonel Scott.⁶⁷ This was a person otherwise known to fame as a novelist, the first if not the worst of her species, Mrs. Aphra Behn. Another lady who remained anonymous, perhaps from motives of delicacy, agreed, for a suitable reward, to play the part of Delilah in securing Ludlow.⁶⁸ From her and from hints thrown out by Richardson to Custis another design against the King's life, apparently through poison, and involving his fruiterer and confectioner, was revealed.⁶⁹ At the same time, acting on information from Mrs. Behn and others, the Council contrived an intrigue of its own against De Witt, in behalf of the Prince of Orange. This was devised with the aid of one Buat, formerly secretary in the office of Arlington, and now employed in a similar capacity in Holland. It was almost immediately discovered. Buat was seized, Tromp, his brother, and others connected with it were dismissed, and the plot collapsed.⁷⁰ The worthy Mrs. Behn, meanwhile, won over Scott, and learned from him of the dissensions among the exiles and their dissatisfaction with the Dutch.⁷¹

These activities were interrupted by the great fire which broke out in London on September 3 and laid a great part of the City in ashes. The damage it wrought was scarcely deeper or more widespread than the terror. The Papists, the French, the Dutch and the sectaries were variously charged with the catastrophe. The coincidence of the date with that set for the design of the year before was conclusive to many minds that it was the work of the insurrectionaries.⁷² It was expected they would take advantage of the situation, and the court, as usual, turned to Albemarle, then with the fleet, to save them: "The consequences by disorders likely to follow", wrote Arlington to Clifford, "are terrible." The King, with the unanimous concurrence of the Council, urged the duke's return, confident that "could he see the condition of things he would come, for he would have it in his hands to give the King his

⁶⁶ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666, p. 64; cf. also *id.*, 1665-1666, pp. 526-527.

⁶⁷ *Id.*, 1666, p. 44.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 72 ff.; Ludlow, II. 398; Pontalis, *John De Witt* (trans. Stevenson); *Secret Hist.*, II. 203 ff.

⁷¹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666, p. 82; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, par. 835 ff.; some desperadoes taken, *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666, p. 91.

⁷² *Secret Hist.*, II. 231 ff.; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, par. 887 ff.

kingdom a second time".⁷³ The appeal was effective. Albemarle left the fleet for London on September 6 and under his firm hand order emerged from chaos.⁷⁴ The anxiety of those in power was not lessened meanwhile by the information poured in upon them by the industrious Mrs. Behn. The design of Captain Woodman, Colonel Doleman and De Witt to blockade the Thames with sunken ships, Sidney's activities, news of the agitators, White, Sydrach Lester, the Quaker Turley, plans for a rising and details of proposed invasion alternated in her letters with news of dissensions within the States and between them and the French.⁷⁵ The alarms were not confined to the City, the Council and Mrs. Behn. The whole country was disturbed, and in many places, especially in the north, militia was called out and arrests made to ensure quiet.⁷⁶ To crown all there appeared on September 19 a declaration of war against Denmark, which had been added to the list of England's enemies by Dutch diplomacy.⁷⁷ But with all the excitement, the warnings and the catastrophe, no rising appeared. The conspirators had learned since 1663, if they had learned nothing else, that without foreign aid success was hopeless. The Dutch were in no condition to take the offensive, the French were half-hearted foes at best. Many of the chief agitators were in Ireland, and the disaffected in London were more crippled by the fire than the government they opposed.⁷⁸

When Parliament met on September 21, therefore, for the first time in the reign the speech from the throne contained no reference to plots. This was highly unsatisfactory to the Commons which felt that the origin of the fire had not been adequately investigated. They appointed a committee to secure information regarding priests and Jesuits and to probe the rumors of conspiracy. A bill for inspecting public accounts, and another against the importation of Irish cattle were passed at the instigation of Buckingham and Ashley over the Chancellor's protest, and an attempt was made to impeach Lord Mordaunt as a precedent for similar action against the Chancellor.⁷⁹ But men were less moved by these things than by the open quarrel between Clarendon and his rivals, the revelations of

⁷³ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666-1667, p. 99.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105; cf. also Pepys.

⁷⁵ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666, pp. 72-156 *passim*.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 128 ff.; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII, 7, p. 42.

⁷⁷ Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, par. 824.

⁷⁸ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, Mrs. Behn's letters, September 25, and p. 156; Pontalis, *John De Witt*; cf. above note on Grice; Macpherson, *James II.*, I, 24.

⁷⁹ *Parl. Hist.*, IV, 332-363; *Secret Hist.*, II, 255 ff.; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, par. 943 ff.

weakness and corruption, the increase of taxation in the face of great calamity, and the extravagance of the court. It was felt, even in Parliament, that this was no time to irritate the Dissenters and a bill to enforce the Corporation Act was defeated. At the same time, acting on reports and warnings from government agents and friends, spies were increased, proclamations were issued against the Catholics, arrests were multiplied and various places, notably Exeter Castle, were fortified.⁸⁰

These rumors culminated suddenly and unexpectedly. On November 15 a body of horse and foot marched into Dumfries and seized Sir James Turner who had been vigorously carrying out the government's policy of repression among the extreme Presbyterians of Galloway. Under command of a certain Captain Wallis they marched on Edinburgh where they expected a rising in their behalf. Their numbers increased to about 2000, and though they were joined by no persons of rank or quality, it was reported that they had a number of old officers among them. With the first alarm of the rising the discontented began to stir in England. From Yarmouth, Bristol and other centres of disaffection came the usual crop of rumors. Fifty or sixty horse appeared bound for Acton. Riots of seamen took place in London. The Catholics were reported to be refusing the oaths. The government took active steps to defend itself. The Catholics were ordered to disarm, the authorities of the northern counties were commanded to seize all suspicious persons, troops were sent north, and fifty foot were despatched to Leeds. But the danger, if not the alarm, was short-lived. The loyal Scotch nobility and gentry flocked to join the regular troops which were hurried forward to meet the rebels. Divisions appeared in the counsels of the rebel leaders and while they hesitated overwhelming forces gathered against them. On November 28 they were attacked and routed at Pentland Green. Many were killed, some 300 were captured, of whom ten were hanged at once and twenty more condemned to death later. In all 120 were punished for their share in the short-lived insurrection. Wallis alone of the leaders was taken. The rest escaped, it was said, to Ireland, whence many of them had come.⁸¹

⁸⁰ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666, pp. 167, 178-179, 206-287 *passim*; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XIV. 2, p. 301; *id.*, *Montague-Beaulieu*, p. 168; Pepys, October 30, November 9-10.

⁸¹ Best account, Terry, *Pentland Rising*. Cf. also *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666, pp. 272-365 *passim*; Carte, *Ormonde*, VII. 103; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 7, pp. 42-43; *id.*, XIV. 2, p. 203; *id.*, XIII. 467; Pepys, November 24, December 5 and 19; Willcock, *A Scots Earl*, pp. 140-145.

But the English government was winning Pyrrhic victories. Weakened by the plague, the fire and the war, the country began to resist the demand for more money. Hearth tax riots were reported from many places, and continued disturbances among the seamen kept Albemarle and the guards continually on the alert in London.⁸² Many fomenters of sedition were still at large, and the Dutch government was found to be planning another attempt at invasion.⁸³ The administration was near the end of its offensive resources and was glad to meet the Dutch proposals for negotiations. Steps were accordingly taken to send plenipotentiaries to Breda in the spring of 1667 to arrange a peace. In the midst of its satisfaction at the conclusion of hostilities, however, the country was startled by an extraordinary incident. On May 3 a warrant was issued for the arrest of the Duke of Buckingham on a charge of treason. His steward, Henry North, had already been seized, and an inquiry was on foot to determine his relations and those of his master with conspirators like Mason and Greathead. Having eluded the officer sent to arrest him, the duke was proclaimed on March 8 for holding secret correspondence, resisting a messenger and evading summons. He was deprived of all his offices, and several of those with whom he was known to have been associated were arrested, notably an astrologer, Heydon, from whom it was hoped to secure testimony. Many examinations were held and considerable evidence obtained of the duke's connection with the fanatics and of his dealings with Heydon. Warrants were issued for Blood and eleven others, and the prisoners in the Tower and York Castle were closely interrogated.⁸⁴

To many this whole business seemed an attempt of Clarendon, or worse enemies of Buckingham, to put him out of the way. Others, not less well-informed, declared the matter deeper than it appeared. The duke had had dealings with the Commonwealth men before the Restoration. His stewards were men of that party, and his lenience after the Farnley Wood Plot was often remarked. Spies set on his track gave damaging evidence against him, which was supplemented by the testimony of Braithwaite. Among other indiscretions he had employed Heydon to cast the King's horoscope, an offense still punishable with death. It is not necessary to believe that informers had been employed by Southampton and Buckhurst.

⁸² *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666, pp. 321-322, 330, 349; Pepys, December 19.

⁸³ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666, p. 427.

⁸⁴ *Id.*, 1666-1667, pp. 512, 533, 552-553, 560; *id.*, 1666, pp. 449, 460, 463, 530-531, 537, 555; *id.*, 1667, pp. 26, 37, 44, 71; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, VII. 12, 45. Cf. also, for general and favorable account, Lady Burghclere, *George Villiers*, pp. 176-177.

—incredible combination—to concoct a case against him, nor to lay much stress on the Heydon incident to believe that Buckingham, among other questionable activities, continued his connection not only with Nonconformists in general, but with some members of its extreme wing. Nor is it surprising that a Council, aware of this and fearful of its results in this critical situation, took steps to protect itself. It is doubtless true also that personal rivalry played its part.⁸⁵

Concurrently with the Buckingham incident the Council, relying on its diplomacy and its guard-ships, had decided not to equip a fleet in this spring of 1667. But hardly had the negotiations at Breda begun when the Dutch fleet under de Ruyter, carrying 4000 troops under Colonel Doleman, put to sea. On June 10 it was in the Thames. The fort at Sheerness and the ships at Chatham were destroyed and London itself threatened. After three days of terror they stood out to sea again and harassed the coasts. The Council meanwhile called out train-bands and militia, ordered local authorities to maintain the peace, began a levy of 10,000 foot and 2500 horse, and summoned Parliament. Above all it made every effort to get money. The Chancellor was asked to get it from the lawyers, the Archbishop of Canterbury from the clergy, the lord lieutenants from any one who had it. The very militia then being embodied were appealed to. The Dutch did not leave without a blow. On July 3, with 1200 men under Doleman, they made a vigorous attack on Landguard Fort opposite Harwich. Other attempts were made on Plymouth, Portsmouth and Torbay. In every place they were beaten off. On July 26 peace was signed at Breda. Its terms reflected the results of the raid, and justified De Witt's sagacity in organizing it. But "the drooping brethren who pricked up their ears" at the Dutch attack as well as those who "followed the noble Doleman" fulfilled Bampfield's prophecy that they would come home "like the king of France and his forty thousand men". That they had some hopes of internal disturbances there is much reason to believe. Their instructions noted that the officers of the fleet were to approach the people of Shæppey with offers of free worship, and to conciliate such as were discontented with the English government. Had the negotiations failed, had the attack on Landguard succeeded, the story might have been differ-

⁸⁵ Pepys, March 3, 1667; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, VII. 12, 45; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666-1667, pp. 44, 71; *id.*, 1666, p. 511; cf. also Carte MSS., fol. 35, p. 302, quoted by Lady Burghclere, p. 71; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, par. 1119 ff. See also *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1667, pp. 30-31, and warrants, *id.*, 1666, p. 537. and offer to testify, p. 587.

ent.⁸⁶ As it was the effect on politics was profound. Its first result was the brief and agitated meeting of Parliament on July 25.⁸⁷ Its second was the acceleration of the fall of Clarendon, who was deprived of the great seal on August 30.⁸⁸ Before that came, however, a desperate and successful attempt to rescue the old conspirator, Mason, who was being taken from the Tower to York Castle with the spy Leving, was made at Darrington in Yorkshire by the desperadoes, Blood, Lockyer and Butler. Leving escaped their attempt to kill him and was carried to York. There he was found a little later dead in his cell, poisoned, it was said, by his enemies.⁸⁹

With these events we come again to the Duke of Buckingham who was in some measure concerned in both. He had surrendered on June 27 and was sent to the Tower, whence he wrote a submissive letter to the King. Three days later he was examined by a committee of the Council. The case against him fell flat. The chief witnesses and the informers, Middleton and Grice, had mysteriously and providentially died, the two latter not without suspicion of poison. Only Leving remained and he was out of the way by August 5. The duke therefore met the charges against him with jaunty contempt. He was remanded to the Tower but powerful influences were at work in his behalf and he was released on July 14, in time to take an active part in the Chancellor's downfall.⁹⁰

With that a new alignment of ministerial forces was begun, whose basis was Nonconformity. That party had long been recovering its position in the boroughs; in the Council, and in royal favor. Its leaders promised a cessation of persecution and corruption to a nation weary of both. In the new arrangement there was but one man in England with the peculiar qualifications for heading an

⁸⁶ Account of Dutch attack largely from Hague Rijksarchief, Admiraliteit, 1038, 1896, XCV. 53, fol. 80 ff. Cf. also Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, par. 1025, 1089 ff.; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666-1667, pp. 73, 130, also June 1-10 *passim*, pp. 189, 200-291 *passim*; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 5, pp. 7, 9, 12, 49; *id.*, *Var.*, II. 6, 12, 26, 124-125, 381; *id.*, XIV. 8, p. 368; Pepys, July 3, 1667, and elsewhere June; *Secret Hist.*, II. 302 ff.; also in connection with attack on Landguard, cf. petition from garrison, May 14, 1663 (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XV. 2, p. 301), for pay; also examinations in Parliament later, Grey's *Debates*, *passim*.

⁸⁷ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 363-366, 437. Indignation even in the King's presence, *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666-1667, p. 309.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, July-September, *passim*; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, par. 1134-1147.

⁸⁹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1667, pp. 310, 326, 331, 360, 427; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 7, p. 51.

⁹⁰ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1667, pp. 179-294 *passim*; Foxcroft, *Halifax*, I. 51; Burghclere, *Villiers*, pp. 179 ff.; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, par. 1130 ff.; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XIV. 9, pp. 367-368.

alliance of court and dissent. The persistent foe of Clarendon, the champion of toleration, the master of the royal revels, Buckingham had allies everywhere, courtiers, Presbyterians and republicans. Two months after his release his dignities had been restored to him and he was on the road to power. By December he was recognized as the chief minister of state. This was not due wholly to Charles's love for the duke nor to the influence of the latter's family and friends. Men often commended themselves to the King by sharing his pleasures, but, whatever he was, the King was no fool, he did not choose his ministers on that ground. Buckingham came to the head of affairs because he could bring a party to support the King. With him four others, none of them Anglicans, joined to form the so-called Cabal. The change was unaccompanied by a general election, and was obscured by the very means taken to effect it. But it none the less expressed a national crisis, and it is not the only time that a seeming court intrigue masks a great political change. It indicated that the Nonconformists were to have their turn.⁹¹ The ministerial revolution was accompanied by corresponding events in Commons and Council. It was reported in September that a bill was contemplated repealing the Act of Uniformity and modifying episcopacy. Suggestions were offered for Council action against Catholics, and a declaration "leaving some little dawn of hope open to dissenting Protestants, which the King would be glad to find".⁹² Council orders against the Catholics were in fact issued September 11, and many in the army resigned or were dismissed in consequence.⁹³ Laws against Dissenters were meanwhile enforced laxly or not at all. Steps were taken to reverse the Clarendonian policy of political imprisonment, and an order issued for a return of all prisoners in England, their names, the date of the warrant, and the cause of commitment.⁹⁴ Many, including the old Commonwealth men, Major Wildman, and Colonels Salmon, Creed and Bremen were released.⁹⁵ These measures were interrupted by the proceedings relative to the impeachment, banishing and disenabling

⁹¹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1668, pp. 258-589; *id.*, 1664-1665, p. 150; *id.*, 1667-1668, pp. 55, 145; *id.*, 1668-1669, pp. 420-421, 466, 616; Pepys, December 21, 1667; Calamy, *Nonconformist Memorials*, ed. Palmer, pp. 57 ff.; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, *passim*; Lady Burghclere, as above; Foxcroft, *Halifax*, I. 55, 64; Rapin, III. 885; also *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1667, p. 89; *id.*, 1667-1668, p. 259.

⁹² *Id.*, 1667, pp. 437, 447.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 457; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 7, p. 53 (the 10th); *id.*, *Var.*, II. 382 (order not signed by Duke of York); *cf.* also *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1667-1668, pp. 54, 110.

⁹⁴ *Id.*, 1667, pp. 454 ff.; *id.*, 1667-1668, *Introd.*, XXII. 165-266 *passim*; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 7, pp. 54, 58; *id.*, *Var.*, I. 149-150.

⁹⁵ Macpherson, *James II.*, *Docts.*; Pepys, December 7, 1667.

of Clarendon in Parliament between October and December. When the Houses met after the Christmas recess the late Chancellor was a fugitive and his opponents were directing affairs.⁹⁶

In their hands financial reform, a new foreign policy and religious toleration replaced the Clarendonian system. The formation of the Triple Alliance in January, 1668, to check the aggression of Louis XIV. and the promise of an early reorganization of the finances satisfied the Anglicans who remained in control of the Commons. But they were not pleased with the striking change in religious affairs which accompanied these measures. Persecution languished and informers starved, justices declared they no longer were encouraged to repress dissent.⁹⁷ Conventicles multiplied and silenced ministers returned to public preaching. In some cases the Nonconformists even retaliated on Conformist clergy.⁹⁸ But this was exceptional; in the main a great calm succeeded the storms of preceding years. Nor was this wholly due to the neglect of the informers or the plotters. If new informers were not encouraged the old ones were abundantly rewarded, and such plotters as remained were as diligently pursued as ever.⁹⁹ But the policy now adopted destroyed the basis of conspiracy, and the revolutionaries were driven to other employment. Some remained in Dutch service, some, like Doleman, sought employment further afield. The refugees remained in Switzerland, in France and in the Low Countries undisturbed. Of the English revolutionaries many had by this time reaped the reward of their actions; the informers had been paid or had died. Some of the desperadoes like Blood and his son, Mason, Lockyer and Butler were still at large. A few of these like Mason returned to pursuits of peace. Some, like Paul Hobson, had been deported to the colonies. Others were driven to the trade of highwaymen. And if it had not been for three circumstances in the ensuing six years the history of the conspirators like their attempts to overthrow the government might well end here.

The first of these was the result of the administration policy on the Parliamentary situation. There it found little favor. The session which began on February 10 was filled with bitter reflections on court, ministers and even the King himself, with the investigation

⁹⁶ *Secret Hist.*, II. 336; Clarendon, *Life, Cont.*, II. par. 443; *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 336 ff.; *Journals H. L.*, XII. 141 ff.; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1667-1668, p. 32.

⁹⁷ Cf. especially Calamy's *Nonconformist Memorials*, *passim*. For Scotland, *Secret Hist.*, I. 234 ff. Extraordinary decrease of information in the *Cal. St. P. Dom.*

⁹⁸ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1667-1668, pp. 68, 69, 94, 165 ff., 404; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Var.*, I. 151-152.

⁹⁹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1668, p. 461; *id.*, 1670, p. 174, etc.

of the miscarriages of the war, and with the re-enactment of the Conventicle Act now about to expire. This now passed both Houses and only the King's refusal to sign it prevented its becoming law.¹⁰⁰ On August 11 the old act expired and practical toleration ensued.¹⁰¹ It was accompanied by other measures emphasizing the new course. Sir James Turner was dismissed on the ground that his harshness had caused the Pentland Rising.¹⁰² Hundreds of prisoners were discharged. As Penn had prophesied the King connived at meetings and lectures.¹⁰³ Buckingham was said to consult Wildman daily, and it was even proposed to make him a member of the new commission of accounts.¹⁰⁴ So great was the revival of conventicles and the activity of Dissenters in politics¹⁰⁵ that the Council issued a proclamation against them as a prelude to the new session of Parliament which began in October.¹⁰⁶ It repeated the career of its predecessor, but with more success, for Sir George Carteret, treasurer of the navy, was impeached. Its attempt to re-enact the Conventicle Act, however, was again foiled by the King's refusal to sign the bill, and it was not until the next session which began in the following February that the Houses were able to force this measure on the King.¹⁰⁷

With its signature Nonconformist disturbances broke out at once. Its enforcement began in May, George Fox being one of the first victims. The struggle commenced in London, each side recognizing that if conventicles could be suppressed there they would be elsewhere. The contest was obstinate and bitter in the extreme. Officers and soldiers engaged in putting down the meetings were obstructed and threatened, informers and constables overawed. The little conventicles were easily disposed of, but three or four thousand persons defended the doors of the three great Presbyterian meeting-houses, and it was a serious question as to whether the

¹⁰⁰ *Parl. Hist.*; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XIII. 2, p. 147; Pepys, April 30, 1668; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1670, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ As above, and *id.*, 1668, p. 268.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 276; "Bellenden" (*i. e.*, Sir William Ballantyne) was also dismissed, *cf.* Willcock, *A Scots Earl*, p. 158.

¹⁰³ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1667, pp. 94, 145; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 7, pp. 58, 68; Pepys, May 3, August 11, 1668.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, November 4, 1668.

¹⁰⁵ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1668, pp. 320-419 *passim*; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 7, p. 63.

¹⁰⁶ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1668, p. 449; *cf.* also *ibid.*, pp. 420-616 *passim*, and *id.*, 1670, pp. 17, 25, etc. For disturbances, see also *id.*, 1667-1668, pp. 270, 282, 437, 454; Pepys, March 25, July 18, 1668.

¹⁰⁷ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 441 ff.

guards should be called out.¹⁰⁸ The situation was difficult. If the law was to be enforced trouble was sure to follow, if not the law would be brought into contempt. Many men agreed with Secretary Trevor that the matter was "very unhappily and unnecessarily brought to trial".¹⁰⁹ Many arrests were made. Major-General Butler and several Fifth Monarchy men were seized and old officers and soldiers ordered to leave the City for six months.¹¹⁰ Guards were set, two aldermen sent to Newgate, spies employed and the artillery investigated for fanatics.¹¹¹ On June 11 two companies of soldiers took possession of the meeting-houses, and were later relieved by four more with orders to pull down the seats and pulpits, in which work of disfurnishing the eminent talents of the King's surveyor, Mr. Christopher Wren, were presently required.¹¹² As the local authorities joined in the resistance the situation increased in gravity. Robinson reported that he had broken up two meetings and got two preachers but neither the constables, headborough, nor justices of the Tower Hamlets would come near him.¹¹³ Nor did persecution stop the meetings. When the life guards and foot secured the meeting-houses the people assembled in the streets, defended their preachers from the officers, aided them to escape and fought with the troops.¹¹⁴ Similar scenes were enacted in almost every town in England. Every obstacle was put in the way of the authorities who attempted to enforce the act. Goods distrained for conventicle fines found no purchasers, counter charges were brought against those engaged in suppressing the meetings, and bitter hostility was roused on every hand.¹¹⁵ By September the increase of seditious literature led to the reappointment of L'Estrange as licenser.¹¹⁶ And when, in that month the City refused the King a loan of 60,000 pounds the matter took on a new aspect.¹¹⁷

It has indeed been questioned whether this whole episode was not an administration device to prove to the Anglicans the difficulty of enforcing their policy, and to the Nonconformists that they must look to the crown alone for relief.¹¹⁸ At all events the resistance

¹⁰⁸ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1670, pp. 208 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 233-317 *passim*.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 243, 267, 276; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII, 7, p. 71.

¹¹² *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1670, pp. 243, 267, 276.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-240, 343-344, 424. Cf. also *Nonconformist Memorials*, I, 239, "Vincent", etc.

¹¹⁵ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1670, pp. 27-519 *passim*.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 368-369, also pp. 201-521 *passim*, and especially p. 502; *id.*, 1672, pp. 20-21, 46-47.

¹¹⁷ *Id.*, 1670, p. 502.

¹¹⁸ Davies, *Life of Baxter*, p. 340; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1670, p. 255.

of the Dissenters was in so far successful that enforcement of the act was gradually relaxed toward the end of 1670.¹¹⁹ For this, however, events outside the domestic situation were also responsible. In the month that the disturbances began Charles had signed the secret treaty of Dover, and arranged for a joint attack of France and England on Holland, a design presently incorporated in an open treaty negotiated by Buckingham who was kept in ignorance of the original with its secret clause providing for French troops and subsidy in aid of Charles when he declared himself a Catholic.

Such was the first series of circumstances which disturbed the peace of the Cabal. The second was a sequence of events which began in the winter of 1670 and which seemed to bear little relation to politics. On December 6 the Duke of Ormonde returning from a City dinner in honor of the Prince of Orange was set upon by highwaymen and saved from their extraordinary project of hanging him at Tyburn only by the opportune arrival of his household.¹²⁰ This with the attack of the Duke of Monmouth's bravos on Sir John Coventry occupied much of Parliament's time after the Christmas recess of 1670. They produced three results, the passage of a bill against malicious maiming and wounding, the issue of a proclamation against Thomas Hunt, Richard Halliwell and Thomas Allen for the attack on Ormonde, and Lord Ossory's warning to Buckingham in the King's presence that if another attempt was made on his father's life he would kill Buckingham "though he stood behind the King's chair". Even these exciting events were overshadowed by the extraordinary attempt made on May 5 to carry off the royal regalia from the Tower by means of a remarkably shrewd plot only foiled by accident. Its designers, a pseudo-clergyman, his nephew and a friend were seized. To the surprise of all the clergyman was found to be the old outlaw Blood, the nephew his son, the friend an Anabaptist silk-dyer, Parret.¹²¹ Blood, refusing to answer any inquiries save before the King, was procured that privilege through the influence of Buckingham. There he admitted his complicity in a long series of exploits from the Dublin Plot of 1663 to the attempt on Ormonde. It was not unnaturally supposed that he would be hanged, but, to the astonishment of all, he and his son were released

¹¹⁹ Burnet says simply that the King *ordered it*. Trevor (*Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1670, p. 233) "feared for the consequences to the government if a tumult was begun and blood drawn". When the City refused the loan, the money was advanced by certain Dissenters. This may account for the relaxation.

¹²⁰ Carte, *Ormonde*, VII. 103-104, 109; *Journals H. L.*, January-March, 1671.

¹²¹ *Somers Tracts*, VIII. 439 ff.; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Blood". The dyer's name is also found Pérot.

and pardoned early in August, and Parret was freed a little later. In September a pardon was issued to another of Blood's desperado associates, Alexander, and the climax was reached when the King conferred on Blood a pension of £500 a year in Irish lands besides restoring his other property which had been forfeited for treason in 1663.¹²²

It is no wonder that the case of "Colonel" Blood puzzled men then and since. The usual explanation given for his treatment is the impression he made on the King by his wit and courage, and the threat that his death would be avenged by the band to which he belonged. This is doubtless true. But other circumstances indicate this is not the whole truth. On June 22 while he was still in prison warrants were issued to search various houses in London for Richard Cromwell.¹²³ A week later three of Cromwell's captains were taken on Blood's information.¹²⁴ On July 2 a number of desperate men were arrested and alarm given of a projected attempt on the Tower. Twenty-six of these men were sent to Newgate, and four to the Tower.¹²⁵ On July 18 twenty-seven of these desperadoes were tried and convicted.¹²⁶ The most important result was to come. On September 21 after Blood was duly pardoned and rewarded there began a long series of interviews between him and Secretary Williamson concerning the status, the allies and the wishes of the Nonconformists, especially those in and about London.¹²⁷

Blood had in short "come in". It was peculiarly fortunate for him that his crime and capture had come at a peculiarly opportune moment else with all his audacity he could not well have escaped death. The administration in fact was in need of just such a man, and the outlaw was much more useful to them alive than dead. The ministry, divided between a Catholic and a Protestant section, was bent on a Dutch war which each party urged for its own ends. But it was confronted by two great questions, the Dissenters and the debts. A foreign war in the face of these was not to be thought of. "If it is bad now", Williamson wrote of the late disturbances over the Conventicle Act, "what would it be at a critical time?"¹²⁸ And the combined invasion and insurrection at which he hinted was even more dreaded now than formerly. The decline

¹²² *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, August-September, 1671 *passim*.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

¹²⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Fleming*, II. 19; *id.*, XII. 5, p. 19.

¹²⁵ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1671, p. 356.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 385-386.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 496-497, 553-554, 556, 560-563, 568-569, 581; *id.*, 1671-1672, pp. 1, 8-9, 14, 27-28, 63.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

of blind loyalty even among the royalists, the growing suspicions of the King's French and Catholic policy, and, not least, the death of the Duke of Albemarle, had weakened the position of the crown. Some guarantees of peace at home must therefore be had before war was begun abroad. Negotiations were consequently entered upon during these closing months of 1671 between the court and the Nonconformists, and throughout the ensuing winter representatives of the court, Williamson, Arlington, the King himself, consulted with leading Dissenters, or negotiated through men like Blood and Butler and Ennys, to find a basis of reconciliation.¹²⁹ In the last days of 1671 a decision was reached in regard to both money and Nonconformity and was immediately put into execution. On January 2, 1672, orders were issued to pay no more money out of the Exchequer.¹³⁰ By this drastic measure the administration secured enough cash to carry out its warlike plans, though at the cost of panic, bankruptcy and loss of credit in the City. On that same day the second part of the design was set in motion. Pardons were issued to Thomas Blood, jr., Robert Parret, Ralph Alexander, Nicholas Lockyer, John Barnes and John Hicks. On the next day a pass to England was issued to Colonel John Desborough. Three weeks later a similar pass was issued to Colonel Kelsey to go to Holland for his wife and goods, and Colonel Berry was released from Scarborough Castle. It was reported on February 1 that Burton, Kelsey and others were on their way to Holland to move their families and possessions back to England. That same day pardons were issued to Kelsey, Captain Nicholas and John Sweetman, and by the middle of March Major Scott, now in English service, was sent to Holland for intelligence.¹³¹ "Certainly", wrote Sir F. Burgoyne, "some designs must be on foot that such are received."¹³² Those designs were soon apparent.¹³³

With most of the desperadoes and exiles won over or put out of the way, with sufficient ready money to begin the war, it remained only to secure the main body of Nonconformists. As a result of the long secret conferences in the winter of 1671-1672 that matter was now taking definite shape. It tended more and more to a licensing system. On February 19 Butler summed up the situation. Time must be given to secure licenses, he said, and where no public

¹²⁹ As above.

¹³⁰ Some exceptions, *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1672, p. 89.

¹³¹ *Id.*, 1671-1672, pp. 65, 98, 116.

¹³² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, VII. 334.

¹³³ Cf. also Ludlow, II. 393; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1671-1672, p. 13, etc.; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, VI. 368; VII. 464.

meeting-house existed a private house should be allowed until a public place could be had. Licenses should be issued to persons as well as places, and for preaching in private families on thanksgivings and like occasions. Quakers and Fifth Monarchy men of wild principles should be connived at, and license-getting made easy. Thus all depended on the King. And if, he added, speedy justice could be had in lawsuits, it would be beyond the power of "the devil and bad men" to harm the sovereign.¹³⁴ Such were the bases of the plan agreed upon. On March 15, 1672, appeared the second Declaration of Indulgence. By its provisions the Church of England was to remain unchanged, but penal laws against Nonconformists and Recusants were to be suspended. Places were to be licensed for meeting of Dissenters and Recusants, except Papists, and seditious preaching and opposition to the Church was to be suppressed.¹³⁵ At the same time the Council was reorganized by the addition of new men, Halifax, Essex, Fauconberg, Bridgwater, Worcester, Henry Coventry and presently Williamson and Osborne. Few of its original members remained and it became strongly Protestant. With such preparations and the French subsidy the administration felt ready for war which was begun two days before the issue of the Declaration by a treacherous attack on the Dutch Smyrna fleet in the Channel, and declared two days after the Indulgence appeared.

So far as internal disturbance was concerned the ministerial plans were justified by the event. The beginning of the second Dutch war differed from that of the first in no respect more than this, there were no accompanying plots, no fear of fire in the rear. As in the former war the English found difficulty in commanding the services of their own seamen, whose employment by the Dutch was not wholly prevented. Steps were taken to seize those sailors who had fled inland or oversea to escape impressment, and proclamations were issued promising pardon and reward to all who had fled from the King's displeasure. These were sent to Holland and the Dutch counter-proclamations seized. In this, in securing information from Holland, and obtaining news of the war, the services of men like Blood were largely employed.¹³⁶ But his energies like

¹³⁴ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1671, pp. 203, 217; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Var.*, II. 383.

¹³⁵ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1671-1672, pp. 116, 204, 226, 232, 243, and March 29, 1672; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 7, pp. 90, 93-94; cf. Bate, *Declaration of Indulgence of 1672*, published too recently to be used for this article.

¹³⁶ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1671-1672, pp. 295-296, 343, 372, 589; *id.*, 1672, pp. 73, 76, 102, 105, 198, 595, etc. For seamen, cf. *id.*, 1671-1672, pp. 241-247, 277, and all through March, 1672; also *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XIII. 4, p. 468; XIV. 2, p. 326.

those of many others were meanwhile taken up with the licensing of conventicles which rapidly assumed surprising proportions.¹³⁷ It was said that Churchmen would attack the Declaration in the courts, but licensing was not disturbed as the Anglicans decided to wait for a meeting of Parliament when their cause was certain to be in friendly hands. That pleasure was denied them for the time. Unwilling to face the Houses the King prorogued the session called for April 1 to October, then to February, 1673.¹³⁸ To emphasize the new policy honors were conferred upon the ministers, and the granting of pardons went on rapidly. The extent of such clemency may be inferred from the release of 480 Quakers in May alone.

The war was meanwhile well under way. The French had poured their troops across the Dutch frontiers, and the English had sent their fleet to sea. On May 28 they met their enemies in the fierce but indecisive encounter of Southwold Bay. By land the French were more successful, and at the end of June it seemed that Holland was doomed. But the dykes were cut and Amsterdam saved. In July William of Orange became Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland, and, after the murder of the Pensionary De Witt in August, he took entire charge of Dutch affairs. To many Englishmen this reviving power of Holland was grateful. Even the Council was divided on the policy of pursuing the war, and opposition to what seemed the French and Catholic designs of the court spread throughout the country despite the efforts of the administration. It became evident that the ministry would be attacked in Parliament on its foreign as well as its religious and financial policy, and efforts were made to avert the blow. An embassy was sent to negotiate with William, a bold attempt was made to seize thirty-six seats which had become vacant, and the day before the Houses met the issue of licenses was suspended. It is interesting to observe that although this policy had been in existence less than eleven months nearly 1500 licenses had been issued.¹³⁹

Ministerial apprehensions of Parliament were more than justified. The Commons met the bold defense of the stop of the exchequer and the declaration made by the King and Shaftesbury by forcing the withdrawal of the thirty-six members, and sending an address to the King declaring that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical could not be suspended save by act of Parliament. At the same time a bill for the ease of Protestant dissenters was intro-

¹³⁷ Cf. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1673, Introd.

¹³⁸ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 561-585; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1672, p. 396.

¹³⁹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, May and June, 1672, *passim*, especially pp. 160-161, 319-320, June 12, order against coffee-houses, and false news, also pp. 226-227. For embassy, Foxcroft, *Halifax*.

duced. This allowed meetings to be held in places appointed by the act and in others licensed by the King under the act. They defeated a proposal to exclude Protestant dissenters from the House, and finally passed the great Test Act which made it impossible for Catholics to hold either civil or military office.¹⁴⁰ With that act and the events of the ensuing summer the long struggle here recorded reached a climax. The fear of dissent was replaced by the fear of Catholicism. The royal attempt to unite Catholic and Protestant dissent to balance against the Anglicans and secure Catholic toleration collapsed. The Duke of York and Clifford were driven from the Council which thenceforth became wholly Protestant. Though the bill for the ease of Protestant dissenters failed of enactment, Nonconformists were no longer persecuted, and gained a sort of toleration on sufferance. Justices were reprovved for enforcing the laws against them, and the King in Council ordered his portion of the conventicle fines to be remitted. None the less they were still subjected to annoyance by their enemies, and disaffection in the extreme wing of the party especially against anything that savored of Catholicism was not wholly destroyed.¹⁴¹

The war meanwhile went on but both nations were weary of it and steps were taken toward the end of 1673 to make peace. They were accompanied, perhaps accelerated, by an obscure intrigue with which this story may fitly close. A certain du Moulin, once Arlington's secretary, now holding a like post under the Prince of Orange, began correspondence with certain members of the English ministry, once the Protestant, now the peace party, with whom he had previous acquaintance. They were determined to force the King to break his connection with France and make peace with Holland. They even contemplated the possibility of an appearance of the Dutch fleet in the Thames and a concurrent rising in England if the King proved obdurate. The court however learned of the negotiation and seized one of du Moulin's agents, William, Lord Howard of Escrick, already noted in connection with the disaffected party. He was sent to the Tower and there confessed. Among others he implicated Shaftesbury. There was no other direct evidence against him, however, and all Charles's efforts failed to win from the prince any information regarding his allies, friends and correspondents in England.¹⁴² But the incident is none the less important. With it

¹⁴⁰ *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 501-585.

¹⁴¹ *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1672, pp. 309, 372; *id.*, 1673, p. 369; *cf.* also letter of Sir T. Player, *id.*, 1671, p. 368; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XII. 7, p. 101.

¹⁴² *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1672, p. 302; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "William Howard"; Temple, *Memoirs* (1757), II. 286-287, 294, 334, 336-337; Burnet, book III., 1674 (2 ref.); D'Avaux, *Memoirs*, I. 8. Burnet knew Temple's account, but adds details of his own. *Cf.* also Lingard (*History of England*, IX. 254), who accepts,

there emerges that alliance between Shaftesbury, the Nonconformists, the disaffected, and William of Orange which was of such importance later. Shaftesbury presently gave this point by arming his household ostensibly against the Papists, and later seeking refuge in the City with an Anabaptist preacher. Thence he was ordered to his estates in the country by the King, and shortly before the session of 1674 deprived of his offices.¹⁴³ When that session began he was the leader of the opposition, and with this a new chapter in affairs began.

The party which had found a spokesman in Bristol and a minister in Buckingham, now, driven from power, secured a leader in Shaftesbury, who united against the Anglican minister, Danby, the elements of national discontent, the Parliamentary opposition, and Protestant nonconformity. In this larger body, the Country Party, later the Whigs, the group we have here discussed was, for the most part, absorbed. The issues for which they had striven were modified in the presence of greater interests. The fate of Shaftesbury, his followers and his successors, belongs to another chapter of English history. But in that struggle some of the men we have described played a part. Lord Howard of Escrick again appeared in the ignoble character of informer, contributing to the fate of his kinsman, Strafford, as well as to that of Algernon Sidney, who, with Lord Russell, found an end of all his strivings on the scaffold.¹⁴⁴ Others played less conspicuous though perhaps not less important parts in the later tragedies. Blood, indeed, was dead before the agitation over the Exclusion Bill and the ensuing disturbances, which would have given his peculiar talents such an excellent field, took place. But when the Earl of Argyle fled from Scotland in 1681, in the first stage of his wanderings that ended in his rebellion, he found refuge first among the conventiclers of northern England and was guided thence to London by Blood's relative and companion in arms and conspiracies, Captain Lockyer.¹⁴⁵ The Thomas Walcott, against whom Fitzgerald gave evidence in 1670-1671, was executed for a share in the Rye House Plot. When Monmouth led his ill-fated forces in his last throw for the crown it was the "turbulent

and Christie (*Life of Shaftesbury*, II. 197-198, and note), who rejects, the story. The connection between Shaftesbury and this party, like that of Buckingham, is, and must be, obscure. But it seems to me wholly probable. It is difficult to agree with those who see in it anything inconsistent with Shaftesbury's character or career. Restoration standards, circumstances and methods were not like our own, and it serves no good purpose to Bowdlerize them.

¹⁴³ Macpherson, *State Papers*, I. 74; Christie, *Shaftesbury*, II. 197-198; cf. also *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1671, pp. 562-563.

¹⁴⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁴⁵ Willcock, *A Scots Earl*, p. 293.

town of Taunton" that gave them the warmest reception and paid the heaviest price for its devotion to that hopeless cause.¹⁴⁶ In all of those events, in Argyle's rebellion, among the men who followed Shaftesbury to Oxford, in the plots against Charles, the Monmouth rebellion and the invasion of William, were found survivors of these earlier activities. When Titus Oates and Israel Tonge sought material for their monstrous fabrication of the Popish Plot it was in the stories of these early revolutionary movements they found no small part of the detail which lent verisimilitude to their information. Conceived in the same spirit, and in not dissimilar terms they raised the Popish Terror on the same foundations that had previously supported the Nonconformist Terror. Shaftesbury and his followers thus found ready to their hands the same weapon so long and so effectively used against them, and sensible of its value from their own experience, they seized it eagerly, wielding it against their opponents as vigorously and successfully as it had once been used against them. Even in the plots that brought Essex to suicide and Sidney and Russell to the scaffold we find the persistent story of the Council of Six, meeting at the Green Ribbon Club in the King's Head Tavern,¹⁴⁷ a mystic number at least as old in the history of conspiracy as Tonge and his Council of Six which met at the Wheat-sheaf twenty years before. Thus, though many of the old revolutionaries had passed away before those stirring times, those who remained acted generally in accordance with their older character. Above all, the party and tradition on which they depended formed not the least powerful element in those great agitations. Such a study as this must, of necessity, be more or less obscure and unsatisfactory. But without some account of an element whose aims changed in expression but not in strength or direction between the beginning and the end of the Restoration period, no picture of that time can be complete. Above all, such a study may help to restore that sense of continuity between revolution and revolution which has so long been lacking, to the great detriment of a proper understanding of that period.¹⁴⁸

W. C. ABBOTT.

¹⁴⁶ Macaulay, *History of England*, I. 510, note, 520; cf. also Fea, *King Monmouth*.

¹⁴⁷ Pollock, *Popish Plot*, pp. 237, 334.

¹⁴⁸ It has not been possible to insert in this article the great amount of material on the subject existing in manuscript in the Journals of the Privy Council in the Public Record Office in London. The information there given would add much to the details of this account but would hardly affect the general conclusions. It is hoped that such parts of this as are not covered here may be included in a later study. Owing to an oversight references to the Dublin Plot from the *Calendars of State Papers, Ireland*, were unfortunately omitted in the first part of this study which appeared in this REVIEW for April. Such references will be found under the appropriate dates in the volume for 1663-1665, pp. 100-265 *passim*.

CHATHAM, 1708-1908¹

CHATHAM belongs not only to the English race, but to the English race as a whole—to the English race in the length and breadth of its dispersion throughout the world. Other statesmen have been more judicious, more temperate, more simple-minded. It is the glory of Chatham that he possessed an eye which swept the full horizon, a greatness of soul which raised him above insular prejudice and pride. Let us not deify the Anglo-Saxon breed. But such as it is, and in so far as it cherishes a certain community of sentiment, Chatham's deeds and aspirations are an indivisible part of its inheritance. The farther its activities extend the higher will mount his reputation, since the three things for which he strove were the freedom of the English, their greatness and their unity.

It is true that one can find little edification in the methods by which Pitt fought for promotion to the cabinet. Nor are his speeches free from rants that suggest the more turgid outbursts of Marlowe. By act and word he showed himself devoid of humor. He does not escape the sarcasm which Persius flings at those who love popular applause—*pulchrum est digito monstrari*. He could adopt an air of insufferable superiority. Histrionic by temperament it was difficult for him not to mingle passions that were simulated with those that were sincere.

But Chatham's failings are of a type which suggests regret rather than reprobation. Indeed modern pathology affords us a better key to his disposition than was possessed by earlier critics. It has been said that "There was never yet philosopher who could endure the toothache patiently", and every day we accept physical infirmity in explanation of an uncertain temper. But when organic disease stretches its victim upon the rack, the spectator can no longer stop short at an indulgent forbearance. His active sympathy is aroused, and the greater the talents which are impaired the deeper will be the pity. Now Sir Andrew Clark has said of Chatham: "Suppressed gout disordered the whole nervous system, and drove him into a state of mental depression, varying with excitement and equivalent to insanity. But there was no specific brain disease."

¹ A paper read before the American Historical Association at Richmond on December 30, 1908.

If Chatham's nerves were subject to constant irritation from the derangements of his body, he was no less unfortunate in another circumstance which affected his public actions. I refer to the fact that the English people did not then choose their own Prime Minister. Hence for Pitt a long and painful ascent to power. The Reverend Francis Thackeray could shut his eyes to any blemish. Less hardy admirers of Chatham cannot but admit that in his dealings with the Pelhams he fell far below his best. To be more explicit, he displayed an eagerness in his quest for office which was equal to that of his competitors. The king disliked him, for though a Whig he was a *frondeur*. There was a further obstacle in that he did not belong to the narrow circle of the Whig oligarchy. Thus at a time when the masses were unable to give him direct, decisive support, he ran his race under a great handicap. I think it cannot be shown that in his quest of power he compromised his principles on any fundamental issue. His worst sins were a willingness to enter mixed and warring coalitions, the employment of factious opposition to enhance his importance, and lack of dignity in asking others for their support. It is sad that only by adopting pushful methods could he break through the cordon of prejudice which opposed him. Essentially, however, he was an idealist. He cared nothing for money, and if he coveted power it was that he might win fame by exalting his country.

After all, the dissection of character into merits and imperfections is an anatomical process. What should interest biographers most is psychic physiology. Now there are those who seem to demand that every great man should be a duplicate of Tennyson's King Arthur. In family life Chatham satisfies even this test, proving himself the "selfless man and stainless gentleman". For the rest he came a little too late to take pattern in youth after Sir Charles Grandison. Perhaps this was not altogether a misfortune.

In any case one must refrain from drawing out the catalogue of qualities. Certain foibles and weaknesses have been mentioned, but not for the sake of ushering in that formal antithesis of vices and virtues which was once the fashion. If Chatham's limitations have been mentioned it is because they are conspicuously present; and furthermore because after the utmost allowance for them has been made, it is still clear that he possessed true loftiness and nobility of soul. To moral endowments above everything else he owed his standing and his power. I do not underrate the capacity which he displayed as an organizer of victory. But during the crisis of the Seven Years' War the inspiration he imparted was of more

service to England than any skill of strategy that he displayed. How much is summed up in the words "No one ever left Pitt's closet without feeling himself a braver man!"

Grounded in robustness of character was Chatham's eloquence, by which Fox was subdued and Murray cowed. Faults of taste his speeches might contain, but they possessed such impact as belong to no other utterances that have been delivered in the House of Commons. It was the rush of the philippic rather than the calm Olympic oratory which Pericles is said to have learned from Anaxagoras. But often in elevation of sentiment, of mood, Chatham's periods reached the up-in-the-clouds strain of the Athenian statesmen as Plutarch has described it—the *μετεωρολογία και μεταρροισσχία* of genius. His judgments rested on the broadest considerations which the case presented rather than on special or temporary circumstance. He is defining his own openness of outlook when he says: "Oliver Cromwell, who astonished mankind by his intelligence, did not derive it from spies in every cabinet in Europe: he drew it from the Cabinet of his own sagacious mind."

When face to face with an idealist like Chatham we are bound to ask: Whence comes his idealism? From what streams does he quaff? On what spiritual food has his soul been nourished? In this case a partial answer is supplied by Chatham's letters to his nephew with their enthusiastic commendation of Latin literature. Fortunately one need not be a great scholar to derive inspiration from classical antiquity. Keats found in Lemprière's *Dictionary* enough Hellenism to furnish forth his "Ode on a Grecian Urn". Chatham, whose knowledge of Latin was most unscientific, managed somehow to imbibe a sense of hero-worship for the austere patriots of the Roman Republic. And to bring his idealism, his romanticism, into touch with England he added to Livy, Spenser. In the record of his life, I find few facts more significant than his sister's statement that the only thing he knew accurately was the *Faerie Queene*.

To the literary attainments just mentioned, and to his marvellous oratory, must be added Chatham's political creed. Dr. Johnson might call Whiggism the negation of all principle, but with Pitt it was not so. His conception of the state pointed to Aristotle's *πολιτεία*, wherein public affairs are conducted by all for the general benefit. For him liberty postulated the right of the whole people to participate in the decision of national issues. Hence he advocated Parliamentary reform. Hence he was fain to feel that his best title to the tenure of power was that popular approval which

he possessed more fully than any politician of his time. Yet his respect for the royal office was genuine and deep. It became a byword with his enemies that at an audience his great beaked nose could be seen between his legs.

Of course in all this there is no inconsistency. One may be willing to sacrifice his life for the liberty of the subject without thereby impairing his reverence for the crown. According to the Whiggism of Pitt the constitution meant the sovereignty of the English people, the supremacy of the national will. But the national will had sanctioned the Revolution settlement, and so long as the king did not unlawfully enlarge his prerogative he was entitled to that deference which Chatham offered in elaborate genuflection. As for the rights of the Upper Chamber, his position is defined in one terse, unequivocal sentence. "The privileges of the House of Peers, however transcendent, however appropriated to them stand, in fact, upon the broad bottom of the people."

Viewing all issues from the standpoint of the English people, Chatham maintained throughout his career an essential unity of purpose. And this is the link between his Whiggism and his imperialism. Richelieu has left it on record that his two aims were the supremacy of the king and the greatness of the kingdom. Chatham's one aim was the advancement of the English race, which in his mind embraced equally freedom at home and expansion beyond the seas. By universal acceptance England stands in history for popular government and colonies. Now Chatham touched both these great motives of the national development as no other statesman has done. More than any other one man he created the British Empire as it stands to-day, and he achieved this result by appealing to the racial instinct, by touching the national heart. Had he been less instinct with the spirit of devotion to the English people he could not have made himself its leader, and in a sense its prophet. Since Disraeli's day there has grown up an association of ideas between Jingo and Tory. But with Chatham Whiggism and imperialism were but two moods of the same emotion—the love of England as the motherland of the English folk.

It was an Archbishop of York who said that he would rather see England free than sober; and there are those to-day whose faith it is that they would rather see England small than insolent. Yet none but a very diminutive "little Englander" can view without pride the achievements of his race under Chatham's leadership in the Seven Years' War. No one, for instance, will suspect Mr. Frederic Harrison of entertaining wantonly belligerent sentiments.

If anywhere in the modern world there is an angel of peace it is he. And yet he noticeably omits to overwhelm Chatham with opprobrium for having won victories by the sword. Highly interesting is that long list of tributes which Mr. Harrison quotes in the introduction to his book on the Great Commoner—the tributes of opponents like Burke and Lord North, the tributes of Raynal and Brougham, of Macaulay and Green and Lecky. But most interesting of all are his own words as coming from one who abhors aggression. "It must not be forgotten", says Mr. Harrison, "that Chatham's wars were singularly sparing of blood, suffering and ruin, to the victors as to the conquered. They have resulted in permanent conquests and settlements unexampled in modern history."

For myself I love to think of Chatham as one who inspired a languid and corrupt people with the heroism he had drawn from a larger age. Matthew Arnold says of Gray that he was a born poet who fell on a time of prose. Likewise Chatham grew among those who took their philosophy from Bolingbroke and their poetry from Pope. But he himself was by temper an Elizabethan, looking back to the *Faerie Queene* and the Armada and Philip Sidney. Nor can one better disclose the temper of his soul than by quoting those brave lines wherein Swinburne associates modern England with his *Astrophel*. They might indeed have been in the heart of Chatham as his thought turned to Sidney from Walpole and the Pelhams and Fox.

But England enmeshed and benetted
By spiritless villanies round,
By counsels of cowardice fretted,
By trammels of treason enwound,
Is still, though the season be other
Than wept and rejoiced over thee,
Thy England, thy lover, thy mother,
Sublime as the sea.

And in this spirit he braved the House of Bourbon.

From the period of triumph it is a sad and swift descent to the days when the English people were threatened with disruption. But English history would lack one of its finest episodes had not this shattered old man been suffered to play a part in the events of that tragic time. Superficially considered Chatham's second ministry may seem to have been a wierd fiasco. Indeed when viewed from the standpoint of practical politics it is hard to imagine a failure more complete. But let no one forget that during the last twelve years of his life Chatham's body was in Malebolge. What could not be quenched was the fire of his soul, which flashed out.

in moments of respite from bodily anguish. What could not be dimmed was the eye that ranged broadly over the whole field of English interests.

We cannot stop to consider how the issues of 1765 and the next decade were complicated by the king's reassertion of prerogative. In touching upon America at the present moment one can only emphasize the nature of Chatham's attitude toward the problem that was presented by the disaffection of the colonies. Just as no other minister had seen so clearly the importance of America; just as no other minister had done so much for America; so when the storm clouds began to gather no one else in England recognized so fully the extent of the danger or its significance. I do not overlook Burke. Who can forget those noble words, "My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection?" Burke on Conciliation is unsurpassed. But it was not till 1775 that his utterances on this subject reached their classic height. In the first days of the Stamp Act Burke had still his way to make in public life. The voice which first swept England in opposition to the taxing of the colonies was Chatham's.

No one need be reminded that when the Stamp Act was passed Pitt lay at Bath in the clutches of gout. To appear on the floor of the House was beyond his power. He wrote strongly enough against the bill, witness his letter to Shelburne, but more he could not do until 1766. Then his whole force, moral and physical, was thrown into a demand for the repeal of the hateful measure. At no time was he more fully master of Parliament than when disclosing his whole mind on the relation which should subsist between England and America. What were other matters compared to this? "I hope gentlemen will come to this debate", he said, "with all the temper and impartiality that his Majesty recommends, and the importance of the subject requires—a subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this House, that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question whether you yourselves would be bond or free." At a later date Burke told the House of Commons that it should auspicate all its proceedings on America with the old watchword of the Church, *Sursum Corda*. Chatham approached this great national crisis in the same mood. Nothing else that Englishmen could think of was comparable with the issue presented by the spectacle of unrest in the colonies.

Thinking thus Chatham envisaged the crisis in the largest way.

With the unity of the race at stake, what was this peppercorn of revenue that Grenville had proposed to bring into the Treasury by his stamp tax? But it would be highly unjust to suppose that because on broad grounds of public expediency Chatham felt it unwise to break with the colonies, he was unwilling to face the constitutional points at issue.

I am no courtier of America. I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme I would advise every gentleman to sell his land if he can and embark for that country. When two countries are connected like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

Basing his case on the essential difference between legislation and taxation, Chatham maintained that it was robbery for Great Britain to tax the colonies, taking from them money which was not at the disposition of Parliament. The point is this. In supporting his argument he did not set up as the standard a type of colonial theory which had never been accepted by Great Britain—a type of colonial theory so generous as to withhold from the mother country the right of binding her colonies by legislation. Conceivably Chatham might have declared that Great Britain was all wrong in her colonial outlook. But not being a philosopher, and taking things as they were, he said: "Very well, this legislative right is ours. We have always claimed it. But does that make the colonists the bastards of England? No, they are her sons. And you have no right by taxation to lay finger on a penny of theirs." Or, to quote his own words: "The gentleman asks, When were the colonies emancipated? I desire to know when they were made slaves."

Thus for Chatham, as for Burke, the criterion is freedom. It is the spirit of the English communion which forbids coercion, even if it could be exercised.

Of course we must recognize that even under the most favorable circumstances it might have proved impossible to preserve the political unity of the English race. And there may be a doubt as to whether human progress is wholly contingent upon Anglo-Saxon sovereignty. The narrowing of the world through modern means of communication opens up international and ethnological problems which, undreamt of by Chatham, are but dimly apprehended by

ourselves. Yet a great historical tradition is among the imperishable possessions of mankind. Like Greece and Rome, England has her traditions—England, I mean, in the broadest sense of language, that is to say, each spot where those of English lineage abide. How much the tie of sentiment still means no one can say. Circumstances have not yet applied a decisive test. But that it means something is a fact of common knowledge.

Remembering this we look back, two centuries from Chatham's birth, upon a career which was inseparably connected with the English—not with England as an island but with the English as a race. The year before Chatham died Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga. Twenty years earlier there had begun under the Great Commoner that marvellous series of victories which made the English a power in every continent. And so in summing up, one would depict Chatham as the last in time of those leaders whose deeds and memory recall to Englishmen everywhere their common origin. No one ever wrought more for the race, or loved it more intensely, or served it more willingly, or viewed its political disruption with greater grief of soul.

CHARLES W. COLBY.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA FEDERALISTS, II.

THE scene of chief interest in the political history of South Carolina now shifts to the federal Congress—to the debates upon the initial policies of the government, and their influence upon the sentiment of the members and the public. The senators from South Carolina during the first sessions were Ralph Izard and Pierce Butler, who accorded in their policies for a year or two, but then drifted apart. Butler was impetuous in disposition, and likely to denounce all persons, the administration included, who opposed his views. Izard was somewhat more magisterial in temperament. Butler had acted with the conservatives in 1783–1784, and had supported the new federal Constitution in 1787–1788. But a brief experience in Congress brought the beginning of a thorough change in his attitude. On August 11, 1789, he wrote from New York to James Iredell of North Carolina, who had been a close friend:¹

I find locality and partiality reign as much in our Supreme Legislature as they could in a county court or State Legislature. . . . I came here full of hopes that the greatest liberality would be exercised; that the consideration of the *whole*, and the general good would take place of every object; but here I find men scrambling for partial advantages, State interests, and in short a train of those narrow, impolitic measures that must after a while shake the Union to its very foundation. . . . I confess I wish you [*i. e.*, the state of North Carolina] to come into the confederacy as the only chance the Southern interest has to preserve a balance of power.

William Maclay, the caustic senator from Pennsylvania, observes in his *Journal* that Butler was himself the personification of sectionalism, bent upon the selfsame narrow policy for local advantage which he censured so flamingly in others.² The development of Butler's general attitude, it may be remarked, was closely paralleled in the case of all the leading Georgia politicians of the period,³ while Izard's policies were those of almost the whole group of South Carolina conservatives.

After Butler through denouncing the tariff and tonnage bills.

¹ G. J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II. 264, 265. For other letters of Butler to Iredell, see *ibid.*, II. 44, 87, 403 and 406.

² *Journal of William Maclay*, edited by E. S. Maclay, pp. 71, 72 *et passim*.

³ Cf. U. B. Phillips, "Georgia and State Rights", in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1901, II. 26 *et passim*.

had drifted into the opposition, Izard's chief working associate in Congress was his son-in-law William Smith,⁴ a representative from South Carolina for nearly a decade in the Lower House. These two, aided vigorously after 1794 by Robert Goodloe Harper, were apparently the chief agents in holding the South Carolina conservatives firmly to the nationalistic policies and to the Federalist party alignment.

The chief issue in the First Congress promoting the doctrine of broad construction on the part of the South Carolinians was that of the assumption of state debts. South Carolina, together with Massachusetts and Connecticut, was laboring under a heavy debt⁵ incurred during the war and still undischarged. The desire to have this assumed by the central government was a federalizing influence in the state. William Smith, furthermore, bought up a quantity of state notes, and passed the word around among his Charleston friends that there was probably money to be made by all who would enter the speculation.⁶ This of course increased the enthusiasm with which "assumption" was locally favored.

There was little discussion in the state, it seems, over the first two presidential elections. George Washington was the obvious choice for the presidency, and South Carolina gave him her eight electoral votes in each case. At the first election she gave her remaining eight votes to John Rutledge, a citizen of her own whom she was delighted to honor; and in 1792 her electors cast seven votes for Adams and one for Burr. George Clinton, the regular Republican vice-presidential candidate at the time, was little known in the state; and the Republican party had not yet acquired firm organization.⁷

In 1792 affairs in France reached a crisis in their course which caused the Revolutionary government there to declare war against all the neighboring monarchs of Europe and to proclaim a worldwide crusade to establish its doctrines of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. This propaganda was promptly extended to the United States, and Citizen Genet, its chief emissary, began his work in the

⁴ Sometimes called by his full name, William Loughton Smith, but signing himself apparently always without the middle name.

⁵ Some four million dollars in the case of South Carolina.

⁶ Letter of David Campbell, a relative of Smith, to the editor, in the *Charleston City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, October 3, 1794. The period was one of much speculation throughout the country.

⁷ The narrative of the Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian party origins, written from the Federalist point of view, was published in a pamphlet preserved in the William Smith collection in the Charleston Library and attributed to William Smith. It is entitled *The Politicks and Views of a Certain Party* (1792).

city of Charleston in April, 1793. Some of the local radicals, as we have seen, had already been disposed to be hostile toward Great Britain, and to adopt populist policies in domestic affairs. The French agitation now greatly strengthened these tendencies. The enthusiasm for France and Democracy was for a time very great. Two societies, the "Republican" and the "French Patriotic", were promptly formed at Charleston, and like the many similar organizations at the time in the other cities and towns of the United States, drank multitudinous toasts with great acclaim to liberty and equal rights and to the perpetual friendship of France and America.⁸ Many of the young men particularly were captivated by the enthusiasm; and the military and naval commissions offered by Genet were eagerly accepted by adventurous characters among the citizens.⁹

But there were those who welcomed neither Genet nor the ideas which he represented; and the ardor even of many of the enthusiasts was soon chilled by President Washington's disapproval of Genet's deeds. In some cases, that of Robert Goodloe Harper for example, the reaction was so strong as to carry young men all the way from rampant democracy to fast conservatism and steady membership in the Federalist party.¹⁰ By the end of 1793 the people of South Carolina were in well-defined Francophile and Francophobe factions.¹¹ The conservatives had control of the South Carolina house of representatives. On December 2, 1793, that house resolved, unanimously, that a committee be appointed with full powers to send for persons and papers and ascertain the truth of a report that an armed force was levying in the state by persons under foreign

⁸ E. g., *S. C. State Gazette*, September 22, 1793; *Charleston City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, February 9, 1795; *American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), July 31 and September 4, 1793.

⁹ Cf. "The Mangourit Correspondence in Respect to Genet's Projected Attack upon the Floridas, 1793-1794", in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1897, pp. 569-679; and "Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States, 1791-1797", *id.* for 1903, vol. II., both edited by F. J. Turner.

¹⁰ In a debate in Congress, March 29, 1798, W. B. Giles taunted Harper with having declaimed with fervor in 1792 and 1793, in favor of the Rights of Man. Harper replied at once: "He owned he partook of that enthusiasm which at the time raged in America; because he was deceived. He then believed the French had been unjustifiedly attacked but he now found they were the first assailants. . . . He then believed that the principal actors in the [French Revolution] were virtuous patriots, but he had since discovered that they were a set of worthless scoundrels and mad-headed enthusiasts, who in endeavoring to reduce their fallacious schemes to practice, have introduced more calamities into the world than ages of government will be able to cure." *Charleston City Gazette*, April 19, 1798.

¹¹ A similar state of affairs prevailed in Savannah, as witness conflicting resolutions adopted in public meetings and reported in the *Georgia Journal and Independent Federal Register*, January 11 and 15, 1794.

authority. On December 3, Robert Anderson, chairman of this committee, directed Colonel Wade Hampton to summon William Tate, Stephen Drayton, John Hambleton, Jacob R. Brown, Robert Tate and Richard Speake, to appear before the committee at once, using compulsion, if necessary, to bring them, and to search for papers relating to their recited purpose. In accordance with orders Hampton seized Stephen Drayton and carried him 130 miles to make appearance at Columbia. Drayton then employed Alexander Moultrie as attorney to sue the members of the committee for \$6000 damages. The house resolved that members were not suable for actions taken in the house, and it summoned both Drayton and Moultrie to appear and receive reprimand for violating the rights of the house. These men refused to appear, and Moultrie in protest against the proceedings published a pamphlet giving the whole narrative from his point of view.¹²

Another *contretemps* is related in a public letter addressed by M. Carey to his brother *vrais sans culottes*, and published in the *South Carolina Gazette*, July 26, 1794. Upon the arrival of the vessel of the Republic *L'Amie de la Liberté* at Charleston after a cruise in neighboring waters, her officers and crew learned that Colonel Jacob Read had called them in open court a lawless band of pirates. Carey then accosted Read at the door of the State House and demanded his reason for such accusation. Read replied that he did not consider himself bound to answer for his language in court to unknown and insignificant characters. Carey then called Read a liar and a scoundrel and gave him his address; but next day Read filed a complaint against him and Carey was bound over to keep the peace. Read now took offense at the *Gazette* for publishing Carey's letter and challenged one of its editors, Timothy, to a duel; but the affray was prevented by an officer of the law.

In Charleston and the plantation districts the coolness toward democratic theory and the reaction against it were promoted by the news from the French West Indies. In Hayti particularly, the application of the doctrine of inherent liberty and equality to the negro population had led to an overwhelming revolt of the blacks under Toussaint L'Ouverture, and had brought great disaster to the whites. Haytian refugees flocked into Charleston, as well as into New Orleans, Norfolk, Philadelphia and New York, furnishing whether audibly or silently an argument for firm government. A view which prevailed throughout the decade was expressed by Na-

¹² *An Appeal to the People, on the Conduct of a certain Public Body in South Carolina respecting Col. Drayton and Col. Moultrie*, by Alexander Moultrie (Charleston, 1794).

thaniel Russell, writing from Charleston, June 6, 1794, to Ralph Izard at Philadelphia:¹³

We are to have a meeting of the citizens on the 11th inst when I hope some effective measure will be adopted to prevent any evil consequences from that diabolical decree of the national convention which emancipates all the slaves in the french colonies, a circumstance the most alarming that could happen to this country.

Another consideration against thoroughgoing democracy in the state was that it would lead to a redistribution of representation¹⁴ in the legislature in such a way that the up-country would acquire control of both houses and be able to enact legislation of any sort it desired, regardless of the opposition of the plantation interests which at this time and for a few years longer were still confined to the coast. The Jeffersonian movement, however, combining the principles of individual rights and state rights, welcomed from the beginning by the Charleston radicals, and vigorously organized by Charles Pinckney with Pierce Butler, Thomas Sumter and Wade Hampton as his colleagues, had strength enough even in the lowlands to keep the Federalists in fear of losing all their Congressional representation at each recurring election.¹⁵

The theme which furnished the most active partizan discussions in 1794-1795 was of course the Jay Treaty. William Smith addressed his constituents in a pamphlet in the spring of 1794 to vindicate his conduct in Congress from the slander of his opponents. He repelled the charge of advocating the cause of Great Britain or vindicating her piratical conduct, but he said that on the other hand he had been no more friendly toward France, for the French government had been no more friendly toward us. He said that he leaned toward Great Britain in the matter of commercial relations for the reason that friendly connection with British trade was vastly the more important to the United States and especially to South Carolina.¹⁶ Smith mentioned the news of the Jay Treaty in a postscript to his pamphlet, but gave it no full discussion. The popular

¹³ MS. among the Ralph Izard papers in the possession of Mrs. Hawkins Jenkins, Pinopolis, S. C.

¹⁴ On this general theme see, W. A. Schaper, "Sectionalism in South Carolina", in the *Annual Report of the Amer. Hist. Assoc.* for 1900.

¹⁵ E. g., anonymous letter to the editor, *Charleston City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, October 10, 1794, supporting William Smith for re-election, and conveying "an electioneering whisper" to the partizans of the old representation, the funded interest and the system of energy and power. The plan he proposes is for the Smith supporters to keep the opposition divided as it now is between several ambitious Republicans and win by casting a plurality of votes.

¹⁶ *An Address from William Smith to his Constituents* (Philadelphia, 1794).

debate in South Carolina upon the treaty was reviewed in part by Harper in a letter to his constituents in 1796. The *Charleston City Gazette*, July 14, 1795, had declared the treaty "degrading to the National honor, dangerous to the political existence and destructive to the agricultural, commercial and shipping interests of the people of the United States". Chief Justice Rutledge in a speech printed in the *City Gazette* of July 17 had described the treaty as "prostituting the dearest rights of freemen and laying them at the feet of royalty". Charles Pinckney in a speech at Charleston had accused Jay of corruption by the British court and of having bartered away the western territory. Harper pointed out the intemperance of these censures, and proceeded in quiet and solid argument to defend the ratification of the treaty.¹⁷

Up to this time the two parties had not reached full organization and had not decisively divided all the South Carolina voters between them. For example, Henry W. De Saussure and John Rutledge, jr., both talented popular young men and active in state politics, were not attached to either party. Rutledge, in fact, was elected to Congress by the people of Orangeburg and Beaufort districts in 1796 as an uncommitted candidate, and he did not cast his lot with the Federalists until some weeks after he had taken his seat.

In the presidential campaign of 1796 the issue was known to be extremely doubtful, and each side strained every resource for victory. In South Carolina the Federalists had been made uneasy by losses in recent Congressional and assembly elections. To improve the prospects in the state and possibly in neighboring states as well, the party in the nation at large adopted Major Thomas Pinckney as its vice-presidential candidate. Pinckney belonged to an old and prominent rice-planting family, had served with credit in the war, had been governor of the state, and had recently won distinction and praise in the whole country as the negotiator of a very popular treaty with Spain.¹⁸ He was in a word an honored member of a much honored conservative group of "revolutionary warriors and statesmen". He was not an outright party man, but his general point of view was harmonious with that of the Federalists. Alexander Hamilton, in fact, tried to secure his election over Adams's head. With Pinckney on the ticket the party managers in South Carolina, Izard, Smith and Harper, hoped to get at least a few of

¹⁷ *An Address from Robert Goodloe Harper, of South Carolina, to his Constituents, containing his Reasons for approving the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation with Great Britain* (Boston, 1796).

¹⁸ Rev. C. C. Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney* (Boston, 1895).

the electoral votes of the state for Adams;¹⁹ and Smith urged Izard to visit the legislature and work to this end.

The local supporters of Adams feared mainly the influence of Edward Rutledge, and the outcome justified their fear. Rutledge was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and had seen some military service; but after the war for many years he would accept no public appointment, except a seat in the state legislature which he held from 1782 to 1798. He rendered frequent unofficial service as peace-maker in preventing duels and in other private and public matters.²⁰ In a word he was another highly esteemed member of the Revolutionary group, and was the Nestor of the legislature. He was the intimate friend of Thomas Pinckney, but was probably a little more democratic in his point of view. For example, he had framed the act which in 1791 had abolished primogeniture in South Carolina.²¹ Rutledge preferred Jefferson to Adams in 1796, and probably had hopes, like Hamilton, of bringing in Pinckney over both of them. The legislature and the electors willingly adopted the Pinckney-Jefferson plan, and the votes of South Carolina were cast eight for Pinckney and eight for Jefferson. A number of New England Federalist electors, on the other hand, "scratched" Pinckney and reduced his total vote below that of either Adams or Jefferson. The votes cast by South Carolina would have given Jefferson the presidency had not North Carolina and Virginia each given a single unexpected vote to Adams.

In 1797 Ralph Izard, already in retirement from the Senate, was made permanently an invalid by paralysis, and William Smith, probably unable to control his district longer, withdrew from Congress and took the mission to Portugal. The Federalist management in the state passed entirely to Robert Goodloe Harper, who differed greatly from the local Federalist type both in origin and in residence though not in policy. He was a native of Virginia who after graduating at Princeton had gone to Charleston to study law and seek a career. Admitted to the bar in 1786, he removed to the up-country where lawyers were few and opportunities many. He rapidly gained reputation as a lawyer, pamphleteer and politician, changed his politics from Democratic to Federalist as we have seen, in 1794-1795, and was from 1795 to 1801 by far the most alert, vigorous and effective spokesman and leader of the Federalists in

¹⁹ On the South Carolina situation, see the letters of Smith to Izard, November 3 and 8, 1796, and of Harper to Izard, November 4, 1796, printed in this number of this journal.

²⁰ David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1809), II. 523.

²¹ J. B. O'Neill, *Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1859), II. 117.

the Lower South. De Saussure and Rutledge were later recruits, who wrought sturdily for the party in the later nineties.

General William A. Washington, John Ewing Calhoun and Dr. David Ramsay were active at times as Federalist leaders of secondary importance; and Gabriel Manigault, though always preferring plantation life to public office for himself, served steadily as a guiding party administrator at home while Smith and Harper were on the firing line in Congress. The brothers Charles Cotesworth and Thomas Pinckney were dignitaries within and ornaments to, rather than working members of, the local Federalist party. Christopher Gadsden, another prominent veteran, while sympathizing with his aristocratic associates, refused to countenance party action. He published a pamphlet in 1797 decrying the spirit of faction, objecting to the pledging of presidential electors in advance, and prophesying results from the rivalry of Jefferson and Adams similar to the violence between Caesar and Pompey of old.²²

All of the Federalist leaders were members of the old planter families in the lowlands, except Harper who himself was recognized as of good Virginia stock. The Republicans, whether leaders or rank and file, were less homogeneous and, partly in consequence, were harder to keep in solid organization. The Charleston democracy, the poor-whites of the pine-flats and the sturdy yeomanry of the Piedmont furnished the chief components of the party's mass; but these classes were without the oratorical gift in which the gentry revelled and without experience in large affairs. They elected to Congress a few men of their own class,²³ the veteran Thomas Sumter, for example, but they secured aggressive leaders only through the enlistment of some of the planters in the Republican cause.

The career of Pierce Butler in this connection we have already noted. Another example is Wade Hampton, in many respects a younger prototype of Butler, a man of impetuous temper and highly individualistic inclinations, submitting to no party restraints. He usually opposed the Federalists, partly because he was a man of the new Piedmont planters and not of the old lowland gentry, and partly because of his wish to confine all government within narrow bounds.²⁴

²² *A Few Observations on some late Public Transactions . . . By a Member of the Congress on the Stamp Act . . . and of the two first at Philadelphia, in 1774, and 1775* (Charleston, 1797).

²³ Cf. *Carolina Gazette*, September 13, 1798, letter to the editor, signed "A Resident of the Upper Districts".

²⁴ For an excellent first-hand character-sketch of Hampton see Edward Hooker's Diary, in the *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assoc.* for 1896, I. 845-850.

The chief organizer and manager of the Republican machinery was Charles Pinckney, cousin to the two Revolutionary veterans. He was a man with ability for constructive statesmanship, as was shown very early in his career by his excellent work in the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. He was, however, a plunger in business affairs,²⁵ and a spoilsman in party politics; and according to tradition in Charleston he was dishonest in the conduct of trust estates committed to his charge.²⁶ He launched into Republican leadership partly from a dislike of Adams, but more largely, it may be conjectured, from a desire for a conspicuous career. In 1795 the South Carolina Republicans were a leaderless party and Charles Pinckney was a talented politician without a following and with no principles in particular. He embraced the opportunity, was elected governor and senator, and in 1800 swung his state to Jefferson and deposed his enemy, Adams, from the presidency.

The course of foreign affairs in 1796, 1797 and 1798 gave the Federalists a decisive tactical advantage. Harper utilized the opportunity, according to his custom, and in August, 1798, addressed a pamphlet to his constituents. In it he described the offensive behavior of the French Republic toward the United States and told of the steps in progress for defending America against a French invasion, which he declared would probably be undertaken unless bold military preparations in this country should discourage it.²⁷

Sentiment in Charleston had already grown so apprehensive of French attack upon the port that measures suitable to an emergency were being taken. At a mass meeting assembled in St. Michael's Church on May 5 to express public endorsement of Adams's foreign policy, a proposal was made and welcomed for a voluntary private subscription to supplement the funds to be provided by the federal government for the protection of Charleston.²⁸ The money thus

²⁵ In 1795-1796 he had bought on credit three plantations of tide lands with the negroes on them, costing above 29,000 pounds. In 1800 he was still heavily in debt on this account and under some pressure from his creditors. Letter of C. Pinckney to the editor, *Carolina Gazette*, October 9, 1800.

²⁶ Acknowledgment for data concerning Charles Pinckney and Alexander Gillon is due to Dr. Barnett A. Elzas of Charleston. Since this article was sent to press, a valuable discussion of Charles Pinckney has been published by Theodore D. Jervy in the early chapters of his *Robert Y. Hayne and his Times*. The publication of Mr. Jervy's material necessitates no revision of the estimate of Pinckney here given.

²⁷ *A Short Account of the Principal Proceedings of Congress in the Late Session, and a Sketch of the State of Affairs between the United States and France in July 1798; in a Letter of Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina to One of his Constituents* (Philadelphia, August, 1798). For a letter of William Smith on the situation (written from Portugal) see *Sewanee Review*, XIV. 96.

²⁸ *Carolina Gazette*, May 10, 1798.

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raised, amounting to about \$100,000, was used to build a frigate at Charleston in 1798-1799, which was christened the *John Adams*.²⁹ Foreigners were maltreated in some localities;³⁰ Henry W. De Sausure denounced the arrogance of France in the Fourth of July address at St. Philip's Church, Charleston; and Justice Bay took occasion in November upon his circuit in the counties of the upper Piedmont to deliver political charges to the grand juries, praising Adams, appealing for support to the administration and denouncing the recalcitrant few in South Carolina who had persisted in their partizan antagonism.³¹

But the Federalists had already prepared the way for their own downfall. The Alien and Sedition Acts of June and July, 1798, were an abuse of power which few Carolinians except Harper could defend. A sign of the reaction was the election of Charles Pinckney to the United States Senate in December, 1798. The pendulum of foreign relations, furthermore, swung to the Republican side. Charles Pinckney printed with good effect a series of well-written remonstrances against the overbearing policy of Great Britain.³² Aside from these movements there was a lull in the local debate until the middle of the year 1800. Then, from June to November, the gazettes teemed with controversial articles, most of which were of Republican tone.

The issues presented in the general campaign were little different from those of 1796. The Federalist programme, in fact, was in several features identical. The party stood upon its record and not upon the promise of new policies. It again nominated a South Carolinian, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney in this case, to run with Adams; and Hamilton again tried to secure the election of Adams's companion candidate instead of Adams himself.

What has been said of Thomas Pinckney, a few pages above, applies with slight change of detail to his brother Charles Cotesworth. Their previous careers had been closely parallel; they were similarly devoid of records as party men but similarly distinguished for integrity, public spirit and high social standing; and they were similarly passive when they themselves were candidates. There is

²⁹ *Carolina Gazette*, May 23, 1799.

³⁰ *Columbian Museum* (Savannah, Georgia), January 23, 1798.

³¹ *Carolina Gazette*, December 27, 1798.

³² Printed first in the newspapers, then collected in a pamphlet: *Three Letters, written and originally published under the Signature of a South Carolina Planter: The first on the Case of Jonathan Robbins. . . . the second on the Recent Captures of American Vessels by British Cruisers, . . . the third on the Right of Expatriation, By Charles Pinckney, Esquire, Senator in Congress from South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1799).

contemporary evidence that Charles Cotesworth Pinckney³³ repelled as unjust to Adams a proposal from men in control of the situation that a compromise between the two parties be adopted on the same plan as that which had been acted upon in 1796, and that the vote of South Carolina be given eight for Pinckney and eight for Jefferson.

The Federalists of the state allowed the election to go largely by default. Ralph Izard and William Smith were no longer in the arena, Thomas and C. C. Pinckney refrained from any electioneering; and worst of all, Robert Goodloe Harper had notified his constituents in a letter of May 15 that he would not run for Congress again and would not return for further residence in South Carolina. The local Federalists were leaderless—a new thing in their experience—handicapped by the record of the Alien and Sedition Acts, and generally powerless. The result of the contest hinged upon the work of one man, Charles Pinckney, whose exertions in Jefferson's and Burr's behalf were as marked as the inertness of the Adams and Pinckney men.

Charles Pinckney wrote a full account of his labors in the emergency in letters to Jefferson, which have been published in this journal.³⁴ The choice of electors was to be made, as usual in the state, by the legislature elected shortly before the presidential contest. Charleston sent in 1800, as usual, a majority of Federalists to the assembly (11 to 4), but the whole membership of the two houses on joint ballot promised to be very evenly divided. Charles Pinckney, instead of going to Washington for the opening of Congress, went to Columbia to manage the election of electors. By contesting the election of numerous members, and other jockeying, and by persuading such members as could be persuaded, he succeeded in swinging the majority. The assembly chose Republican electors by votes ranging from 82 to 87 as against 63 to 69 for the Federalist candidates. Pinckney then promptly wrote Jefferson requesting him not to "make any arrangements for this state" before consulting himself. The allusion was of course to the distribution of patronage.

Harper on the day after Jefferson's inauguration wrote as a farewell to his late constituents a eulogy of the constructive work performed by the Federalist party.³⁵ It was a splendid appreciation and fit to serve, as it did, as an obituary address. The gentry were

³³ AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, IV. 112, 113, 330.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-129.

³⁵ This was reprinted together with the other pamphlets herein mentioned in a volume: *Select Works of Robert Goodloe Harper*, vol. I., all published (Baltimore, 1814).

of course shocked by the triumph of Jefferson, and could adjust themselves to it only by retirement in injured dignity to private life.³⁶

The Jeffersonian régime soon upset the whole adjustment of parties and their constitutional maxims. To the Republicans of 1801 the historical Republican doctrines were little more interesting than the last year's almanacs. The Northern wing of the Federalist party soon borrowed the arguments of strict construction in order to oppose the Louisiana Purchase, the embargo and the War of 1812; but the Carolina Federalists saw no occasion to follow this example. They accordingly did little but maintain their party machinery, in more or less isolation from parties outside the state. At the beginning of 1803 the *Charleston Courier* was established as a Federalist organ, denouncing in its editorials the French doctrines of the rights of man, etc., and praising conservatism and stability in government.³⁷ The editor soon began to complain of apathy in his party: "Sure some spell . . . hangs' over the federalists. . . . If not for their own sakes, will they not for the salvation of their country rouse from the censurable sloth and fight the democrats?"³⁸ The Federalists locally would not arouse, for they had no issue for which to fight. The Jeffersonians had adopted the Federalist policies, and the South Carolina Federalists were drawn more and more into harmony with them and out of sympathy with the filibustering New Englanders. The older generation continued to cling passively to the name of Federalist. The *Charleston Courier* toned down and ceased to be a party organ. The sons of the gentry, William Lowndes, for example, drifted inevitably into the Republican party,³⁹ which was now no longer Democratic in the old doctrinaire sense, but was the one party of action. As a sign of the times even among the older group, William Smith, having returned from Portugal, went over to the Republicans and in 1810 tried to secure a nomination to Congress.⁴⁰ By force of the embargo and the British war, which they supported, the South Carolina Federalists gradually ceased to contend that they had a reason for separate existence, and they were gradually merged among the Republicans, who as a party accepted leaders largely from the gentry of the former Federalist families.

The Federalist party in the state was practically dead by 1812. The old Federalist policies, however, championed as they were by

³⁶ Cf. Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, *Life of William Lowndes*, pp. 59 ff.

³⁷ *E. g.*, editorial of June 13, 1803.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, June 17, 1803.

³⁹ Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, *Charleston, the Place and the People*, p. 379.

⁴⁰ E. S. Thomas, *Reminiscences*, II. 51, 57.

the new generation of leaders in spite of their repudiation of the party name and alignment, continued to control the state until about 1827. But the times again were changing, and men's opinions with them. Calhoun, Cheves, Lowndes and McDuffie had supported the national banks, Federal internal improvements and the protective tariff in the years of emergency at the close of the War of 1812, and had rejoiced in the opportunity of promoting the welfare of the manufacturing and wool-growing regions, so long as it did not obviously threaten injury to the people of their own state. But when the protected Northern and Western interests fattened and grew strong and used their strength to force through Congress bills for the further heightening of duties, and when it came to appear that the plantation states were entering a severe depression partly because of their previous generosity, the dominating sentiment among the people and the leaders in South Carolina reacted sharply against the so-called American system and against the constitutional theory which supported it. The Carolina statesmen, finding that the genie which they had loosed from his jar was threatening them and their people with oppression, resorted to the mystic (yet severely logical) formula of nullification in the hope of conjuring him back under control. Andrew Jackson's coercive proclamation, together with the Congressional force bills, established a decisive majority in the state in a position of resentment and reaction. The public appreciation of the impending crisis over negro slavery in the following period operated to make this attitude permanent. The Federalist policies were now not appreciably less dead in the state than was the old Federalist party organization.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

ENGLISH INTEREST IN THE ANNEXATION OF CALIFORNIA¹

ALL histories treating of the Pacific Coast devote much attention to the question of English interests in, or designs on, California during the period from 1838 to 1846. In any brief treatment of this subject, only the more important points can be considered, and this article is therefore confined to the larger aspects of the case customarily stated by historians. When the various suspicions directed against Great Britain are summarized, they are found to deal with three points: first, a mooted transfer of California to the English bondholders of the Mexican debt, with the ultimate object of making California a colony of Great Britain; second, a project for the immediate and direct transfer of California to England by sale or gift from Mexico; and third, specific instructions to British admirals upon the Pacific Coast looking toward the accomplishment of these designs. Up to within a very recent time, it has been possible to do no more than to present negative evidence against an assertion of such designs or plans. Now, however, by the recent opening to research of the Records of the British Foreign Office to 1850, it is possible to determine whether or not English foreign secretaries knew or cared anything about California. It is the purpose therefore of this article to state the results of an examination made into the documents preserved in the Record Office in London with special reference to the question of British designs upon California,² for it is certain that if any definite plans ever existed upon the part of the English government, or were even favorably received by English ministers, they would find some place in British contemporary correspondence.

¹ The substance of this paper was presented before the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, at Berkeley, California, November 21, 1908.

² The Records thus examined covered the period from 1838 to 1846 inclusive, and were found in the series of despatches to and from the diplomatic agents, both ministers and consuls, in America, Mexico, and after 1841, in Texas. In addition, search was made in the Admiralty Records for the same period, although these are by no means complete, owing to the destruction by an official at the Admiralty Office of the greater portion of the despatches of the Admiralty of this period—a destruction covering not merely the Admiralty Letters to and from the Pacific Coast, but Admiralty Letters from stations all over the world. It was, however, possible, in the lack of the letters themselves, to use for these years the "Digest and Précis" of Admiralty Correspondence, which gives in condensed form the substance of each letter sent out or received.

Setting aside, then, all the various rumors prevalent at the time, and confining attention to the evidence secured from the Record Office, it appears that the very first interest in California, manifested by British agents, arose as a result of the arrest of English and American citizens in Monterey, in April, 1840, for an alleged conspiracy intended to overthrow the authority of Governor Alvarado.³ These foreigners, some two score in number, were transported to Tepic, under the charge of Josef Castro, and there claimed the protection of Barron, the British vice-consul. In his report to Pakenham, at Mexico, upon the incident, Barron, while taking the necessary steps to secure indemnity for the "injustice" done to British subjects, was nevertheless primarily concerned that no British ship of war was at hand to be despatched to Monterey. He was in fact compelled to appeal to the commander of the United States corvette, *San Luis*, and to entrust to him the investigation of the causes of the trouble in California. In the subsequent correspondence on the adjustment of the difficulty, much praise is given the American commander for his prompt and generous services,⁴ but the necessity for such aid irritated both Barron and Pakenham, and both men urged an increase of naval strength in the Pacific.⁵

In the beginning, then, Pakenham was interested solely in the question of British naval prestige, and there is no evidence that he had any real knowledge of the situation in California. Soon after this, however, he received several communications from Barron, stating the great value of Upper California, and at about the same time, he had a long conversation with one Forbes, who had been a resident of Monterey.⁶ Also, Pakenham learned of the journey through California of a Frenchman, Duplot du Morfras, and apparently became somewhat suspicious of French designs upon the Pacific Coast. The result was that on August 30, 1841, he addressed a despatch to Palmerston, advocating a plan which should ultimately secure California to Great Britain.⁷ He wrote:

It is much to be regretted that advantage should not be taken of the arrangement some time since concluded, by the Mexican Government with their creditors in Europe, to establish an English population in the magnificent Territory of Upper California.

He then stated the terms of an agreement concluded in 1837 between the Mexican government and the British bondholders of the

³ F. O., Mexico, 136, Barron to Pakenham, May 12, 1840.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 137, no. 78, Pakenham to Palmerston, August 22, 1840.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 136, no. 65, Pakenham to Palmerston, July 5, 1840.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 145, no. 43, Pakenham to Palmerston, June 10, 1841.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 146, no. 91, Pakenham to Palmerston.

Mexican debt, by which it had been arranged that in place of a repayment in cash to the bondholders they were to be permitted to locate lands within the boundaries of the Mexican state, to colonize them and to receive revenues from them. Some few attempts had been made and plans put forward to realize this scheme, and the Mexican government had offered to allot a large quantity of such lands in the province of Texas. Meanwhile, however, Texas had risen in revolution and had thrown off Mexican authority, so that the proposal seemed absurd to the bondholders, and it was now desired to find lands elsewhere that might be thus organized. Pakenham continued:

... as relates to Texas, the arrangement must of course, be considered a dead letter; and in the present circumstances of the Country, Chihuahua, and New Mexico are not eligible districts for colonization: but I believe there is no part of the World offering greater natural advantages for the establishment of an English colony than the Provinces of Upper California; while its commanding position on the Pacific, its fine harbours, its forests of excellent timber for ship-building as well as for every other purpose, appear to me to render it by all means desirable, in a political point of view, that California, once ceasing to belong to Mexico, should not fall into the hands of any Power but England; and the present debilitated condition of Mexico, and the gradual increase of foreign population in California render it probable that its separation from Mexico will be effected at no distant period; in fact, there is some reason to believe that daring and adventurous speculators in the United States have already turned their thoughts in that direction.

He then gave details to show that it would be easy to form a company in England, "for the establishment of an English colony in California", and to prove its certain success as a business venture.

If it were to be known that an enterprise of this kind would receive the sanction and support of Her Majesty's Government, properly qualified persons would readily be found to carry out the plan; and I am sanguine enough to believe that the result would be the establishment of a prosperous colony united in feeling and interest with England, and at the same time the attainment of an object, in my humble opinion, of the highest political importance. I need scarcely observe that any foreign Settlement in California would for some time to come be nominally dependent on the Mexican Republic; but this state of things would not last forever, nor, while it did last, would it, I imagine, be attended with serious inconvenience.

If it were to be understood that Pakenham here reflected English governmental opinion, it would be certain that England was looking forward to the breaking-up of Mexico, and that she was not averse to profiting by the disturbance. In reality, Pakenham merely stated his own opinion—an opinion evidently moulded by Barron

and Forbes. Certainly, it must have appeared to the British cabinet that its agent in Mexico was pursuing a curious policy in thus coolly planning for the ultimate seizure of a part of that state at a time when his instructions ordered him to aid Mexico in every possible way in the establishment of a strong, united government. Pakenham did not himself believe that Mexico would ever be able to unite under a republican form of government and become a strong power, but his idea of the inevitable disintegration of the Mexican state was not as yet shared by his superiors at home. His recommendation in regard to California had been addressed to Palmerston, but before his despatch could reach England a change of government had brought Aberdeen to the Foreign Office.

Aberdeen's reply promptly put an end to Pakenham's dream of a British colony in California. The latter's despatch had been referred to the Colonial Office, and the reply of Stanley from that office to Aberdeen was now transmitted to Pakenham without comment from the Foreign Office.⁸

His Lordship directs me in answer, to acquaint you for the information of the Earl of Aberdeen, that he is not anxious for the formation of new and distant Colonies, all of which involve heavy direct and still heavier indirect expenditure, besides multiplying the liabilities of misunderstanding and collisions with Foreign Powers. Still less is Lord Stanley prepared to recommend the adoption of a plan whereby the Soil shall, in the first instance, be vested in a Company of Adventurers, with more or less of the powers of Sovereignty and of Legislation, and the Settlement so formed be afterwards placed under the protection of the British Crown; which as it seems to his Lordship is the position contended for by Mr. Pakenham.

This reply is, in truth, a concise statement of the entire British attitude at the moment and represents the almost unanimous opinion of English statesmen that the day for colonial enterprise had passed. Such opinion is illuminative of British policy as regards both home and colonial politics, and to neglect it would be totally to misunderstand those conditions in English government at the moment which practically negative any suspicion of British designs for expansion in *any* new territory, wherever that territory might be located.

Pakenham perfectly understood the indifference of Great Britain to his plan and he himself at once lost interest in it. In fact, he even neglected to appoint a vice-consul at Monterey at the time, permission to do which had been previously granted to him,⁹ and it was not until after Commander Jones, of the American navy, performed

⁸ F. O., Mexico, 143, no. 13, Aberdeen to Pakenham, December 15, 1841, and *ibid.*, 151, Dom. Var., G. W. Hope to Viscount Canning, November 23, 1841.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 143, no. 6, Palmerston to Pakenham, February 26, 1841.

his spectacular feat of seizing and releasing the Port of Monterey, in the fall of 1842, that Pakenham bestirred himself to appoint a British agent there. The man appointed was James Forbes, who was to act as vice-consul, and who was to be subordinate to Barron, located at Tepic, on the Gulf of Lower California.¹⁰ These men now became the centre of British interest in California, although other sources of information were available, for it was in this same year that Sir George Simpson wrote his impressions of California and transmitted them in letters to officials of the British government.¹¹ Like Simpson, Barron and Forbes were confident that it would require but little activity on the part of the British government to secure California. Throughout 1843 their reports were numerous,¹² containing frequent and suggestive allusions to American designs upon California, and so, somewhat adroitly paving the way for a definite proposal. This, in 1844, Forbes was prepared to submit, although even here the proposal was again veiled in the form of a request for advice. This plan, originating with Forbes in September, was transmitted by Barron to Aberdeen on October 12, 1844, and it was received in London upon December 13, a date which it will be important to remember later in estimating the reply made by Aberdeen.¹³

On September 5, Forbes had reported to Barron the circumstances of an interview with a body of influential native Californians. These men asserted that the Mexican government had reached such a state of inefficiency that they were planning to revolt in order to

¹⁰ F. O., Mexico, 155, no. 120, Pakenham to Aberdeen, December 25, 1842. The appointment of Forbes was made immediately after Pakenham heard of Jones's act at Monterey. This act was reported by Pakenham in his no. 119, of the same date as the preceding.

¹¹ The most important of Simpson's letters were published in the number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for October, 1908, and need not be expanded here. It is interesting to note that about the time of Simpson's letter, Ashburton, who was negotiating the Treaty of Washington, was writing of a hint made to him by Webster that the United States would yield somewhat in the Oregon matter, if Great Britain would acquiesce in the American occupation of California. Ashburton also expressed his disbelief in the value of California, for a long time to come, to the United States or any other power. Ashburton's letter is also of interest in view of Webster's later denial that he had ever made such a proposal, F. O., America, 379, Ashburton to Aberdeen, April 25, 1842.

¹² F. O., Mexico, 156, Admiral Thomas to Barron, Valparaiso, August 12, 1842; Barron to Aberdeen, December 7, 1842, and again December 20, 1842; *ibid.*, 161, Barron to Pakenham, December 20, 1842; *ibid.*, 165, Doyle to Aberdeen, December 30, 1843; *ibid.*, 167, Barron to Admiral Thomas, January 18, 1843; Barron to Aberdeen, April 15, and September 9, 1843; Forbes to Barron, October 19, 1843; *ibid.*, 179, Barron to Aberdeen, January 20, 1844.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 179.

establish an independent government. After describing all the evils which California had suffered under the misrule of Mexico, Forbes was asked "whether this country [California] can be received under the protection of Great Britain, in a similar manner to that of the Ionian Isles, but to remain for the present under the direct Govt. of one of its natives, though under the same form as the Govt. of that Republic". The reply of Forbes was that he was "entirely unauthorized" to enter into any such affair. The deputation assured him that their only desire at present was that he act as "an organ of communication with the English Government. If he would do this, his correspondents would quietly await until he should learn the pleasure of H. Majesty's Government." Forbes reported to Barron that he had been most careful not to compromise the English government in any way, and that he certainly would not meddle without authority, but he added:

I feel myself in duty bound to use all my influence to prevent this fine country from falling into the hands of any other foreign power than that of England. I repeat that it is impossible for Mexico to hold California for a much longer period, and if the Govt. of Great Britain can with honor to itself, and without giving umbrage to Mexico, extend its protection to California, reaping those benefits which by proper management, would infallibly attend that protection, I should presume that it would be impolitic to allow any other nation to avail itself of the present critical situation of California for obtaining a footing in this country.

In this connection, Forbes stated that there were several standing offers of French protection, giving as his authority the word of native citizens of California. He mentioned Du Morfras as being the agent in one of these offers of French protection, but added that at the time the offer was made the people were not so ready to act nor so united in sentiment as they now were. And Forbes also stated that if Great Britain was at all interested in the project of a colony upon the Pacific Coast no reasonable comparison could be made between Oregon and California, thus indicating that he, like Barron, thought that possibly an arrangement might be made by which British interests in Oregon could be exchanged for a position in California. Barron made no detailed comment upon this report but in transmitting it, he stated:

I shall of course caution him most earnestly not to interfere in any manner of way in the promotion or conduct of any revolutionary proceedings, and I am sure such will be his conduct. It is not for me to express any opinion on the subject of Mr. Forbes' despatch, otherwise than to say, that this fine country has been totally neglected by Mexico, and she must ere long see some other nation its protector, or in absolute possession of it.

In the light of later events the plan proposed to Forbes and reported by him to the British government may seem of no moment when compared with the energy displayed by the United States, but the incident is of the greatest importance in this account because the report of Forbes brought out the most direct and positive instruction given by the British government in regard to California throughout the eight years from 1838 to 1846. Before stating Aberdeen's reply, however, it is necessary to explain the conditions existing with regard to other Mexican interests at the exact moment when the report of Forbes reached the British Foreign Office. These conditions are peculiar, for the month of December, 1844, records a strange lapse in the otherwise consistent attitude regarding Mexican relations—a lapse which was strictly temporary (lasting less than a month) and wholly explainable. The situation was this: in the spring of 1844, after it became evident that the United States was actually planning for the annexation of Texas, Aberdeen became greatly exercised over the possibility of such an expansion of the American state. He sought in various ways to bring about an international situation which should prohibit such an annexation. He instructed Elliot, the British *chargé d'affaires* in Texas, to use all his influence against a Texan acquiescence in the projects of the United States.¹⁴ He urged upon Mexico the necessity of immediately recognizing the independence of Texas, in order that by some sort of joint diplomatic action, France, Mexico and Great Britain might guarantee the independence of the Texan state.¹⁵ The British ambassador at Paris, Lord Cowley, was active in securing French consent to this plan and supposed that he had so secured it.¹⁶ Pakenham, who was now the British minister at Washington, was instructed to act cautiously, yet with decision in the matter. The complete details of the negotiations, looking toward this end are too minute to be given here, but in substance it may be said that one element in the failure of the plan was the stupidity and obstinacy of Mexico, which could not bring itself to yield to British advice, and to recognize the independence of Texas. Time after time, acting under instructions from Aberdeen, Bankhead, the new British minister at Mexico, pressed upon Santa Anna the necessity for a prompt and speedy

¹⁴ F. O., Texas, 20.

¹⁵ F. O., Mexico, 172, no. 16, Aberdeen to Bankhead, June 3, 1844; F. O., America, 403, no. 25, Aberdeen to Pakenham, June 3, 1844; F. O., Mexico, 180, Domestic, report drawn up of interview between Aberdeen and Murphy, Mexican minister in London, May 29, 1844.

¹⁶ F. O., Texas, 20, copy of despatch, Cowley to Aberdeen, Paris, June 15, 1844.

recognition of Texas. The answer returned to him in every instance was that an army was now being gathered in Mexico for the immediate reconquest of that province.¹⁷ Neither Bankhead nor Aberdeen believed that Santa Anna really thought the reconquest of Texas a possibility, and Aberdeen was angered at the refusal to follow his advice and play Great Britain's game. In the summer of 1844, Pakenham reported his conviction that the United States, should it determine upon the annexation of Texas, would not be deterred therefrom, even by a threat of war by England and France.¹⁸ This report was decisive in its effect on Aberdeen's policy, for he had no desire to carry opposition to annexation to the point of war with the United States. Nevertheless, he had already gone so far in overtures to France and Mexico, that a formal withdrawal of the plan was not at once possible. On December 2, Cowley reported from Paris that France was becoming lukewarm in any project looking toward the guarantee of Texan independence.¹⁹ In the same week, there came from Mexico, a final report by Bankhead stating the utter impossibility of bringing the Mexican government to recognize the independence of Texas. The effect of all these changed conditions upon Aberdeen was an immediate change of attitude. Instead of using at least a threat against the American annexation of Texas, as had clearly been his intention earlier in the year, he turned against Mexico, and for some four weeks all his instructions to Bankhead indicate a determination to have nothing further to do with the defense of Mexican interests.²⁰ This was the situation, then, when Forbes's report reached London on December 13. Up to this moment, the honor of the British government had apparently been bound to a general support of Mexican authority and unity. Now, however, Aberdeen could argue that Mexico's obstinacy offered a sufficient excuse for taking advantage of Mexico's weakness, in case that weakness should bring profit to

¹⁷ F. O., Mexico, 174, no. 44, Bankhead to Aberdeen, June 29, 1844; *ibid.*, 175, nos. 65 and 62, Bankhead to Aberdeen, August 29, 1844.

¹⁸ F. O., Texas, 20, copy of despatch, Pakenham to Aberdeen, Washington, June 27, 1844.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 20, copy of Cowley's no. 568, to Aberdeen, Paris.

²⁰ For the purpose of showing the causes of Aberdeen's action in relation to California, it is sufficiently exact to specify December as the turning-point in Aberdeen's general policy toward Mexico and Texas, but a more detailed explanation of all this correspondence will show that it was Pakenham's despatch of June 27 that caused the change. After receiving it, Aberdeen was fearful that his diplomatic manoeuvring might actually result in a war with the United States. The final refusal of France, in December, to act with England, was a distinct relief to him, while the obstinacy of Mexico gave him the chance to throw all the blame on that state.

England without specific British attack upon Mexican territory. Aberdeen's reply to Barron bears date of December 31, 1844, and deserves quotation at length, since, as before stated, it is the most definite instruction upon California emanating from the British Foreign Office throughout the entire period:²¹

The present position of California is evidently very critical; and it appears to be pretty clear that unless the Mexican Government bestir themselves, an outbreak will in no long time take place in that Province, which may end in its separation from Mexico. Her Majesty's Government can have nothing to do with any insurrectionary movement which may occur in California; nor do they desire that their agents in that part of the world should encourage such movement. They desire, on the contrary, that their agents should remain entirely passive.

While California continues subject to Mexico it would be obviously contrary to good faith on the part of England to encourage a spirit of resistance or disobedience in the inhabitants of the Province against their Mexican rulers. It is therefore entirely out of the question that Her Majesty's Government should give any countenance to the notion which seems to have been agitated of Great Britain being invited to take California under her protection.

Her Majesty's Government do not pretend to determine as to the propriety of any step which may be taken by the inhabitants of California towards establishing their independence. In such matters no foreign nation has any right to interfere, except it be bound to such interference by Treaty with the Mother country; which is not the case with Great Britain. It is, however, of importance to Great Britain, while declining to interfere herself, that California, if it should throw off the Mexican yoke, should not assume any other which might prove inimical to British interests. It will therefore be highly desirable that at the same time that it is intimated to the persons of authority in California that the relations which exist between Great Britain and Mexico prevent us from taking part in any proceedings of the Californians which may have for their object the separation of that province from Mexico, those persons should be clearly made to understand that Great Britain would view with much dissatisfaction the establishment of a protectoral power over California by any other foreign state.

I do not think it necessary to enter into any speculative discussion or opinions as to the possible future course of events with respect to California, but confine my observations and instructions to the aspect of affairs, and occurrences of the present moment.

Upon the same day Aberdeen wrote to Elliot in Texas notifying him of the failure of his plan for a diplomatic intervention,²² to Bankhead to the same effect, and upbraiding Mexico for her acts,²³ to Admiral Seymour on the Pacific Coast,²⁴ instructing him to be-

²¹ F. O., Mexico, 179.

²² F. O., Texas, 9, no. 13.

²³ F. O., Mexico, 172, no. 53.

²⁴ Admiralty Secretary, In-Letters, no. 5544, Addington to Barron, December 31, 1844.

come more active in counteracting French designs upon the Pacific Islands; and again, a second letter to Bankhead in comment upon the letter just addressed to Barron, of which he enclosed a copy. This second letter to Bankhead stated even more clearly than that addressed to Barron the attitude now assumed toward Mexico, and in regard to the situation in California. In it Aberdeen summarized the weakness of the Mexican government, and acknowledged that the separation of California from Mexico was probably inevitable.²⁵ He then proceeded:

It is however for the Mexican Government alone to take measures for providing against such a contingency; nor have we any ground for interposing to preserve California to Mexico, or to prevent that Province from asserting its Independence. We have, undoubtedly, no right to excite or encourage the Inhabitants of California to separate themselves from Mexico; but if the Mexican Government chooses to be wilfully blind we should in vain attempt to enlighten them.

But it may be a matter of serious importance to Great Britain that California, if it shake off the rule of Mexico, should not place itself under the protection of any other Power whose supremacy might prove injurious to British Interests.

Although, therefore, national integrity forbids us to give encouragement to the spirit of insurrection against Mexico which has evidently struck such deep root in the minds of the Californians, and still less to countenance the suggestion submitted by some of the principal Residents to Mr. Forbes with respect to the contingent Protection of their Province by Great Britain, it is not any part of our duty to supply the want of energy exhibited by their Natural Rulers, or to dissuade their subjects from taking any course, which, under a sense of misgovernment, they may think proper.

You will therefore abstain from touching on this subject with the Mexican Govt. and if any observations respecting it should originate with the Heads of the Govt. or the Secretary of State, you will use great caution and treat the matter with as much reserve as courtesy will permit.

But on the other hand you will keep your attention vigilantly alive to every credible report which may reach you of occurrences in California, especially with respect to the proceedings of the United States Citizens settled in that Province, whose numbers are daily encreasing, and who are likely to play a prominent part in any proceeding which may take place there, having for its object to free the Province from the yoke of Mexico.

These many letters, all bearing the same date, indicate the importance of the shift in British policy, and that this was, so far as Mexico, California and Texas are concerned, a *new policy* from this moment. That it did not prove in the end to be a permanent policy was due to a rapid submission upon the part of Mexico and a re-

²⁵ F. O., Mexico, 172, no. 53.

sumption of former friendly relations with that state. Aberdeen was opposed as a man of honor, and as guarding the honor of the British government, to authorizing any British agent to perform an act that might tend to stir up a revolutionary movement in California. He was not, however, unwilling to accept the fruits of that revolution, if they should fortunately fall into British hands, and he was even willing to refrain from notifying the Mexican government that revolution in California was imminent. Such a passive policy was wholly inadequate to the situation. This was understood perfectly by British agents and by those close to affairs in that province. While awaiting the reply from Aberdeen, neither Forbes nor Barron ventured to take any decided step to secure British interests, though both became more and more fearful of the speedy acquisition of California by the United States. In spite of the expulsion of Micheltoreno by Castro, and of the incoming of numerous American emigrants, both men still thought a British protectorate could easily be secured, if Great Britain would but express her willingness to assume such a protectorate.²⁶ But with the receipt of Aberdeen's instruction, May 26, their hopes of a British protectorate in the near future had to be abandoned. They were seriously discouraged and were now to turn all their efforts toward supporting the Mexican government rather than toward encouraging the establishment of an independent government in California as the only means of thwarting American designs and of offering a faint hope of securing British interests.²⁷

The British agents in California therefore remained inactive, even largely ceasing to report conditions there, and it was not until Fremont arrived in the winter of 1845-1846, nearly a year later, that Forbes was stirred to further action. The presence of Fremont was to him sufficient evidence that something was about to be undertaken by the United States to secure California. Upon January 28, 1846, therefore, he addressed to Oliveria a protest against Fremont's presence "with Soldiers" in California, stating that²⁸

In obedience to the commands of Her Majesty's Government, it is the duty of the Undersigned to state clearly and distinctly to this Departmental Government that while Great Britain does not pretend to inter-

²⁶ F. O., Mexico, 185, Barron to Bankhead, April 8, 1845; *ibid.*, 189, no. 3, Barron to Aberdeen, February 18, 1845, enclosing a letter he had written to Admiral Seymour, January 28, 1845; and no. 5, Barron to Aberdeen, April 19, 1845, enclosing two letters received from Forbes, dated January 27 and March 10, 1845.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 189, Forbes to Barron, October 24, 1845.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 196, Forbes to Barron, January 30, 1846 (in Bankhead's no. 42).

fare in the political affairs of California, she would view with much dissatisfaction, the establishment of a protectorate power over this country, by any other foreign nation.

In assuming this authority to protest, Forbes clearly exceeded any authority given him from London, but he seems to have had no doubt as to the wisdom of his act nor as to the approval of the home government. In the meantime events were moving rapidly upon the Pacific Coast, and before the Foreign Office's reply could reach Forbes, Sloat had seized Monterey. Of this, the Foreign Office was, of course, ignorant. A copy of this protest reached London in May, and Forbes was immediately disavowed by Aberdeen. On June 1, Aberdeen instructed Bankhead that while Her Majesty's government would no doubt view with dissatisfaction the presence of Fremont in California,²⁹

. . . they do not in any way approve of a British Vice Consul taking upon himself, without instructions from his Superiors, to address the Authorities of the Province in which he is residing a formal diplomatic note like that under consideration. I have accordingly to desire that you will signify to Mr. Forbes that Her Majesty's Government do not approve of his late proceeding, and wish that he should in future be more cautious in his conduct.

The reproof thus administered to Forbes came too late to have any effect upon his acts in California during the summer of 1846. It is, however, clearly evident that Great Britain had no specific design or plan with regard to California, when her foreign minister could promptly disavow so trifling an evidence of British activity as was Forbes's protest.

While British official agents in Upper and Lower California were thus definitely prohibited from direct interference in the movements in the province, other and less authoritative suggestions were being made to the government of Great Britain looking toward its acquisition. Late in 1844, McNamara, an Irish priest, appeared at the city of Mexico and laid before Bankhead a scheme for the colonization of California by Irish emigrants.³⁰ Bankhead expressed a mild interest in the plan and reported it to Aberdeen. No comment whatever, nor even an acknowledgment of its receipt, was made by that official. A more definite proposal, drawn up in specific detail, and following in its main outlines the plan earlier proposed by Pakenham, was submitted to Bankhead in July, 1845,

²⁹ F. O., Mexico, 194, no. 16.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 185, no. 52, Bankhead to Aberdeen, May 30, 1845. Bankhead did not report McNamara's scheme until some six months after it was first broached.

by Mackintosh, a British consul in Mexico.³¹ Business partners of Mackintosh in London were also interested in this plan, but here again, no interest was aroused at the Foreign Office, and no reply made either to Bankhead or to the promoters. Besides the proposals of Mackintosh and McNamara, there were many other suggestions from would-be statesmen, or patriotic dreamers. Nevertheless, it is true that the proposal of Pakenham and the report of Forbes are the only two communications that received careful consideration, or were officially met by the British government.

In spite, however, of the prohibition placed on British agents in California, and of the lack of interest in private schemes of colonization, it is still conceivable that secret instructions were sent to British admirals, of the purport of which British agents of merely consular rank would have no knowledge. The instructions to these admirals have always furnished matter for suspicion to American writers, and attempts have frequently been made to deduce from the movements of the British fleet instructions implying a plan by the British government to secure California. An examination of the letters to and from British admirals stationed on or near the Pacific Coast wholly negatives this suspicion and serves merely to emphasize the British government's lack of interest in California. During 1841-1842, Admiral Thomas, with headquarters at Valparaiso, wrote almost exclusively of the activities of the French in Tahiti,³² and the entire absence of any mention of California in his correspondence proves conclusively how absurd was Commander Jones's contention that one reason for the seizure of Monterey was a fear of British naval action. In 1843, this interest in the policy of France was greatly augmented. The French had seized the Friendly Islands, and Captain Paulet, of the British navy, took possession of the Sandwich Islands, where, however, native authority was very quickly restored under instructions from the British government.³³ In 1844, Admiral Seymour, now in command of the Pacific Squadron, was still primarily interested in the question of the control of the Pacific Islands. Gradually, however, as a result of somewhat urgent letters from Barron at Tepic, he began to manifest an interest in California. Still, Seymour had to obey orders, and his orders were to watch the

³¹ F. O., Mexico, 186, no. 74, Bankhead to Aberdeen, July 30, 1845. This plan is worked out in more careful detail than any other project submitted to the British government looking toward the acquisition of California.

³² Admiralty Secretary, In-Letters, no. 5512, Thomas to Admiralty Secretary, December 28, 1841. Also in same volume, Thomas to Herbert, April 23, 1842. No. 5538, Captain Nicholas to Thomas, November 10, 1843.

³³ *Ibid.*, Out-Letters, no. 1696, Secret, Addington to Barron, July 11, 1843.

French. This, in fact, was the substance of the instruction received by him from Aberdeen, bearing date of December 31, 1844—an instruction of the same date as the many instructions sent to other officials in Mexico and on the Pacific Coast.³⁴ Personally, Seymour never received any instruction directing him as to the policy he should pursue in regard to California, and for nearly a year he did not even know the contents of Aberdeen's instruction to Barron, of December 31, 1844. When finally he did receive a copy of that instruction, late in 1845, he perceived, as had Barron and Forbes, the purely passive policy imposed upon British agents. Earlier in 1845, he had been directed to proceed to the Friendly Islands,³⁵ and after some hesitation, because of his own feeling that the greater interest was in Oregon and California, he had gone to those islands by way of Honolulu.³⁶ It was not until December, 1845, that he again reached Valparaiso. Once arrived, he eagerly awaited new instructions as to Oregon and California, and at last, on March 6, 1846, addressed a letter to the Admiralty urging an increase of his forces in the Pacific.³⁷ This request was based on the belief that war with the United States was probable, and he specified the interests to be guarded in the following order: first, Oregon; second, "to observe the proceedings of the United States relative to California"; third, to protect British commerce on the Coast of South America; fourth, to attack the commerce of the United States. The greatest stress was laid on the defense of Oregon, and detailed plans were given of probable operations on that coast. Seymour's request was couched in very vigorous language, and made evident his constantly increasing anxiety with regard to a recent increase of the United States naval force in the Pacific and the uncertainty as to what that might indicate. This anxiety was further shown by a letter from Seymour to the Ad-

³⁴ Admiralty Secretary, In-Letters, no. 5544, Addington to Barton (enclosing instructions to Seymour).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 5554, Addington to Corry, March 5, 1845; Admiralty to Addington, March 6, 1845; Addington to Hamilton, March 8, 1845. Also, Out-Letters, no. 1646, Hamilton to Seymour, June 1, 1845, urging immediate departure for Tahiti to watch the French.

³⁶ Admiralty "Digest and Précis", 1845, no. 153 Y, letter from Seymour, July 3, stating that he cannot leave for Tahiti because of Oregon troubles, and letter of July 15, changing his decision and announcing his departure; Admiralty Secretary, In-Letters, no. 5561, Seymour to Corry, October 4, 1845. The "Digest and Précis" contains for each year abstracts of all Admiralty Correspondence with British Naval Officers. Because of the destruction of the greater portion of the letters themselves for this period the "Digest and Précis" furnishes almost the only available material for study.

³⁷ Admiralty Secretary, Out-Letters, no. 1696, Corry to G. Smythe, June 10, 1846, transmitting to Foreign Office Seymour's letter of March 6.

miralty, on April 7, written from San Blas, in which Seymour confessed that he had no knowledge of the whereabouts or intentions of Commodore Sloat, but suspected him of some movement toward Oregon.³⁸ No reply was received by Seymour to any of these letters or requests previous to the actual seizure of Monterey by Sloat.

Shortly after this, early in May, Seymour sent Captain Blake with the *Juno* to California. Blake's action upon the Californian coast is well known and needs no comment here. He took Forbes on board his ship and sailed to southern California, where interviews were held with Pico, but both Blake and Forbes reported that in accordance with the instructions of Aberdeen they had limited themselves, strictly, to advising Pico that he should not permit California to accept a protectorate from any foreign state.³⁹ Meanwhile, Seymour, who was becoming daily more anxious for instructions, wrote on June 13 to Bankhead, the British minister at Mexico, that he had received information that the people of California were about to hold a convention at Santa Barbara to separate from Mexico and to seek protection from some other power.⁴⁰ This movement, Seymour was informed, had originated in northern California, where partisans of the United States were strong. Here he stated:

I have little doubt that I shall find the object of that power will be obtained, either by voluntary subjection on the part of the Inhabitants, or by the United States having taken possession of the Principal Port, in consequence of the recent hostilities with Mexico. Having however detached the "*Juno*" last month with instructions to Capt. Blake, if the Inhabitants of California declared their independence of Mexico, to endeavor to induce their leaders not to place themselves under the control or subjection of any Foreign Power, I think it my duty to call at Monterey to ascertain if the Inhabitants should have come to any resolution, which will facilitate the maintenance of their independence. My expectation is entirely to the contrary; but if the connection with Mexico, which appears to have been one of the principal causes of the non-interference of Her Majesty's Government shall have been removed, it seems desirable to ascertain the state of affairs, before it is acknowledged to be irremediable.

On the same day Seymour wrote to the Admiralty in much the same terms:⁴¹

³⁸ Admiralty Secretary, In-Letters, no. 5561.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 5562, Blake to Admiralty, August 3, 1846, enclosing two letters written by him to Seymour on July 5 and July 17; F. O., Mexico, 198, Bankhead's no. 112, enclosing two letters from James Forbes to Alexander Forbes, July 9 and 14, 1846. The first letter was written just after the trip of Forbes and Blake to see Pico; the second, when Forbes heard of Sloat's action. Alexander Forbes was acting as consul at Tepic during Barron's absence.

⁴⁰ F. O., Mexico, 197, in Bankhead's no. 91.

⁴¹ Admiralty Secretary, In-Letters, no. 5561, Seymour to Corry.

I have not, after the reports made by Captain Gordon and others to me, of the state of affairs on that coast, judged it advisable to proceed there, under the views expressed by the Earl of Aberdeen to Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico, deprecating interference, while California formed a part of the Mexican Republic; I however (as I have already reported) sent the *Juno* to Monterey and San Francisco on the 11th of May, with instructions to ascertain the Security of British Subjects, and observe what was passing.

I also directed Captain Blake, in the event of California declaring or having declared its Independence of Mexico, to use any influence he could obtain to counteract any inclination on the part of those in Authority to place themselves under the Exclusive Control or Protection of any Foreign Powers, without the participation of Great Britain; and gave him copies of Lord Aberdeen's Letters, (which I had procured since my arrival on this Coast) of the 31st of December, 1844, to Mr. Bankhead and the Consul at Tepic, of the same date, for his information.

This contingency having occurred while I remain on the Coast, I deem it right, although I can form no very favorable anticipations of a satisfactory result, to proceed to Monterey, and ascertain the actual state of affairs; and it is my intention to sail from San Blas, for that purpose, this evening.

It is noteworthy that Seymour's indicated reason for the trip to Monterey is quite different from the one given after his arrival and the discovery of Commodore Sloat in possession. By the wording of Seymour's letter to the Admiralty, it is, however, positively certain that no instruction whatever had been received by him or by the Consular Office at Tepic subsequent to Aberdeen's instruction of December 31, 1844, and it is therefore clear that Seymour was greatly hampered by the lack of more positive and recent instructions from London. Following the tenor of Aberdeen's despatch of December 31, 1844, he was certainly limited to urging upon the people of California the maintenance of their independence, and there can be no doubt that he confined himself to this in the instructions which he gave to Blake. Blake's actions did not go beyond this in any respect. Seymour left on the 14th for Monterey, where, upon finding Sloat in authority, he gave out a statement to the effect that he had merely called at the Port of Monterey on his way to the Sandwich Islands. His report to Bankhead on July 22 is very brief and contains no comment or reflection on the United States.⁴² In the light of Seymour's expressions earlier in the spring of 1846 and his request for an addition to his force on the Pacific, there can be no doubt that he personally hoped to see some step taken toward the acquisition of California. In this, he was much of the same mind as other British agents. His letters reveal that he was more

⁴² F. O., Mexico, 198.

anxious for such an opportunity than he was afterwards willing to confess. Nevertheless, neither he nor any other British agent felt free to undertake active operations to secure California to Great Britain, and all that can be said is that they were hoping for some fortunate chance that might permit them to forestall American plans while yet they observed the purely passive attitude directed by Aberdeen.

The fact that the government of Great Britain had very slight interest in California at this moment is seen in the answer given to Seymour's request for an increase of his force upon the Pacific. The official reply was prepared and forwarded at a time nearly identical with United States' seizure, but in complete ignorance of that fact. The Admiralty transmitted the request to the Foreign Office, accompanying it with a statement that in case Aberdeen really wished to have a larger force in the Pacific the ships necessary for such increase would have to be taken from the home force, and in that event the naval force at home would be reduced below the power of the French.⁴³ On this ground, the Admiralty objected to the granting of Seymour's request, unless the government was willing to find the money for an increase of the home force. In this connection, the Admiralty brought out the necessity of occupying at least two points on the Pacific—"one selected with reference to the French at Tahiti; the other with reference to the position the Americans are taking up on the N. W. Coast of No. America". This letter clearly proves that so far no instructions had been sent out by the Admiralty for the occupation of Pacific ports, and if not sent by this time it is also evident that they would not be sent at all. The Foreign Office reply to the Admiralty shows that Aberdeen had no fear of war, and hence was not in sympathy with the demand for an increase of force upon the Pacific.⁴⁴ On June 19, Addington wrote:

The proposition of Sir George Seymour for an increase of force appears to Lord Aberdeen to be entirely founded upon the supposed probability of War with the United States, or with France, or with both Countries. Lord Aberdeen does not pretend to judge what amount of force may be requisite in the Pacific for the general interests of the service: but if any material change should now be adopted, it ought, in his Lordship's opinion, to be the result of views of the policy which may be at present entertained by Her Majesty's Government upon this subject. Lord Aberdeen considers that whatever reasons may exist for rendering an addition of force necessary, the chance of war ought not to be taken as one, for of that he sees no probability.

⁴³ Admiralty Secretary, Out-Letters, no. 1696, Corry to G. Smythe, June 10, 1846.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, In-Letters, no. 5568, Addington to Corry, June 19, 1846.

This brief quotation from the Foreign Office reply to the Admiralty contains the substance of the entire letter. Its tone indeed indicates surprise that the Admiralty should ask for any large increase of force in the Pacific.

But one further incident concerned with English action in California requires mention. Although, after 1842, there were repeated rumors that Mexico had directly offered to sell or transfer California to Great Britain, the evidence already presented in this article furnishes sufficient proof of the falsity of those rumors up to 1846. More direct testimony is, however, furnished when at last the offer was actually made. In the first months of 1846 little attention was paid at Mexico to what was taking place in California,⁴⁵ but when war with the United States apparently became unavoidable anxiety rapidly developed as to the fate of California, and a plan was brought forward to place that province in the hands of Great Britain. After some preliminary interviews, Paredes, the Mexican president, officially proposed to transfer California to England as security for a loan.⁴⁶ This offer was made in May, 1846, and in reporting it to Aberdeen, Bankhead stated that: "It is an indirect offer of sale, and it is the first time that any such offer has ever been hinted at from a responsible authority."⁴⁷ This testimony is important in view of the persistent rumors of earlier offers. Bankhead was careful not to express any opinion to Paredes of the probable action of the British government, and in transmitting the matter to Aberdeen indicated doubt as to its importance. He did transmit it, however, and at the same time Paredes instructed the Mexican minister in London to press the affair officially. It is perhaps conceivable that such an offer, if made two years earlier, might have received some consideration by Aberdeen, but the time had gone when any such scheme was feasible, even if Great Britain had been favorable to it. Bankhead's despatch of May 30 containing the offer reached London shortly after a governmental political change, and it fell to Palmerston, who was again at the Foreign Office, to answer it. This letter, dated August 15, shows the new ministry adopting without material change the policy of the pre-

⁴⁵ Bankhead's interest was at this time greatly aroused by proposals, or suggestions, unofficially made by Mexicans of prominence that a solution of Mexican difficulties might be found in an overthrow of the republic and the establishment of a monarchy under a European prince. Bankhead was much attracted to the idea, and Aberdeen expressed friendly interest. The suggestion was not new, for similar plans had been in the air even as early as 1837, and even specified an *Austrian* prince.

⁴⁶ F. O. Mexico, 197, no. 73, Bankhead to Aberdeen, May 30, 1846.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

ceding government toward Mexico and the Californian question.⁴⁸ Palmerston wrote:

If the Mexican President should revert to the above proposition you will state to His Excellency that Her M's. Govt. would not at present feel disposed to enter into any Treaty for the acquisition of California: and the more so, because it seems, according to recent accounts, that the Mexican Govt. may by this time have lost its authority and command over that Province, and would therefore be unable to carry into effect its share of any arrangement which might be come to regarding it.

The incident had in truth no direct bearing upon the question of British plans in regard to California, for the offer did not come until long after British policy was definitely determined. The importance of the facts just cited lies rather in the proof furnished that but one offer of sale was ever made by Mexico, and that not until May, 1846.

The preceding account drawn from the available English documents in the Record Office is intended as a presentation of the most essential part of the evidence bearing upon the interests and intentions of Great Britain toward California. In estimating the extent of that interest and intention, it must always be borne in mind that at this time Great Britain had exactly as much right to acquire the province of California as had the United States or any other power. The possessor of the territory was Mexico, and Mexico alone had legal right to the country. When Americans made up their minds to occupy this province, and took steps to secure it, they had no more claim to it than had British citizens. This fact is sometimes lost sight of, or is clouded by American writers. With them, the existence of any plan in the mind of a British agent upon the coast was in itself an offense against so-called rightful American claims. The idea is, of course, absurd. The plan of Forbes to acquire California is in itself no more blameworthy than the plan of the American consul, Larkin. In the same way, a plan put forward by the British government would have been no more blameworthy than that originated by the American government. In fact, however, it has been shown that no such plan by the British government ever existed. Restating again, briefly, the general results of this investigation, it is shown that there was a genuine and lively interest among British agents in securing California for England, if possible, and secondly, that these agents acted wholly without instructions to this effect from their government, and were ultimately either checked or reproved for such slight openings as were made by them.

⁴⁸ F. O., Mexico, 194, no. 4.

The lack of British governmental interest in California was due to a variety of conditions, among which may be specified as of first importance general indifference to colonial expansion under any circumstances; lack of positive information about California; the relations with Mexico; and lastly and most important of all, the peculiarities of the Texas question, for here, in reality, lay the key to the whole situation. The only departure from the attitude of British governmental indifference toward California is noted in Aberdeen's instruction of December 31, 1844. This instruction was purely spasmodic and temporary, was the result of a momentary irritation with Mexico, and even it was of such a nature as to discourage British agents. The theory of an active British governmental design upon California is then wholly without foundation.

EPHRAIM D. ADAMS.

DOCUMENTS

I. *Texts of Columbus's Privileges*

It is well known that, for precautionary reasons, Columbus caused several codexes, or chartularies, to be compiled, each containing transcripts of certain grants of privilege, conferred upon him by Ferdinand and Isabella.

An examination of one of these codexes not hitherto described in print,¹ and a partial collation of the text of the several volumes, has led to some new conclusions regarding the history of this book. Two of the manuscripts are well known—(a) the Genoese codex, printed by Spotorno in 1823, in the *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Colombiana*, part II., volume II., in 1894, and in other editions, and published in facsimile in 1893, and (b) the Paris codex, published in facsimile in 1893 under the editorship of B. F. Stevens, with a comprehensive introduction by H. Harrisse. Besides these, there are (c) the Providence codex, containing selections and extracts from the complete codex, and briefly described in Thacher's *Columbus*, II. 564-565, note, and in the introduction to the edition of the Genoese codex in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pp. xvii-xix, and printed in the appendix to the latter volume; (d) the Washington or Florentine codex, purchased in Florence in 1818 by Dr. Edward Everett, for many years virtually lost, but acquired from Dr. William Everett by the Library of Congress in 1901, of which some account is given by Mr. Wilberforce Eames in a note in Thacher's *Columbus*, II. 562-564, and by Mr. Herbert Putnam in *The Critic*, XLII. (1903), 244-251; and (e) a codex of earlier date than any of the others, which was exhibited at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago among the manuscripts of the Duke of Veragua, and of which the Library of Congress possesses photographic copies. The following note relates chiefly to the Washington and Veragua codexes.

From the data in the Genoese and Paris codexes, it has naturally been concluded that Columbus's Book of Privileges was first compiled in the early part of the year 1502, shortly before his fourth voyage. These two codexes are in several parts—documents one

¹ It is, however, mentioned in Mr. Herbert Putnam's article, "A Columbus Codex", in *The Critic*, XLII. (1903), 246, 248.

to thirty-five, authenticated by the *alcaldes* and notaries on January 5, 1502, and described by the editors as the codex proper; the thirty-sixth document, the Bull of Demarcation of May 4, 1493, which follows the first notarial authentication; documents thirty-seven to forty, inclusive, separately authenticated by the notaries on March 22, 1502; and, finally, a few miscellaneous documents of no legal value and unauthenticated.

There can be no doubt that the Washington codex was compiled at about the same time as the Genoese and Paris codexes. On the dorse of the second vellum folio of the Washington codex is the statement:

Este es traslado de dos escripturas escriptas en pargamino de cuero. la una abtorizada, de ciertas çedulas é cartas é títulos del Almirante de las Yndias ante ciertos *alcaldes* é firmadas é sygnadas de Martin Rodriguez, escriváno publico de Sevilla.

This is a transcript of two writings written on parchment, one of them authorized, of certain *cedulas* and letters and titles of the Admiral of the Indies before certain *alcaldes*, and signed and rubricated by Martin Rodriguez, public scrivener of Seville.

That the two parchment writings mentioned are the Genoese and Paris codexes, appears from a collation of texts. A comparison has been made of the various texts of the Bull of Demarcation of May 4, 1493, in the three codexes with the following: (a) the text as given, in part, in facsimile in *Autógrafos de Cristóbal Colón* (opp. p. 20), published by the Duchess of Berwick and Alba in 1892, (b) as reproduced from the Vatican register in Heywood's *Documenta Selecta é Tabulario Vaticano* (1893), and (c) as printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion de Viages*, II. 28 ff., and elsewhere. The bull published by the Duchess of Berwick and Alba, who reproduced only a little more than one-third of the document, belonged to Columbus.² Like the texts in the Genoese and Paris codexes it is prefixed by a certification from the Bishop of Barcelona, and in several of its readings it agrees with the texts of the three codexes, while differing from the Vatican register, Navarrete, Solorzano (*De Jure Indiarum*, I. 610), and other texts. It is evident that it was from the Alba bull or from a closely similar text that the texts in the Genoese, Paris and Washington codexes were, either immediately or mediately, derived. It appears further that the text in the Genoese codex most closely resembles this original, that the deviations from this original in the Genoese manuscript are

² For an account of this document see the *Raccolta Colombiana*, part I., vol. II., p. clxxiv.

reproduced in the Paris codex, and that both these and some further deviations, original to the Paris manuscript, are followed in the Washington codex. The lineage of that portion of the codexes containing the bull seems clear. From the Genoese codex was derived the Paris codex, and from the Paris codex, the Washington codex. A few illustrations of the variant readings may be selected from a large number of instances, all pointing to the same conclusion. References are to the pages and lines of the text of the Genoese codex as printed in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, part II., vol. II.

P. 77, line 36, *Saracenorum* in the Register, Navarrete, and elsewhere and in the Alba bull, becomes *Sarraceno &* in the Genoese, Paris and Washington codexes; p. 77, l. 37, *immerito* in the Register, Navarrete, and elsewhere, becomes *merito* in the Alba bull and in the three codexes; p. 78, l. 9, *utique dignum et* in the Register, Navarrete, and elsewhere, becomes *itaque dignum et* in the Alba bull, and *itaque et*, with *dignum* omitted, in the three codexes; p. 78, l. 18, *bonis moribus* in the Register, Navarrete, the Alba bull, and the Genoese codex, becomes *moris bonibus* in the Paris and Washington codexes; p. 79, l. 22, *districtius* in the Register, Navarrete, Genoese and Paris codexes becomes *discriptius* in the Washington codex; p. 79, l. 18, the eight words following *doctos* which are included in the Register, Navarrete, and the Genoese codex, are omitted in the Paris and Washington codexes.

In other documents in the Washington codex, however, are readings that resemble the Genoese rather than the Paris codex. Thus the Washington and Genoese codexes include the words *que á ello fueron presentes* (*Raccolta*, p. 9, ll. 8-9), which are omitted in the Paris codex. *Señor* in the Washington and Genoese codexes (*Raccolta*, p. 13, l. 12) is *Salvador* in the Paris codex. In general, the readings of the Genoese and Paris codexes, so far as examined, are far more frequently alike than the readings of either of these and of the Washington codex, which seems to have been more hastily copied.

It is thus shown by a collation of texts that a portion at least of the Washington codex was copied from the Paris codex. Other portions may have been copied from the Genoese codex. The title-page states that the book is a transcript of two parchment codexes.

The date of the Washington codex is thus approximately determined. One of the other two parchment codexes was sent to Genoa before April 2 of that year; the other parchment codex was left at Cadiz to be carried to Genoa before Columbus sailed

on his fourth voyage in May, 1502. Therefore the Washington codex, if transcribed in Spain, which seems certain,³ dates from the early part of the year 1502.

As regards its contents, the Washington codex includes less than those of Genoa and Paris. Documents one to thirty-five, known as the "codex proper", are in the same order in the Washington codex as in the other two chartularies. The Bull of Demarcation, which is the thirty-sixth document in the other volumes, is the first document written on the vellum folios of the Washington codex. The documents after the thirty-sixth are lacking.

The Washington codex, however, includes one document not found in any of the other codexes and of great interest.

It is written on paper and bound in the codex at the beginning. The handwriting indicates that it was copied at the same time as the rest of the book. It is the bull of September 26, 1493, by which the pope extended "the field of maritime discoveries in favor of Spain as far as the regions in the East, including India". Of this bull HARRISSE says: "It is known at present only by a Spanish translation, made August 30, 1554."⁴ Searches in the Spanish archives and in the Vatican and Lateran failed to bring it to light. In a work published in Latin in 1629 by the Spanish author SOLÓRZANO, the Latin text of the bull was indeed printed,⁵ but HARRISSE and other historians have supposed that this text was only a Latin translation of the Spanish copy of 1554.⁶ A comparison of the bull in the Washington codex with Solórzano's version shows, however, that that author printed the original Latin text, since the bull as he prints it corresponds precisely with that in the Washington codex. One further important peculiarity of the Washington volume is that the notarial rubrications and the authentic signatures of the *alcaldes* and notaries are lacking. The probable reason for this will be given later on.

The Veragua codex has not received more than the briefest mention in print. It is not referred to in the volumes containing the Paris and Genoese codexes, or even in the chapter on the Book

³ Evidence of this is the use of the Spanish language in some passages not in the Genoese and Paris codexes, *e. g.*, the statement already quoted from the dorse of the second folio, and other passages cited in Mr. EAMES's note in THACHER's *Columbus*, referred to above. The presence of the bull of September 26, 1493, indicates a Spanish origin. Except for the lack of notarial rubrications the handwriting and general appearance of this codex is very similar to the other two.

⁴ HARRISSE, *Diplomatic History of America*, p. 64.

⁵ *De Jure Indiarum*, I. 613-614.

⁶ HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

of Privileges in the second volume of J. B. Thacher's *Columbus*. The latter omission is surprising, since in the same work, Mr. Thacher reproduces in facsimile or in type a large number of documents from the Veragua archives, exhibited at the Columbian Exposition.⁷

A superficial examination of the Veragua codex discloses many important differences from other texts, which throw new light on the history of the codex, and help to explain the order in which the documents are entered in the book.

The codex opens thus:

[Folio 1r.] Este es traslado de una çedula del Rey e dela Reyna nuestros Señores escripta en papel é firmada de sus Reales nonbres e así mesmo de una èscriptura escripta en papel é firmada é signada de escrivano é [notario publico] segund que por ella paresçia. Su thenor delo qual uno en pos de otro este que sesigue.

This is a transcript of a cedula of the King and Queen, our Lords, written on paper and signed with their royal names; and likewise of a document written on paper and signed and rubricated by the scrivener and notary public, as appears thereby. The tenor of which, one after the other, is as follows.

Immediately following is the document which also stands first in the Genoese and Paris codexes, and second in the Washington codex, a letter from the Spanish sovereigns to Ferdinand de Soria, Lieutenant of the High Admiral of Castile, dated April 23, 1497, and an authenticated copy of the privileges and charters relative to the office of High Admiral of Castile. The text of this document, without the introduction which we have quoted above, is also printed in Navarrete, *Viages*, I. 355 ff. In the Veragua codex, the document has this ending:

[Folio 7v.] Este traslado fue sacado é conçertado con la dicha çedula de sus altesas é escriptura oreginal donde fue sacado ante los escrivanos publicos de Sevilla que lo firmaron é signaron de sus nonbres en testimonio en la çibdad de Sevilla.

Este traslado fue corregido é conçertado con la dicha çedula original de sus altesas é escriptura original onde fue sacado ante los escrivanos publicos de Sevilla que lo firmaron é signaron de sus nonbres en testimonio en la dicha çibdad de Sevilla quinse dias del mes de março año del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Jhesu Christo de mill é quatroçientos é noventa é ochos años. . . .⁸

Yo Diego dela Bastida escrivano de Sevilla só testigo deste traslado. []⁹

⁷ See volume III., ch. cxxi., and appendix. Many documents from the Veragua archives are also reproduced in the *Raccolta*, in facsimile or otherwise.

⁸ Here follow certain corrections.

⁹ The notarial sign is made here.

Yo Johan Fernandes escrivano de Sevilla so testigo deste traslado.
[]⁹

E yo martin Rodrigues escrivano publico de Sevilla fis escribir este traslado é fis aqui mi sig[]⁹no é so testigo.

This transcript was taken from and collated with the said cedula of their highnesses, and the original document from which it was derived, before the public scribes of Seville, who signed it and rubricated it with their names, in testimony, in the city of Seville.

This transcript was corrected and collated with the said original cedula of their highnesses and the original document from which it was derived, before the public scribes of Seville, who signed and rubricated it with their names, in testimony, in the said city of Seville on the fifteenth day of the month of March in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight. . . .

I, Diego de la Bastida, scrivener of Seville, am witness of this transcript.

I, Johan Fernandes, scrivener of Seville, am witness of this transcript.

And I, Martin Rodrigues, public scrivener of Seville, have caused this transcript to be written and have made here my sign and am witness.

This ending does not appear in the other codexes, but, except the first four lines, it is given in Navarrete, *op. cit.*, I. 370.

The next folio, 8, begins as follows:

Enla muy noble é muy leal çibdad de Sevilla Sabado¹⁰ quinse dias del mes de março año del Nasçimiento de nuestro Salvador Jhesu Christo de mill é quatroçientos é noventa é ochos años estando dentro enlas casas donde posa el muy mag[nifico] Señor Don Christoval Colon Almirante mayor dela mar oceano viso rey é governador delas yslas delas Yndias é tierra firme por el Rey é la Reyna nuestros señores, é su capitan general dela mar que son en esta çibdad enla collaçion de Sancto Bartolome estando ay presente el dicho Señor Almirante y en presençia de mi Martín R[odrigues] escrivano publico dela dicha çibdad é delos escrivanos de Sevilla que a ello fueron presentes. É luego el dicho Señor Almirante presento ante los dichos escrivanos dos cartas de privilegios del Rey é dela Reyna nuestros Señores escriptas en pargamino de cuero é selladas con su sello de plomo pendiente en filos de seda a colores diversas é firmadas de sus Reales nonbres é de los del su consejo é de sus contadores mayores é de otros oficiales. É asi mismo otras cartas patentes firmadas de sus Reales nonbres é selladas con su cera colorada alas espaldas delas dichas cartas y otras çedulas de sus Altesas firmadas de sus Reales nonbres los quales dichos privilegios é cartas é çedulas seran de yuso escriptas é nonbradas. É por que dixo que si ellas oviese de llevar por la mar a las Yndias o a otras partes que se reçelava que por fuego o por agua o por otros casos fortuytos o

⁹ The notarial sign is made here.

¹⁰ Thus in the MS., but March 15, 1498, fell on Thursday.

llevandolas gelas fortaria[n] de que su derecho pereçeria y sus altesas serian deservidos por que los dichos previlegios é cartas é çedulas rellevan al serviçio de sus altesas. Porende dixo que pedia e pidio a nos loç dichos escrivanos que sacasemos un traslado o dos o mas delos dichos previlegios é cartas é çedulas corrigiendolos conlos dichos originales bien é fielmente en maña que fiesee fee, para guarda de su derecho del sobre dicho señor Almirante, loç quales dichos pprevilegios é cartas é çedulas uno en pos de otro son estos que se siguen.

In the most noble and most loyal city of Seville, Saturday, the fifteenth day of the month of March, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety eight, being within the house where dwells the very magnificent Lord Don Christopher Columbus, high admiral of the ocean, viceroy and governor of the islands and mainland of the Indies, for the King and Queen our lords, and their captain general of the sea, which [house] is in this city, in the parish of Saint Bartholomew, the said Lord Admiral being there present, and in the presence of me, Martin Rodrigues, public scrivener of the said city, and of the scriveners of Seville who were present for that purpose, thereupon the said lord admiral laid before the said scriveners two letters of privileges of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, written on parchment and sealed with their seal of lead, hanging by threads of silk of different colors and signed with their royal names and with those of their council and of their accountants, mayors, and other officials. And likewise other letters patent, signed with their royal names and sealed with their colored wax on the back of the said letters and other cédulas of their highnesses, signed with their royal names, which said privileges and letters and cédulas will be written and named below. And because he said that if he should have to carry them over sea to the Indies, or to other parts, that it was feared that by fire or by water or by other mischances, or by carrying them, that the documents might be taken from him, whereby his right might be destroyed and their highnesses might be disserved, because the said privileges and letters and cédulas concern the service of their highnesses. Wherefore he said that he asked us, the said scriveners, to make a transcript, or two, or more, of the said privileges and letters and cédulas, correcting them with the said originals well and faithfully, so that the transcript should obtain credence, for the protection of the right of the aforesaid Lord Admiral, which said privileges and letters and cédulas, one after the other, are as follows.

The above passage is to be compared with that with which the three principal codexes open (*Raccolta*, p. 9; Stevens, p. 10) and which, in the translation of Stevens's edition, is as follows:

In the most noble and most loyal city of Seville, Wednesday the fifth day of the month of January, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and two. On this said day, at the hour when Vespers are said, or a little before or after, being in the dwelling house of the Lord Admiral of the Indies which is in this said city in the parish of St. Mary, before Stephen de la Roca and Peter Ruys Montero, ordinary Alcaldes in this said city of Seville

for the King and Queen our Lords, and in the presence of me Martin Rodrigues, public scrivener of this said city of Seville, and of the undermentioned witnesses, did appear there present the very magnificent Lord Don Christopher Columbus, High Admiral of the Ocean, Viceroy and Governor of the Islands and Main Land, and laid before the said Alcaldes certain patents and privileges and warrants of the said King and Queen our Lords, written on paper and parchment, and signed with their royal names, and sealed with their seals of lead hanging by threads of coloured silk, and with coloured wax on the back, and countersigned by certain officers of their royal household, as appeared in all and each of them. The tenor whereof, one after the other, is as follows.

The introductory certification of the circumstances under which the Veragua codex was compiled, is followed by documents 2 to 25, entered in the same order as in the three later codexes. With the twenty-fifth document the codex was, temporarily, completed. The passage given below, which is not in the other codexes, comes immediately after the twenty-fifth document and is the conclusion of the certification, the beginning of which preceded document 2.

[Folio 33v.] Este traslado fue corregido é conçertado con las dichas dos cartas de privilegios é con las dichas cartas patentes é con todas las otras çedulas de suso enorporadas, originales onde fue sacado ante los escrivanos publicos de Sevilla que lo firmaron é signaron de sus nonbres en testimonio que fue fecho é sacado en la dicha çibdad de Sevilla en el dicho dia é mes é año suso dicho . . . ¹¹

Yo Diego dela Bastida escrivano de Sevilla so testigo deste traslado. []¹²

Yo Johan Fernandes escrivano de Sevilla so testigo deste traslado. []¹²

É yo Martin Rodrigues escrivano publico de Sevilla fis escrivir este traslado é fis aqui mi sig[]¹²no é so testigo.

This transcript was corrected and collated with the said two letters of privileges, and with the said letters patent, and with all the other cedulas incorporated above, (the originals from which it was derived), before the public scriveners of Seville, who signed and rubricated it with their names in testimony that it was made and copied in the said city of Seville, on the day and month and year aforesaid . . .

I, Diego de la Bastida, scrivener of Seville, am witness of this transcript.

I, Johan Fernandes, scrivener of Seville, am witness of this transcript.

And I, Martin Rodrigues, public scrivener of Seville, have caused this transcript to be written, and have made here my sign, and am witness.

This first stage in the compilation of the codex must have been finished before Columbus sailed on his third voyage, May 30, 1498;

¹¹ Some corrections follow.

¹² The notarial sign is made here.

for, as will be shown, Columbus must have taken the manuscript with him.

The compilation of the codex shortly before the third voyage, instead of before the fourth voyage, as has heretofore been supposed, explains the selection of the documents contained therein. All the documents date from the year 1497. Documents 1 to 5, inclusive, confirm or confer the admiral's most important rights, document 6 consists of the instructions given to Columbus for his third voyage, and nearly all of the subsequent documents are orders, authorizations, licenses, etc., directly relating to the third voyage. Some are of a comparatively trivial nature, or are important only in relation to the coming voyage, and would scarcely have been included in a volume compiled *de novo* in 1502.¹³

The second stage in the growth of the codex was reached in Hispaniola, as is shown by the following passage, not in the other codexes, which immediately succeeds that last quoted, but begins a new folio, and is in a different hand.

[Folio 34r.] En la villa de Santo Domingo que es en las Yndias en la ysla Española martes quatro dias del mes de Disiembre año del nascimiento de nuestro Señor Jhesu Christo de mill é quatroçientos é noventa é ocho años estando dentro en las casas donde posa el muy manifico Señor Don Christoval Colon almirante mayor del mar oceano viso rey é governador delas yslas delas Yndias é tierra firme por el Rey é la Reyna nuestros Señores é su capitan general dela mar que son en esta dicha villa de Santo Domingo estando ay presente el dicho señor almirante é en presençia de mi Diego de Alvarado escrivano publico del Rey é dela Reyna nuestros señores. É luego el dicho señor almirante presento ante mi el dicho escrivano algunas cartas patentes del Rey é dela Reyna nuestros señores escritas en papel é selladas con su sello de cera colorada en las espaldas é otras çedulas de sus altesas firmadas de sus reales nonbres las quales dichas cartas é çedulas seran de yuso escriptas é nonbradas é por que dixo que sy ellas oviese de llevar o cubrar por la mar a los reynos de Castilla o a otras partes que se reçelava que por fuego o por agua o por otros casos fortituytos o llevandolas gelas fortarian de que su derecho pereçeria y sus altesas serian deservidos por que las dichas cartas é çedulas relevanan al servicio de sus altesas, porende dixo que pedia é pedio a mi el dicho escrivano que sacase un traslado o dos o mas delas dichas cartas é çedulas corregie[ndolas] con las dichas oreginales byen é fielmente [en maña] que fiesese fe para guarda de su derecho del [suso] dicho señor Almirante las quales dichas cartas [é] çedulas uno en pos de otra son estas que se siguen.

In the town of Santo Domingo, which is in the Indies, in the island

¹³ For example, document 20, an order to the royal accountants to reimburse Columbus for sums lent by him to certain persons in the Indies; and document 25, a joint letter to the Bishop of Badajoz and Columbus regarding the purchase of provisions for the third voyage.

of Hispaniola, on Tuesday, the fourth day of the month of December in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight, being within the house where dwells the very magnificent Lord Don Christopher Columbus, high admiral of the ocean, viceroy and governor of the islands and mainland of the Indies, for the King and Queen our Lords, and their captain general of the sea, which [house] is in this said town of Santo Domingo, being there present the said Lord Admiral, and in the presence of me, Diego de Alvarado, public scrivener of the King and Queen our lords, thereupon the said Lord Admiral laid before me, the said scrivener, some letters patent of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, written on paper and sealed on the back with their seal of colored wax, and other cédulas of their highnesses, signed with their royal names, which said letters and cédulas will be written and named below, and because he said that if he should have to carry or transmit [?] them, by sea to the kingdoms of Castile, or to other parts, that it was feared that by fire or by water or by other mischances, or by carrying them, they might be lost, whereby his right might be destroyed and their highnesses might be disserved, because the said letters and cédulas concern the service of their highnesses, wherefore he said that he asked me the said scrivener to make a transcript of two or more of the said letters and cédulas, correcting them with the said originals, well and faithfully, so that it should obtain credence for the protection of the right of the above-mentioned Lord admiral, which said letters and cédulas, one after the other, are as follows.

Immediately after this introduction come documents 26-29, which are also entered in the same order in the later codexes. Next follows the conclusion of the certification in these words:

[Folio 36v.] Fecho é sacado fue este traslado delas dichas cartas é çedulas originales de sus Altezas enla dicha villa de Santo Domingo martis quatro dias del mes de desienbre año del nascimiento de nuestro señor Jhesu Christo de mill é quatro çientos é noventa é ocho años. Testigos que fueron presentes a ver ler é conçertar las dichas cartas é çedulas oreginales con los dichos treslados, Pedro de Terreros é Diego de Salamanca é Lope Minos, las quales van çiertas é conçertadas.

É yo el dicho Diego de Alvarado escrivano é notario publico suso dicho presente fuy a todo lo que dicho es en uno con los dichos testigos é por mandado del dicho Señor Almirante estos treslados saque delas estas cartas é çedulas oreginales, las quales van çiertas é conçertadas é porende fis aqui este mio syg[]¹⁴no atal, en testimonio de verdad.

Diego de Alvarado notario publico.

This transcript of the said original letters and cédulas of their Highnesses, was made and extracted in the said town of Santo Domingo on Tuesday, the fourth day of the month of December, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety eight. Witnesses who were present to see, read and collate the said original letters and cédulas with the said transcripts:

Pedro de Terreros and Diego de Salamanca and Lope Minos. Which are genuine and in agreement.

¹⁴ The notarial sign is made here.

And I, the said Diego de Alvarado, scrivener and notary public, aforesaid, was present at all that which is aforesaid together with the said witnesses, and by command of the said Lord Admiral I copied these transcripts of these original letters and cédulas, which are genuine and in agreement; and therefore I have made here this sign in testimony of the truth.

Diego de Alvarado, notary public.

What circumstances led Columbus to enter these documents, 26-29, into the codex at this time? When he arrived at Santo Domingo at the end of August, 1498, a large party of the colonists under the leadership of Francisco Roldán were in rebellion against his brother the Adelantado. Negotiations with the rebels finally resulted in the signing of an agreement on November 17 and 21, after which the rebels left the neighborhood of Santo Domingo. Thereupon Columbus resolved to go on a tour of the island to settle affairs, which were in a very disturbed condition. For this purpose he left Santo Domingo towards the end of January, 1499, leaving the Adelantado to look after that place.¹⁵ It seems very likely that the preparation of an attested copy of his original charters was made in anticipation of this tour. Perhaps one set of documents was to be carried with him, while the other was to be left with his brother.

The documents 26-29, all date from 1493 or 1494, and bear directly upon the rights of the admiral in the Indies. The first is a mandamus addressed to all men in the Indies to obey Columbus as viceroy and governor of the same. With document 29, the Veragua codex ends, and the next additions to the codex were doubtless made in 1502.

It has long been known that four copies of Columbus's Book of Privileges were in existence in the year 1502; for this is stated in a unique passage at the very end of the Genoese codex. That passage is as follows:

Los originales destos privilegios, y cartas y cédulas y otras muchas cartas de Sus Altezas é otras escripturas tocantes al señor almirante, están en el monesterio de Sancta María delas Cuevas de Sevilla.

Otrosi esta en el dicho monesterio un libro traslado delos previllegios é cartas suso dichos, semejante que este.

Otro traslado levo este año de .MD.II. y tiene Alonso Sanches de Carvajal á las Yndias escripto en papel é abtorizado.

Otro treslado en pergamino tal como este.

The originals of these privileges, letters and grants, and many other papers of their Highnesses, and other writings respecting the said Admiral, are preserved in the monastery of Sancta Maria de las Cuevas in Seville.

¹⁵ F. Colombo, *Historía*, cap. 81; and Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, I., cap. 158.

In the said monastery there is also a book of transcripts of the fore-said privileges and letters, similar to this. Another copy was carried to the Indies in this year (1502) by Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, written on paper and authorized. Another copy on parchment, the same as this.

The "other copy on parchment the same as this", has long been identified with the Paris codex.

It is no doubt true, as has been conjectured by HARRISSE, that the Everett, now Washington codex, is to be identified with the copy deposited in the monastery of Las Cuevas. We have already seen that this copy differs from the other three in its lack of authentic signatures and notarial rubrics. But if this codex were to be kept *together with the originals* in the monastery of Las Cuevas, there was no need of these evidences of its authenticity.¹⁶

The copy taken by Carvajal to the Indies in 1502, is doubtless the same as the Veragua codex, likewise on paper¹⁷ and authorized. Carvajal sailed in February, 1502, before the other codexes were completed; but the Veragua codex was completed in 1498. The editors of the latest editions of both the Genoese and Paris codexes, published respectively in 1893 and 1894, state that only two of the four codexes are known to exist—that the other two are lost.¹⁸ It is strange that within so few years both these others should have come to light.

Still more surprising is it to find in the Library of Congress, in the collection of photographs already referred to as including the Veragua codex, photographs of the front and dorse of the original manuscript of the bull *Inter Caetera*, of May 3, 1493, issued from the papal chancery. Presumably, the document itself is in the archives of the Duke of Veragua, at Madrid. It has been supposed hitherto that none of the four bulls of 1493 connected with the discoveries of Columbus (*Eximiae Devotionis*, May 3, *Inter Caetera*, May 3 and 4, and *Dudum Siquidem*, September 26), was extant in its original, promulgated form. It has even been doubted whether the bull *Inter Caetera*, of May 3, was promulgated at all. Its existence was unsuspected until Muñoz discovered a copy of the text at Simancas, in 1797. Subsequently it was found entered on the secret register of Alexander VI., in the Vatican archives. But, in a paper

¹⁶ This and some other arguments for the identity of this codex with that preserved at Las Cuevas are given in Mr. Putnam's article and in Stevens's work.

¹⁷ The photograph clearly shows this.

¹⁸ Thus HARRISSE writes (p. xvi), "Carvajal sailed from Spain on the 13th of February, 1502, taking with him the codex on paper. No traces of it have ever been found. The probability is that, on account of its texture, it was destroyed in the course of time by the worms and ants in St. Domingo."

on "The Lines of Demarcation of Pope Alexander VI.", read by Dr. S. E. Dawson before the Royal Society of Canada in 1899, and printed in their *Transactions* (second series, 1899-1900, volume V., section 2), it was argued with much plausibility that this bull had been suppressed, and Dr. Dawson refers to it repeatedly as "the unpromulgated bull".

Comparison of the photograph of the front of the document, here reproduced, with like reproductions of the same class of documents in palaeographic works such as Dr. L. Schmitz-Kallenberg's *Practica Cancellariae Apostolicae Saeculi XV. Exeuntis* (Münster, 1904) leaves no room for doubt as to the authenticity of the manuscript. The endorsement of the bull, *Registrata in camera apostolica*, also accords with the practice of the papal chancery. Of the two Spanish and obviously unofficial endorsements, one reads as follows: *Bula del papa Alexandro en que concede a los rreyes catholicos y sus successores todo lo que ganaren y conquistaren en las Yndias, es la data año MCCCCXCIII*. The other endorsement begins with the words, *Esta, se emendo y esta la emendada*, . . . The last words, probably three in number, are undecipherable. The text is the same as that printed in Navarrete, *Viages*, vol. II., no. 17, pp. 23-27, from the transcript in the Simancas archives. Navarrete, however, stops with the date, omitting the words *Gratis de mandato sanctissimi Domini nostri pape*, and the names of the officials of the chancery: B. Capotius, D. Serrano, and L. Podocatharus, the pontifical secretary.

FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

2. South Carolina Federalist Correspondence, 1789-1797

THE following letters, mainly written by William Smith to Gabriel Manigault and Ralph Izard, are printed from the manuscripts in the possession of Mrs. Hawkins Jenkins, Wantoot Plantation (Pinopolis), St. John's, Berkeley, South Carolina.

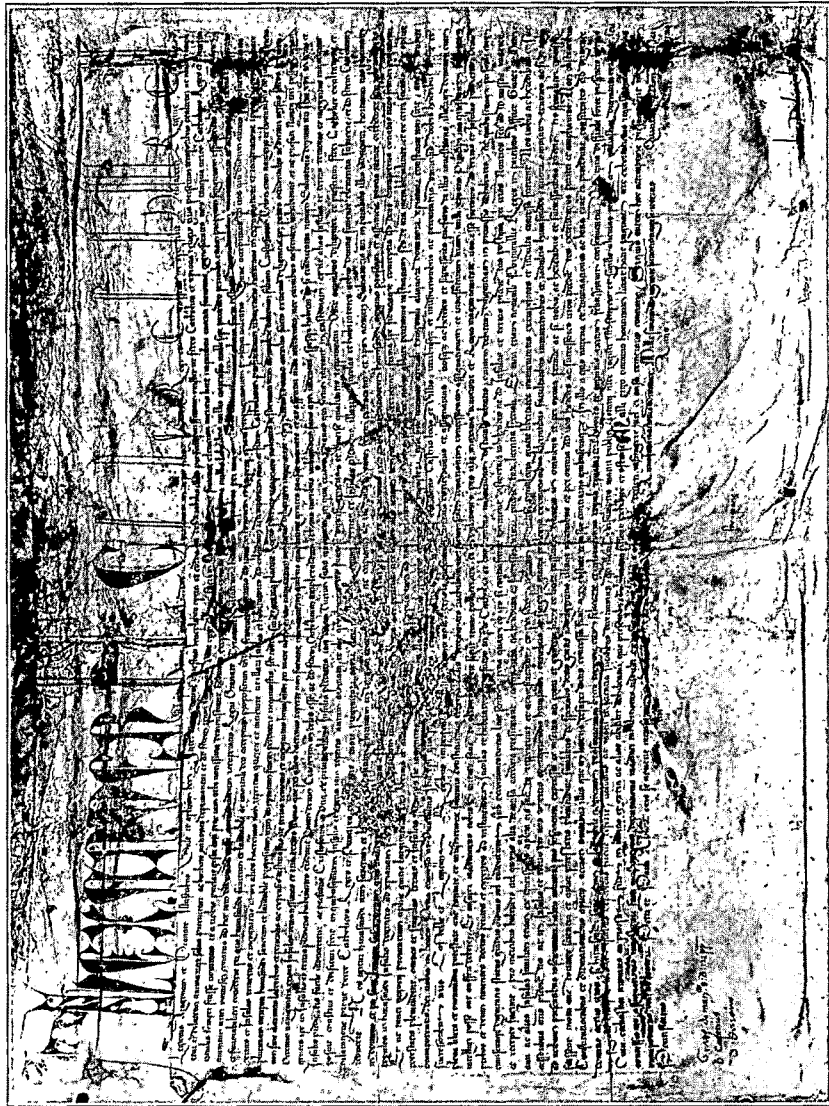
ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

WILLIAM SMITH TO GABRIEL MANIGAULT.

NEW YORK June 7, 1789.

Dear Sir:

. . . Much harmony, politeness and good humor have hitherto prevailed in both houses—our debates are conducted with a moderation and ability extremely unusual in so large a body—consisting of men under the influence of such jarring interests coming from such different countries and climates and accustomed to such different manners. How long this delightful accommodation will continue is uncertain: I sincerely wish I shall never see it interrupted . . .



R. has given me battle on the plains of N. Y. after suffering a defeat at Charleston; I have fortunately given him as complete an overthrow here as I did there,¹ and I hope he will let me alone.

RALPH IZARD TO EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

NEW YORK 26th Sept. 1789.

Dear Sir:

I am just returned from the Senate where the following Officers have been approved of—Mr. Jay Chief Justice: Judges of the Supreme Court J. Rutledge, Cushing, Wilson, Harrison, and Blair. Edmund Randolph Attorney General, Major Pinckney² is appointed District Judge for South Carolina. The Judges both of the Supreme Court and the District Courts are chosen from among the most eminent and distinguished characters in America, and I do not believe that any Judiciary in the world is better filled. The President asked me before the nominations were made, whether I thought your Brother John, Genl. Pinckney,³ or yourself would accept of a Judge in the Supreme Court. I told him that I was not authorized to say you would not, but intimated that the office of Chief Justice would be most suitable to either of you: That however was engaged. Mr. Jay's Office has this day been filled by Mr. Jefferson, who is expected here soon from France. The home Department is added to it, and the name of the office changed. Mr. Jefferson is called Secretary of State. I hope it may suit your Brother to accept, if it should be only for two or three years; as it is of the first importance that the Judiciary should be highly respectable. The Office of District Judge I hope will be agreeable to Major Pinckney. If either of them should refuse to accept, let me know of it by the first opportunity, and tell me whom you wish to be appointed that will accept. The President will not nominate any but the most eminent: and if none in South Carolina of that description will accept, he will be obliged to have recourse to some other state. I write this letter in a hurry hoping that it may be in time to go by Capt. Freneau. Your son is above stairs drinking tea with the Ladies: I never saw him look so well. He is not absolutely fat; but as near it as you would wish him to be.

I am Dear Sir

Your most ob^t. Servt.

RA . . . IZARD.

RALPH IZARD TO EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

NEW YORK December 29th 1789.

Dear Sir

I have already written to you by this opportunity. Capt. Motley's being detained by contrary winds and bad weather gives me an opportunity of again urging you to procure and send me as soon as possible the sentiments of the members of the Legislature upon the subject of the adoption of our state debt by Congress. If a vote in favor of the measure could be obtained, it would put it in my power to speak with

¹ The allusion is to David Ramsay's unsuccessful contest of Smith's election to Congress.

² *I. e.*, Thomas Pinckney.

³ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

greater confidence than by being possessed simply of the opinions of individuals. I am fully persuaded that it would be of infinite advantage to our State if the measure should be adopted. I have written to Mr. John Hunter, the Member from Little River District on the subject. He is a man of whom I think well; perhaps it may be useful for you to confer with him. When I consider the great loss of time which for several years we have experienced in debating about indents, and many other circumstances which must occur to you, I do not think it possible that you should differ with me on this subject. I am extremely sorry however to find that my Colleague⁴ continues to do so, and I am told that some of our members in the House of Representatives are in sentiment with him. Congress will meet in a few days; but I think the business I have mentioned to you will not be decided until I receive an answer to this letter. Henry is well, is now with me; has this morning received your letter by Capt. Elliot, and says that he intends writing to you by him next week. This will probably find you at Columbia. I hope most sincerely that I may not be mistaken in thinking it will not be for the happiness of the people at large that the Legislature should continue to sit there. Remember me to all friends, and believe me

sincerely Yours etc

RA . . . IZARD.

WILLIAM SMITH TO GABRIEL MANIGAULT.

NEW YORK March 26, 1790.

Dear Manigault,

I am not surprised at your anxiety on the question respecting the assumption of the State debts; we are no less agitated about it and are apprehensive of the issue, tho we think it must finally take place; the opposition to it is considerable and the arrival of the North Carolina Members an inauspicious event, as they are expected to be against it. Two of them have taken their seats—one is very warmly opposed to it and the other doubtful—two others are daily expected. The Committee of the whole have agreed to it by a majority of five but should all the North Carolina members vote against us, the result will perhaps be fatal.

Some memorials from the Quakers and the Penylv^a. Society for the abolition of Slavery which were presented to our House have thrown us into a flame which is now fortunately extinguished after a considerable loss of time—two unmeaning resolutions have been passed to gratify the memorialists, (Who are much displeased with them by the bye) and we obtained an explicit declaration that Congress have no power to interfere with the emancipation of slaves. The Quakers are gone home much discontented and the House has been censured by the public for taking up the business.

WILLIAM SMITH TO GABRIEL MANIGAULT.

NEW YORK, Augt. 3, 1790.

Dear Manigault,

I have pleasure in congratulating you on the Assumption, a meas-

⁴ Pierce Butler.

ure not only beneficial to the U. S. and to So. Car. particularly, but to yourself personally, a circumstance which adds much to the satisfaction I have felt. Although we have not assumed to the full amount of each debt and have not funded the Debt at a full six per cent, yet, considering the very violent opposition to the measure we must be satisfied for the present with what has been done: at the next session in December we shall probably do more.

We shall adjourn in the course of a few days, as soon as we have past a Bill raising a revenue for the continental debt; this is intended to be by an addition to the impost; the Excise will be reserved for the State debts, the Interest on which will commence 1st Jan'y 1792,—a year after the other.

WILLIAM SMITH TO GABRIEL MANIGAULT.

PHILAD^a. Dec. 19, 1790.

Dear Manigault,

. . . The punctuality of the members has been such that we were within *one* of forming a quorum of both houses on the *first* day, a circumstance well worthy of note. We have today got over all preparatory ceremonies and shall now go seriously to work. I cannot foretell whether the Campaign will be a bloody one or not—it has opened with ominous circumstances; by taking the field at a season when other combatants go into winter quarters. Many of our Champions have from the combined inconveniences of tempestuous weather and bad roads met with terrible disasters in repairing to the Camp. Burke was shipwrecked off the Capes; Jackson and Mathews with great difficulty landed at Cape May and travelled 160 miles in a wagon to the City. Burke got here in the same way. Gerry and Partridge were overset in the stage; the first had his head broke and made his Entree with an enormous black patch; the other had his ribs sadly bruised and was unable to stir for some days. Tucker had a dreadful passage of 16 days with perpetual storms. I wish these little contretems may not sour their tempers and be inauspicious to our proceedings. Secretary Hamilton made his report this morning on the further support of public credit. He recommends an Excise as the most eligible mode of funding the State Debts; we are to consider this report Monday next. The Enemies to the Assumption will of course oppose this scheme and avail themselves of the Terrors of the Excise to make it obnoxious; but I believe we may be safe in relying on this fund; for the faith of the national Legislat^r. is pledged for the pay^t. of the interest of the State debts, and the Excise will be found on discussion to be the only source to which we can resort.

GEORGE CABOT TO RALPH IZARD (at Hartford, Connecticut).

BROOKLINE Aug^t. 19th 1794.

My dear friend

I was rejoiced to read in your own hand writing that you and Mrs. Izard are well and happy.

I am not so good a farmer as you wish me to be but am agreeably employed and shall improve my agricultural talents in good time.

The newspapers will show you that in this part of the country our

political character grows worse and that the combination of Fools with Knaves must eventually be too powerful for the friends of genuine liberty—jacobin principles are congenial with the feelings of the weak and the wicked, but the defence of order and good government without which there can be no equal liberty, requires capacity, integrity and the sacrifice of personal ease.—You will perceive readily that I am as much out of humour as ever. I am so desponding that I cannot be useful and if it were not for a strong sense of obligation to others I should certainly resign my public employment.

I look forward however with satisfaction to the period of my service and with some secret hopes that I may without impropriety end it in another session. Mrs. Cabot requires me to assure you and Mrs. Izard of her most affectionate sentiments toward your family in which I pray you to unite your sincere

and faithful friend
GEORGE CABOT.

WILLIAM SMITH TO RALPH IZARD.⁵

PHILAD. May 18th, 96.

Dear Sir:

The Senate have resolved not to admit the State of Tennessee at present; but to lay out the Territory into a State by act of Congress and order the Census to be taken by federal Authority, the return to be made to the President, who will cause a new Convention to be held and other proceedings preparatory to their admittance at the next session. Langdon was sent for on that account, and I believe to assist at a caucus about Vice President: it seems the party are at a stand on that point: the persons in nomination are Burr, Langdon, Butler and Chan^r. Livingston; the latter is said to stand highest having gained much reputation in Virginia by *Cato* against the Treaty. Butler, they say, they have no objection to except being a Southern man and as Jefferson is to be President, it won't do:—Burr, they think unsettled in his politics and are afraid he will go over to the other side: Langdon has no influence etc.

Our side are also unsettled. Some think that the run will be for Adams or Jefferson as President and as they will be the two highest, and neither will serve as Vice P. there will be *no Vice P.*: this will probably be the issue. The publication you sent me is a paltry performance. I showed it to King who laughed at it: he has given me some extracts from Major Pinckney's correspond. on the subject, which I will communicate to you when we meet.

Major P. has written me a Letter from London, introducing Mr. Lister in warm terms, which he seems to merit.

I called on Mr. Boyd yesterday about the pills: he remembers you and the kind of pills you want; they shall be sent by the first opportunity.

I have sett^d. with Mr. Hill and Mr. Vaughan.

Present my aff^t. respects to Mrs. Izard and believe me,

Dear Sir
with aff and resp^t.
yours etc

WM. SMITH

⁵ Senator Izard was Smith's father-in-law.

I must rescue one Virginian *Hancock*, from your strictures: He has behaved nobly, in resisting so formid^{bl}. a phalanx: Grove too deserves great credit.

WILLIAM SMITH TO RALPH IZARD.

PHILAD. Nov. 3, 96.

Dear Sir,

Since my last, Mr. Adet has delivered a note to the Secretary of State, which with the Secretary's reply I send you by this post. Every circumstance accompanying the Note, convinces us that it is altogether designed as an electioneering manoeuvre; the govern^t. and every respectable character viewed it in that light.

The proceeding is so barefaced and such an outrageous and open interference in our most important election that it disgusts every reflecting and independ^t. man and will I trust have an effect directly the reverse of that w^{ch} is so palpably intended. The note was dated the 27th. Thursday, and was deliv^d. to the Sec^y. of State either that day or the day following; the President was expected here on Monday (31st.); but before he could receive it from the Secretary, Adet sent it to Bache to be printed, and it appeared in his infamous paper on the Monday morning before the President arrived, w^{ch} was in the afternoon, and therefore before he saw it, unless he met Bache's paper on the road, when he must have had the first view of the note in that paper. This morning Pinckney's^e answer appeared and has given much satisfaction; the circumstances he mentions of the Directory having declared to Monroe that there was no Decree affecting our commerce on the 28th. Aug^t. and Adet's threatening us with this Decree dated 2^d. July, is a corroborating circumstance to prove the design of alarming the People at this crisis. Tho the President was expected so soon, he could not have the decency to wait his arrival, but sent his note to be published, least it might not operate enough before the election; by publishing it on Monday, it was just in time to influence the Election in this State, which takes place tomorrow. The day on which it came out in Bache's paper, appeared in that paper a great display of the force of France, certainly calculated to have an effect with the note: two days after, came a piece, threat^g. us with war with France, unless we elect a President, who will be agreeable to that nation: These are among the abominable artifices practised to secure french election in this State and so great have been the exertions employed, such the Lies spread all thro the country against M^r. A. that I apprehend the antif^l. ticket will prevail, in w^{ch} case Jeffⁿ. will have 15 votes in this State: libels have been circulated all thro the State asserting that A. has declared himself for a King; in some he is called King Adams, in others they state the question to be, whether we wish to have a King or a President, etc. Still as the votes will probably be unanim^y. for A. in the Eastⁿ. States New York and Jersey and Delaware and gener^y. in Maryland, if he has a few votes in the Southern States, he will be elected: the greatest exertions are therefore necessary; one or two votes in S. C. may save the election.

I send you a pamphlet containing the Letters of Phocion, under

^e Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

another title: our friends here have had them printed, with an expectation that they will do good, and they will be circulated thro the Southern States, before the Election.

Every man must lend his aid to save the Country at this important juncture: I hope you have decided to go to Columbia.

B. Smith writes me from No. Car. that he hopes A. will have some votes in that State; if so I think we shall be saved; he informs me that he has heard from E. Rutledge; who, if an elector, will *not* vote for A. I suspect he is tampering with my Cousin, but he won't succeed with him.

Steele, the Comptroller, is very decidedly with us, and very useful in circulating information, and writing to his friends.

I wrote you by Story Jun^r. a few days ago. Butler and his family are gone with Story Sen^r. I long to hear of his projects in S.C.

Remem^r. me, if you please, affec^y. to all friends, and believe me

Dr. Sir

With sincere esteem

Yours etc

WM SMITH.

ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER TO RALPH IZARD (at Charleston, South Carolina).

RALEIGH NO. CAROLINA, Nov. 4th 1796.

Dear Sir,

I take the liberty of addressing you on some subjects the importance of which will apologize for the trouble I shall give you.

The first is the election of President. I find the people in our upper Country generally disposed in favor of Jefferson. 'Tis nearly the same case here; even in a greater degree. Mr. Adams may probably get some votes in each State, but the number will be small, for the lower country of our State, with some few exceptions, are more warm on Jefferson's subject than the upper. Should the Pennsylvania Election for Electors succeed, Adams will outpoll Jefferson; otherwise he will most probably be far behind.

As to Pinckney,⁷ the case is entirely different. He, I am well assured, will receive a vote from every elector, or nearly every one, in the three southern states; and in Virginia also I have reason to believe he will meet with considerable support. He, I think is our sheet anchor. It is not Pinckney or Adams with us, but Pinckney or Jefferson.

The great point is to prevail on Pinckney to stand. Every effort will be used by his pretended friends, and by Ned Rutledge among the rest, to persuade him not to let his name be run. They will tell him that he ought not to act as vice President, that he is intended to be made a tool of, by people who will deceive him. That he is brought forward to divide the votes of the southern states, and that the eastern people, when it comes to the truth will not support him. If he should not arrive before the election, Ned Rutledge will give out that his friend Major Pinckney, in whose most intimate confidence he will declare himself to be, will not consent to serve as vice-President. By these means if possible, under the mask of friendship, they will pre-

⁷ Thomas Pinckney.

vent him from being voted for. But Major Pinckney may be assured, I speak from the most certain knowledge, that the intention of bringing him forward was to make him President, and that he will be supported with that view. I do not say that the eastern people would prefer him to Mr. Adams; but they infinitely prefer him to Jefferson, and they support him because it gives them an additional chance to exclude Jefferson, and to get a man whom they can trust. With the very same views against Adams is Pinckney supported by many of Jefferson's warmest friends; and there are not wanting many who prefer him to either. Upon the whole I have no doubt of his being elected, if it should not be prevented by himself or those who call themselves his friends. The great point is to prevail on him to stand.

I trust these ideas sir to your discretion. You may make any such use of them as you think proper. You know the persons who ought to be applied to on this subject. Gen^l. Pinckney's⁸ absence is a great loss; but there are others who may be usefully addressed. I do not know how DeSaussure stands respecting Jefferson; indeed it is very difficult to know how he stands on any subject; but if he should enter into our views, there is no man in the state whom you may consult to more advantage. He is intimate with the leading men of all sides, and knows how to address them in the most effectual manner. He stands very high in the confidence of several.

The next subject is the choice of a governor and senator for our state. While I was in the upper country I was told that Butler⁹ intended to resign and offer as governor and that Hunter was to supply his place in the senate. I need not tell you the importance of defeating this scheme; particularly the latter part of it, and it can only be defeated by bringing forward reputable and popular candidates in opposition. Butler has lost ground in the upper country, but is still strong; particularly with the members of the Legislature. He will also meet with no inconsiderable support from below. I know no man who could oppose him with success but Washington¹⁰ or John Ewing Calhoun. The upper country people, I believe, would vote for Washington, many of them at least, in preference to Butler, and I believe Calhoun would get more votes below. I should however think Washington a safer candidate; but De Saussure, if he will, can give you a much better judgement on this subject. There is also a young man of the name of Mitchell, William B. Mitchell, who from his familiar acquaintance among the members may be usefully consulted.

As to Hunter, should he offer, I know no-body who can so well oppose him as Dr. Ramsay.¹¹ There is an objection to him among the planters, and but one. That perhaps may be got over. It is his principles respecting slavery. He has of late become a considerable slave-holder in Georgia, which I suppose will be a sufficient security. At any rate he will unite the middle country, and the Charleston interest, and will receive a number of votes from above. His offering would hold Ephraim Ramsay in check, who is the ablest most artful and most dangerous of all the supporters of antifederalism in South Carolina.

⁸ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

⁹ Pierce Butler, then Congressman.

¹⁰ General William A. Washington, a prominent planter.

¹¹ David B. Ramsay.

Charles Pinckney will probably offer for one place or the other. I need not say that he is as much to be avoided as either of the others. I would rather see him governor than senator, and should prefer him to Butler in the former capacity. It perhaps might be well enough to make him governor,¹² bad as he would be, to prevent him from becoming senator. The greatest danger in his offering as senator would be in the probability of its preventing Ramsay from coming forward, or if he should offer, affording a rallying point to the opposition which he would be likely to receive from the planters below.

There is general Anderson in the back Country, who stands high there, and might be a fit man perhaps to oppose to Butler as governor. He would by no means do for senator; but in the former station he is far less objectionable than either Butler or Pinckney. If Pickens¹³ can be prevailed on to offer there is certainty of his success. Perhaps Robert Barnwell might be persuaded to offer as senator. If so, his election I think would be certain.

These ideas sir have appeared to me to be of importance. Should you consider them in the same light, you will excuse the trouble I have given you in communicating them, and accept the sincere respect with which I have the honor to be

Your very obt. ser^t.

ROB: G: HARPER.

WILLIAM SMITH TO RALPH IZARD (at Charleston, South Carolina).

PHILAD. Nov. 8, 96.

Dear Sir

Since my last, the Election for Electors has taken place in this State: in the City and County, the antifederal Ticket has unfortunately prevailed by a very large majority; in the other counties from which we have heard, the federal Ticket is considerably ahead, but we have to apprehend a majority against us in the Western Counties, so that upon the whole, the issue is very doubtful and the chances rather against us. In this case there will be 15 votes for Jeffⁿ. in this State, which will decide the election unless we have a respectable support in the Southern States.

The causes which have produced this success of the Jacobins in this City and environs as as disgusting as the thing itself. One was the infamous calumny propogated with wonderful industry, that Mr. Adams was for a King, and accordingly on the election ground the Mob were shouting "Jefferson and no king". Another was a momentary alarm excited among the Quakers, who have been heretofore right, by Adet's threats: they conceived that France was about to declare war against us and that Jeffⁿ. would conciliate the affections of that nation; and thus a scandalous manoeuvre, evidently designed to influence the election has had its effect; and thus, after the federal party have by great wisdom and exertions preserved peace with England, they are now to be kicked aside as useless, and their adversaries brought in to keep peace with France, and those who created the Constitution and produced the prosperity the Nation now enjoys are

¹² Charles Pinckney was in fact elected governor in 1796.

¹³ General Andrew Pickens, Congressman, 1793-1795.

to be trampled under foot by the Enemies of the Constitⁿ. and of the national prosp^y.

Another cause which I hope will damn Jeffⁿ. in the Southern States operated strongly with many of the Quakers; that is, his wishes for *emancipation*. French influence never appeared so open and unmasked as at this city election—French flags, french cockades were displayed by the Jefferson party and there is no doubt that french money was not spared. Public houses were kept open. At Kensington the mob would suffer no person to vote who had not a french cockade in his hat. In the northern liberties, there were many hundred votes given more than at any former election all of which are supposed to be illegal. In short there never was so barefaced and disgraceful an interference of a foreign power in any free country.

McKean leads the antifederal ticket. You remem^r. his zeal for Adams at the last election, and yet to serve the vile purposes of a party, the old wretch submits to prostitute his vote, having promised to vote for Jeffⁿ. tho he is known in his heart, to prefer Adams's politics.—Burr. is here—he has been at Boston and is probably going to the southward—he is to be run on the antifederal ticket with Jeffⁿ. in some of the states; tho I believe the party are not perfectly agreed among themselves as to the Vice Presid^t.—the plan of the leading men, I am told, is to vote for Jefferson and any other man, except Adams and Pinckney, and instructions have been issued to that effect; they forbid the voting for P. least he sh^d. get in as President; they think that Ad. may get in as V. P. and they are sure he would resign, which would furnish them with materials of abuse for his hauteur, in despising a station in which the people have placed him. Burr is likely however to unite most of the antif^l. votes—a charming character to be sure for V. President! so unpopular in his own state that he can't even get a seat in the State Legislature—sued here for 5,000 doll. at the Bank and in N. Y. for £12,000 Sterl^g. for a land speculation. Old Robinson of Vermont has resigned and Tichenor, a federalist, elected. Buck re-elected in that state unanim^y. and Lyon expected to succeed my namesake, so that the *Green Mountains* will be represented very properly by a *Buck* and a *Lion*. Otis will succeed Ames.

I suppose you have read Adet's note and Pickering's reply—Adet is preparing a rejoinder which will appear in a few days: all this is well understood—and his success in this City will doubtless encourage him to persevere.

Harper, I find is reelected by a great majority, and I hear that J. Rutledge is elected. Harper writes Bingham that he thinks Adams will have three votes in So. Car. Could it not be intimated to E. Rutledge that if Jeffⁿ. gets any votes in our State, he will outvote Pinckney and therefore those who wish P—y's election as President ought not to vote for Jeffⁿ. This idea may induce him to withdraw his support from J. even tho he sh^d. not support A. and wo^d. favor our cause.

I hope the family are all well—remember me to them
and believe me Dear Sir with sincere Esteem

Yours respec^y.

WM. SMITH.

WILLIAM SMITH TO RALPH IZARD.

PHILAD. May 23, 97.

Dear Sir

The newspapers will acquaint you of the subjects of discussion which arose out of the reported answer to the address. It was a fortunate thing that Rutledge¹⁴ was one of the select committee; we strongly suspect that the Speaker by placing him there counted on him as being on the other side. Venable was chairman and had Rutledge been wrong, the draft V. had prepared would have been reported: this draft was a most pusillanimous crouching thing, hoping every thing from further negotiations. We had a large meeting after the com^{ee}. was formed, at which were present Griswold, Rutledge and Kittera, composing a majority of the com^{ee}. and there we agreed on the sketch of a draft, which Griswold prepared and was agreed to in the com^{ee}. and reported. Nicholas's amend^t. will, I think, be lost, but I fear there will be some change in the reported answer, which will not improve it. Coit has proposed some conciliatory amendm^{ts}., which the federal party generally dislike, and which the other party will prefer to the report. His amend^{ts}. are 1. to express a wish "that the F. Rep. may stand on grounds as favorable as any other nations in their relations to the U. S." 2. to change the expression of *indignation* at the rejection of our minister, into one of *surprise* and *regret*. 3^d. to state the attempts of France to wound our rights and to separate the people from the govern^t *hypothetically*, "should such attempts be made—" "if such sentiments are entertained". I am apprehensive the first of these amend^{ts}. will be agreed to—there is a pretty general opinion that we can have no great objection to placing France on the same footing as Eng., but we conceive that inserting these words will be interfering with the Executive—will be an oblique censure on their past conduct, will be an admission that France has a right to this concession, and be throwing out of view any hope of compensation for spoliation.

Every manoeuvre was practised to seduce Rutledge and bring him over on the com^{ee}. to vote for Venable's draft, but he stood out and was decidedly for a high-toned report. He has twice spoken in the house against Nicholas's amend^t.—his last speech yesterday was a very good one; it was argumentative, ingenious and sarcastic and had much effect; he delivered himself with ease, fluency and grace: he has very much the manner of his Uncle Edward; the federal party and the audience were highly pleased and the french faction prodigiously mortified, except at one part of his speech (which might as well have been omitted) respecting the British Treaty. We have several new members, young and genteel men, all federal and handsome speakers, Otis, Dennis (the successor of Murray) Bayard the Delaware member, and Rutledge. Otis and Bayard are very powerful and Dennis, tho' very young very well informed and decided. Evans, successor of Page; is a very federal and respectable man; he proposed rather a foolish amend^t. at the outset, from a spirit of conciliation but he will be generally right. Old Morgan, in lieu of Rutherford, is very firm in support of gov^t.

Some of the Jacobins are rather softened, but the leaders are as fierce and obstinate as ever. Giles, Gallatin, Nicholas, Livingston,

¹⁴ John Rutledge the younger, a new member from South Carolina.

Swanwick and Sam Smith have disgraced the country by their speeches; Giles and Livingston were hours in apologizing for France and abusing the govern^t. of this country and the British Treaty; but Sam S. who spoke yesterday, surpassed them all; his whole speech consisted of invectives against British spoliations and justification of France: Harper,¹⁵ who is the most decided and bitter enemy of the French, gave him a severe dressing and made a very able speech; before he had however completed his remarks; the Speaker was taken ill and the house adjourned; Harper will continue tomorrow; he sat with me an hour last night and from his conversation, he appears full charged. He is a very bold speaker and is very industrious; he will be a very important character in that house in a short time. Gallatin was more decent than usual and his speech *more american* than that of any of the others.

My namesake Major W. Smith is arrived; he looks like a thin puritanical Methodist, is rather an elderly man and appears to be a great simpleton. He lodges with Rutledge and Hunter. On his arrival he expressed himself to Rutledge satisfied with the report of the Com^{ee}. but Sumter¹⁶ got him seated in the house between him and Milledge, and they together with Baldwin have been debauching him. Harper had him to dinner two days ago, together with Rutledge, Bayard, Otis and myself: we tried to infuse good opinions into him, but he appears to be composed of materials very unpromising.

It is unfortunate that so much time should be spent in debating the answer; but it was unavoidable; all this debate must have come out during the session and it was perhaps better to have it at the beginning and disencumber the measures, which will be proposed, of this extraneous matter. When this question is settled, which will probably be tomorrow, we shall immed^y. proceed to the measures necessary for defence. Opinions are not made up; the greatest objection seems to lie against allowing the merchant ships to be armed; the Jacobins will object to everything like defence, for fear of irritating; but I presume they will be in the minority: fortifications, completing the Frigates, purchasing and fitting out armed vessels, as convoys, procuring arms and ammunition are the most likely to succeed. Gen. Pinckney will be appointed as *sole* Envoy or Embass. Extr^y.—perhaps some important character sent as Secr^y. of the Embassy. The party have relinquished their hopes of Madison: they found a general approbation of Pinckney's conduct and understood that the President's mind was made up; after intimat^g. various objections against him they now make a merit of necessity and join in applause.

Jefferson's letter is uncontradicted; I had some conversatⁿ. with Harper about it last night, and he says he will introduce the subject in his speech tomorrow. Jefferson lodges at Francis's hotel with a knot of Jacobins, Baldwin, Sumter, Varnum, Brown, Skinner (successor of Sedgewick) they have unluckily got Henry amongst them, and I much fear will corrupt him, as he is a weak man and has given already a wrong vote in the Senate.

There has been some objection in the Senate to the President's nomination of Mr. Adams to Berlin, *only* on the score of extending foreign relations. The appointment will however take place, and the

¹⁵ Robert Goodloe Harper, of South Carolina.

¹⁶ General Thomas Sumter, of South Carolina.

President has it further in contemplation to send a minister to Sweden.

Porcupine's paper does a great deal of good; it is very widely circulated, and much among the middle and town classes; his blunt vulgar language suits them and has a great effect: he keeps Bache and the others a good deal in check; the advantage of having a printer constantly on the watch to detect and expose their lies is considerable and the effects are already obvious. He gives circulation also to many valuable essays and documents which are unknown in this country and contribute to open the eyes of the people.

I send you in my last a letter from Mr. Hill respecting the wine; I hope it is safe arrived.

I am Dr Sir with sincere regard
respectly Yours

WM. SMITH.

WILLIAM SMITH TO RALPH IZARD.

PHILADA. May 29, 1797. Monday night.

Dear Sir

Garman having been detained by the fear of a French Privateer which has been committing Piracy near the Capes, I have an opportunity of adding to my letter of Saturday. Yesterday morning I discovered that there was a project of a *Commission of three* to France instead of a *sole Envoy*. I am now in hopes that the idea is abandoned—by next post I will write you more particularly on this subject.

This morning we took the question in Com^{tee}. of the whole on Nicholas's amendment, which was lost, 46 to 52, tho by mistake in the chairman it was stated as 48 to 52, as you'll see in the papers. This is the utmost strength of the party which has governed our house for several years; I think they will decline hereafter and that we shall keep a majority through the session: including the chairman we had a majority of *seven*. Every effort was made to impress the wavering members with an idea that the question on the amend^{mt}. was a question of *peace* or *war*, and an evident effect was produced. Tomorrow we shall take a question on Coit's amendments, which I believe will be agreed to. I don't like them, tho they are much less exceptionable than Nicholas's. The apprehension of war is so great that it is difficult to bring a majority to speak a firm and energetic language. I hope however we shall be able to carry thro some effectual measures of defence and obtain further revenues. Harper made a very great speech today; it contained a very eloquent and enlightened review of the ambitious project of France. We have been so long accustomed to hear the language of affection and gratitude for France that his bold and manly ideas startled many timid persons, who considered his speech as a declaration of war. Having made a strong allusion to Munroe's conduct in France, Giles called on him to explain whom he meant and whether he meant the late minister, as he knew there was a great deal of calumny circulating against him: Harper replied, "Yes, I did mean him and am ready to make good my assertions." The question being then on the Committee's rising, H. was interrupted, and nothing further was said. After the house was adjourned, he wrote a line to Giles, acquainting him that he was ready to state to him the facts and proofs against Monroe; G. wrote him an answer in these

words, "I want an explanation to the public." H. wrote in reply that he should do no such thing. There the matter rests; it is probable G. will revive the subject in the house tomorrow; in the mean time H. has taken measures to obtain evidence from two gentlemen now here, who have been at Paris, witnesses of Monroe's intrigues; Wm. Morris is one of them.

The Senate distributed today the subjects of the President's speech to several committees; by a previous arrangement, they have left out of the committees every one of the minority to shew them that they have no confidence in them and are afraid to trust them at this crisis: there is not a man of the minority on any one committee: I have [advised] Rutherford to get Martin and Hunter on some of them to try and detach them: These two are the best of that party. There are 30 members of the Senate present: the absentees are Gunn, who is soon expected, and Schyler, who is dangerously ill. I am told Burr has got into the state legislature. We have 99 members on the floor: my colleague and namesake voted against us, which I attribute in some measure to a visit he received yesterday from that rascal, Bache; Rutherford tried to keep him right, but I fear he is gone.

As I haven't time to write to Desaussure, pray shew him this letter, which contains what I sh^d. have written him had I had time.

I am Dear Sir

very affect^{ly}. yours

WM. SMITH.

WILLIAM SMITH TO RALPH IZARD.

PHILAD^a. June 2, 97.

Dear Sir

I rec^d. your last letter two days ago. We have not yet got thro the answer to the President's Speech. The great point in contest is whether we shall tell the President (indirectly) that he *must concede* to France the three grounds of complaint arising out of the British Treaty, without any equivalent or promise of compensation. The other party are for so doing; we object to saying anything about it, but contend that if we suggest that, we must also recommend the case of our merchants and demand redress for the spoliations. A vote has been carried [the day]¹⁷ before yesterday 52 to 47 for inserting the proposition in its objectionable shape. Yesterday in the House we [won] over two [Virginians] and the proposition was carried only 50 to 49; we then moved to amend it, by introducing the words "a disposition on the part of *France* to redress *our* wrongs" or to the effect; this embarrassed the leaders of the other party prodigiously; they have moved the previous question on it, and the matter now rests; we hope to carry the amendm^t. and then defeat the whole proposition. In the mean time the Senate are preparing bills for *defense*.

The nomination of Mr. Adams to Berlin is approved by the Senate 19 to 10—Hunter voted finally for it: there was first a motion to postpone the considⁿ. of the nominatⁿ. to March next. Lost 17 to 12. Then a proposition that a minis. plen. at Berlin was not necessary—

¹⁷ At places where square brackets have been introduced the manuscript is torn and conjectural readings have been inserted.

previous question carried 18 to 11—then the nomⁿ. agreed to. Day before yesterday the nomination was made of Gen. Pinckney, Chief Justice Dana of Massac^{ts}. and Gen. Marshall of Virginia (the celebrated lawyer) as envoys Extr^y. and Min. Plen. to France. I had heard of this [project] several days ago and objected to it and in conseq^e. of my objection [the] nominations were postponed two days and the subject reconsidered by the Presi[dent] and council; but there were reasons for it too powerful in their opinions to change th[e p]lan—I dislike it—however, it is done. I immed^y. took measures to satisfy Rutledge and he is perfectly satisfied: [] has shown much ill humour and endeav^d. to prejudice Rut. but I was before hand. G^l. Pinckney is at the head of the commission and will I hope be pleased with the arrangement.

Yesterday mo^{rning}. I called on Porcupine and paid him a visit; he was much delighted with the anecdote respecting St. Peter; he laughed very heartily; I read him your remarks about Webster; he acquiesces in the propriety. I dined yesterday with the President; he was easy and cheerful; suffic^y. familiar without losing his dignity; Mrs. Adams conducted herself with the greatest propriety. The dinner was genteel, without profusion; the wine rather mediocre. In the evening I related the anecdote about St. Peter. They were much pleased with it. Porcupine is a great favorite at Court.

I shall write again soon. Tell Harry that his friend Cochran is a very clever fellow; he has not spoke yet, but his opinions are very sound.

I hope the children are getting well from the hooping cough. Pray give my love to them.

Very respec^y.

Yours etc

WM. SMITH.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Das Antike Mysterienwesen in Religionsgeschichtlicher, Ethnologischer und Psychologischer Beleuchtung. Von Dr. K. H. E. DE JONG. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1909. Pp. x, 362.)

WITH the present interest in ethnology and the history of religion it is natural that much attention should be given to the ancient mysteries, which on the whole formed the most important element in the spiritual life of antiquity. But, in the nature of the case, the data on which our knowledge here depends are so insufficient and unsatisfactory that the most divergent views are held as to the real character of the rites, and the explanations offered of the effects which were undoubtedly produced have been of the most opposite sort. The latest attempt at explanation is made in the present book by Dr. de Jong of the Hague, whose excellent dissertation (*De Apuleio Isiacorum Mysteriorum Teste*, Leyden, 1900) led him to this larger study.

As the title of his book indicates, Dr. de Jong employs the abundant material which has been amassed by the study of religions other than those of Greece and Rome, as well as the results of ethnological and psychological research. After a short introductory chapter, he reviews in the two following chapters the familiar features of the Eleusinian mysteries and those of Isis and Mithras, which played a most important part in the second to the fourth centuries of our era; he then passes to the consideration of the various explanations which have been offered of the effects secured by the mysteries. In his contention that mere splendor of buildings or of ceremonies, which were certainly simple in the earlier period, was quite insufficient to cause these effects, he is undoubtedly right; nor could the sacred symbols seen or handled have by themselves profoundly influenced the initiates. The explanation is rather to be sought along the line suggested by Aristotle's much quoted statement that the initiates in the mysteries should not learn any definite thing, but be given an experience and be put in a certain state of mind, after being made susceptible thereto. In other words the explanation must be a psychological one, and the whole purpose of all mystic ceremonies and symbols was to produce the "experience and state of mind" of which Aristotle speaks. At this point in his discussion Dr. de Jong announces his belief that all mysteries were essentially magic in their origins at least; and, after an interesting chapter on the part played by magic in the Egyptian cults, he proceeds to support his contention by

illustrations and parallels drawn from varied peoples of antiquity and modern times, ranging from the inevitable Australians and Chinese to the North American Indians.

The text for the last five chapters is furnished by the words of Apuleius: "I have approached the bounds of death; I have trod the threshold of Proserpina, and, after passing through all the elements, I have returned again. At midnight I have seen the sun flashing with a brilliant light; I have approached the gods of heaven and hell and done them obeisance face to face." In these words Dr. de Jong apparently sees the key to the mysteries. In his elucidation of them he discusses ecstatic or hypnotic states, visions of the other world, tests by fire, optical illusions, materialization and suggestion—a wide range, in short, of real and spurious religious experiences among many peoples and sects. In a liberal spirit he treats with respect later mystics and visionaries, including Swedenborg and F. W. H. Myers.

Now although we shall never know exactly the details of the various forms of initiation, probably everyone agrees that in them all the initiate was in some way by fasts, dreams, purificatory rites and other acts put into an ecstatic state in which he was especially responsive to suggestion. It is hard for the present reviewer to see that Dr. de Jong has gone beyond this in the explanations which he offers; his book is interesting and valuable in the collection which it offers of mystic and magical rites gathered from many sources; but edifying as it may be to observe similar practices arising at certain cultural stages among peoples widely separated by time and place, we must not forget that parallelism does not necessarily constitute explanation.

It is to be regretted that the index of the book is wholly inadequate.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

The Acropolis of Athens. By MARTIN L. D'OOGHE, Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in the University of Michigan. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company, 1908. Pp. xx, 405, v.)

It is now twenty years since Kabbadias concluded the definitive excavation of the Acropolis. Some part of that long campaign Professor D'Ooge, as director of our school at Athens in 1886-1887, saw with his own eyes; and he has twice returned for a sabbatical study of the subject on the spot.

But he is too wise to undertake even now a final history of the Acropolis; he proposes merely to "give a summary of the most important contributions to this history and to state the results of personal study of the site and of the ruins upon it". In this modest venture his patience and painstaking have stood him in good stead; and the serious student will find the book packed with sifted facts which hitherto he has had to gather for himself from a wide range of writers in various tongues.

The text is helped out by ample illustration, including nine excellent full-page photogravures and seven plans. Some of these, however, have the key on the back where it can be of little use; and one (plan III.) is bound in upside down.

The treatment is in the main chronological. After a brief account of the Hill in its natural features and as a pre-historic sanctuary, citadel and residence, there follow chapters on the Earliest Historic Period down to the Persian Destruction; from the Persian Destruction to the Age of Pericles; the Age of Pericles; the Temples on the Southern Slope and the Theatre; the Hellenistic and Roman Periods (Pausanias's Tour); from the Roman Period to the Present. There follow ten pages of notes (is the foot-note to be banished for good and all?); three appendices on the sources (including Frazer's translation of Pausanias on the Acropolis), the Pelargicon, and the Old Temple; and a fairly adequate index.

The author is more concerned with outstanding facts than with recon-dite theory. He rarely dogmatizes. With the "problems", his method is to state the various views; rarely to give a casting vote. Doerpfeld's no-stage theory is "adopted as being highly probable"; but on the Old Temple he "agrees in most points with Michaelis". He notes Doerpfeld's new view of the original plan of the Erechtheion—with a west half that (like the South Hall of the Propylaea) was never built; but expresses no judgment upon it. In the present stage of archaeological debate, it is just as well to have the open mind.

Well as Professor D'Ooge has done his chosen work, the story of the Acropolis is yet to be told. The ineffable charm, the universal human interest of it has never yet been put in a book. It never can be until archaeologists are poets or poets are archaeologists. Then only may we hope to be shown the things "worth seeing" in their proper atmosphere. Yet one cannot but regret that our author has taken his task so severely; that, after happily flinging open wide the Propylaea of our hopes on his first page, he gives us hardly another glint of the violet crown till we reach the last. For his last words are true: "To know the history of the Acropolis is to know not only the background of the history of Athens; it is also to know the beauty-loving spirit and brilliant genius of the people who dwelt in the city nobly built on the Aegean shore."

J. IRVING MANATT.

Geschichte des Hellenistischen Zeitalters. Von JULIUS KAERST.
Zweiter Band, erste Hälfte. *Das Wesen des Hellenismus.*
(Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner. 1909. Pp. xii, 430.)

VOLUME I. was reviewed in the October number of this journal for 1902, pp. 100-103. It treated, in three books, of *Die Hellenische Polis*, *Das Makedonische Königtum*, and *Alexander der Grosse*, political philosophy in the first two being followed in the third by condensed historical narrative. This first half of volume II., also in three books, treats

of *Die Entstehung der Diadochenreiche, Die Hellenistische Kultur, and Der Hellenistische Staat*. The first book gives a condensed narrative of events between Alexander's death and the fresh division of his world-empire which followed the defeat and death of Antigonos at Ipsus in 301. The author does not attempt the completeness of Droysen or Niese, but dwells only on those events which illustrate the evolution of Hellenistic culture as a whole. He expects the verdict of too great emancipation from philological science, and combats Schwartz's dictum that "die alte Geschichte nichts anderes ist und sein kann als die Interpretation der auf uns gekommenen Reste des Altertums." But in this first book he shows a good command and an independent use of all the sources of information accessible to the historian of the period, including, of course, the inscriptions; and his narrative of events, made as it is in the spirit of the historical philosopher rather than the philologist, often brings welcome light into the dark places of this chaotic time. The relation of Craterus to Antipater in Macedonia; Ptolemy's consistent championship of the principle of separate dynasties in, rather than the unity of, Alexander's world-empire; Polysperchon's relations; as "Reichsverweser", to Antipater on the one hand, and Cassander on the other; the attempts of all the great protagonists to secure the hegemony of Greece proper; and the wild enthusiasm of Athens for Demetrius Poliorcetes, may be singled out as topics which gain distinctly under the author's treatment. At first thought it would seem that the battle of Ipsus with its immediate consequences was not the proper place to pause in the historical narrative for the introduction of the more philosophical considerations which occupy the rest of the volume. But the author justifies himself as follows: "Wenn Demetrios' Herrschaft, mit den wunderbar wechselnden persönlichen Schicksalen ihres Trägers verflochten, so gut wie spurlos verschwindet und auch das Reich des Lysimachos keinen länger dauernden Bestand hat, so treten die drei grossen Reiche, die vor allem die folgende politische Entwicklung beherrschen, die asiatische Grossmacht der Seleukiden, die ägyptische der Ptolemäer, die zugleich die Herrschaft über einen grossen Teil des östlichen Mittelmeeres gewinnt, und die makedonisch-griechische schon in klaren und festen Umrissen uns entgegen" (p. 82).

The second book treats of Hellenistic culture in the following chapters: *Die innere Umbildung der Kultur der Polis; Die Philosophie des Hellenismus; Der Technische Charakter der Hellenistischen Kultur; Rationalismus und Monarchische Weltanschauung; Die Hellenistische Religion; Der Allgemeine Geschichtliche Charakter der Hellenistischen Kultur*. Hellenic individualism emancipates itself from the old community of the little city-state, and finds wider scope in the territorial monarchy, developing, at its extreme, into absolutism. The technical element and the principle of minute division of labor now work as moulders of social relations. Rationalistic accounts of the deeds of gods and heroes now show the influence of the careers of Alexander and his

successors. The great achievements of the race are no longer thought of as a development of general human knowledge, but as the result of the superior wisdom of privileged personalities. The *Weltanschauung* becomes entirely monarchical. The former small and often petty national unities are now merged in an oecumenical unity of culture. Private life becomes of more importance to the individual than public life. That focuses round the royal courts.

The third book treats of the Hellenistic state in the following chapters: *Die Innere Begründung der Monarchie*; *Die Grundzüge des Hellenistischen Staates*; *Die Monarchie und die Polis*; *Die Monarchie und die Gesellschaft*. Greater variety in the peoples brought together in economic exchange under the larger political units of territorial monarchies increases the strength and zest of personal interests. But these personal interests have play in large social organizations grouping round monarchical centres. Learned and cultured society becomes courtly; art and letters become court appanages. "Die einzelnen Lebenskreise, die sich in Kunst und Wissenschaft, Heerwesen und staatlicher Verwaltung, Gewerbe und Handel gestalten, stehen in besonderen Abhängigkeitsbeziehungen zu dem Königtum, bei dem sie eine Stärkung und Förderung ihrer beruflichen Zwecke und ihrer gesellschaftlichen Stellung finden. Gerade die Ptolemaeer haben in dieser Hinsicht die Politik des *divide et impera* meisterlich zu üben verstanden" (p. 371).

The political philosophy of these last two books is profound and comprehensive, but is expressed in a labored and needlessly obscure style.

B. PERRIN.

Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero. By W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. xiii, 362.)

THIS book is intended to present a "picture of life and manners, of education, morals, and religion" in the last age of the republic, something that has not been done before in English, or in any other language in a satisfactory way. Useful treatises on the society of the empire have been available for some time, but the pre-Augustan period has been rather curiously neglected.

The author is widely known for his excellent studies in Roman religion and municipal government, and his reputation will be enhanced by this book. With no undue display of erudition in cumbrous footnotes and citations, he has set down in very attractive form an accurate account of the social life of the end of the republic. This is precisely what is needed at the present time when the tendency is so pronounced to regard any presentation of classical antiquity that suggests popularity or literary skill as evidence of dilettanteism. This book is one of the few illustrations in recent years of the kind of work in the field of the humanities that is thoroughly scholarly and useful to the student, and at the same time interesting to a wider circle of cultivated readers.

The social life of Rome is approached from various points of view—the classes of population, business, marriage, household economy, holidays, and religion very briefly. While the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Marquardt, his main source of information has been the literature of the period, particularly the letters of Cicero, which he has made to yield a rich harvest. In a very true sense he has made an important contribution to our knowledge in that he has placed before the student in concise and usable form results of detailed and scattered investigations that are of value only when properly correlated. An excellent illustration of this is found in the chapter on men of business, in which the character and amount of the business carried on in Rome, and the opportunities for free labor, are more clearly described than anywhere else. The discussion of slavery deserves mention for a certain freshness of treatment. Fowler believes that it was not an unmixed evil and that in the economic history of Italy it is entitled to a certain amount of credit. He follows Wallon too in deprecating the wholesale manumission of slaves, and, in spite of our natural disinclination to admit such a possibility, he makes out a good case.

The work has been done with accuracy. Two or three insignificant slips like the statement on page 19 that there were five basilicas in the Forum before the basilica Julia, and that on page 311 that Pompeius built the temple of Venus Victrix "immediately behind the theatre", have been noted, and it would have been better to have given the more careful estimate made by Herschel of the amount of the water supply of Rome, rather than that of Lanciani.

The book will probably not be superseded for many years, and it deserves a place among the reference manuals of all students of sociology and economics as well as among those of students of classical antiquity.

S. B. P.

The Greatness and Decline of Rome. Volume V. The Republic of Augustus. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. Translated by Rev. H. J. CHAYTOR, M.A., Headmaster of Plymouth College. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Pp. v, 371.)

THE first two volumes of this great work were reviewed in this journal for July, 1908, pp. 829-833. The two volumes in the Italian and in the English translation correspond. The last three do not, either in title or content, to the decided loss of the English translation. *The Fall of an Aristocracy*, the English title of volume III., is, it is true, an improvement on the Italian title, *Da Cesare ad Augusto*, inasmuch as it brings out the great historical resultant of the seventeen chaotic years from Caesar to Augustus; but *Rome and Egypt*, the English title of the fourth volume, is a poor substitute for the characteristic though paradoxical *La Repubblica di Augusto* of the Italian edition. And the only mitigation of the paradox in the title of the fourth volume, which was

found in the title of the fifth, *Augusto ed il Grande Impero*, disappears in the unmitigated paradox of the English title of the fifth, *The Republic of Augustus*. For Augustus restored the republic only in the merest form, and left an empire. It is doubtless due to this unfortunate change in titles for the English volumes that four chapters, the East, "Armenia Capta, Signis Receptis", the Great Social Laws of the Year 18 B. C., and the Ludi Saeculares, which belong properly to the fourth volume of the Italian edition, are included in the fifth volume of the English translation.

The first three volumes of the English translation were made by Mr. Alfred E. Zimmern, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford, who succeeded very well, in spite of minor inaccuracies, in catching the spirit and swing of the remarkable style of the original Italian. He had a collaborator in translating the fourth volume, Rev. H. J. Chaytor, M.A., Headmaster of Plymouth College, who alone translates the fifth volume. His work is distinctly less faithful to the original, both in form and spirit, than that of Mr. Zimmern.

The preface to the American edition of the fifth volume begins as follows: "The publication of the fifth volume, which completes my study of the Greatness and Decline of Rome, gives to the author an opportunity for a word of greeting to his American readers." But the preface to the first volume of the Italian edition declares the author's intention "to continue the narrative, in succeeding volumes, down to the break-up of the Empire". Has the author changed his original intention? This would seem improbable, as such change would render his title false, the "decline" of Rome having not yet set in. Or would he have us consider the century of revolution and the nearly half a century of Augustus's principate such "decline"? And how about the "happy century" of the Antonines?

This fifth volume continues more brilliantly than ever a historical work which must be called sensational, rhetorical, conjectural, imaginative, but also fascinating and stimulating, and all to a high degree. Authoritative and final, even for a short time, the work cannot be, but it has all the charm of the best historical fiction. The volume covers the years 21 B. C. to 14 A. D. "The years covered by the narrative present the most important epoch in the history of Rome, because it was during this period that Rome became conscious of her mission and responsibilities for the rule of the West. Her attention had hitherto been directed almost exclusively towards the East, but during these years, it was, under the pressure of events, directed towards Gaul and the West."

According to Ferrero, Augustus, who had "restored the Republic", sought also to restore the old aristocracy and the old Roman type of character. The latter he sought to do by the great social laws of the year 18 B. C. These represented the ascendancy over him of the influence of Livia and her party of old conservatives, and Drusus and

Tiberius, the sons of Livia, stood forth as representatives of the old nobility. But the younger nobility, under the influence of Eastern wealth and thought, tended to quite another type—the type of Sempronius Gracchus and the other lovers of Julia. As long as Agrippa and Maecenas lived, the conservative party kept the ascendancy. But Julia's visit to the East with Agrippa, her marriage to and estrangement from Tiberius, her fondness for luxury and display, gradually brought her into the leadership of the party of the young and dissolute nobility. Their intrigues to displace Tiberius in the confidence of Augustus are so far successful that the emperor relaxes the severity of his attitude toward the decadent morals of the time, and remains blind to the notorious adultery of Julia. The retirement of Tiberius to private life is the consequence, and for ten years the empire is deprived of the services of "the ablest man of his time". When he is recalled to the side of Augustus as his colleague in the government, in the year 4 A. D., after the disgrace and exile of Julia, it is to be the real ruler of the empire, and the party of Livia and the old conservatives triumphs.

So far we may follow Ferrero without much hesitation. He successfully tempers the hatred of Tacitus and the *médiance* of Suetonius. But no sound historian can follow him in his great thesis, which took Paris captive, that the conquest of Germany was undertaken only to preserve to the empire the priceless wealth of Gaul, which had suddenly become "the Egypt of the West"; and that Augustus deliberately planned it in order to afford his morally guarded nobility a fit field on which to develop the old Roman qualities. There is too much brilliant conjecture from the scattered hints in Dion Cassius, and too complete blindness to the fact that the Marian tradition, which Julius Caesar and Augustus followed, looked upon the teeming North as the source of constant peril to Rome. When its warlike peoples threatened to inundate the Latin peninsula, then Roman legions had to force them back and establish barriers against them. There was little thought of getting wealth from the North, but much of preserving that of the South. And it was the physical vigor of the people rather than their wealth which made Julius Caesar, and Augustus after him, choose their countries for the training of an army rather than Spain or the East. In due time, after the Romanization of Gaul by Augustus had borne its fruits, the province became the seat of wealth and culture, as did Spain, and both provinces furnished good emperors. But Ferrero insists upon estimating the Gaul of Augustus as one would the Gaul of Antoninus Pius, and altogether too much of his airy structure is based on an exaggerated interpretation of Dion Cassius, LIV. 21 (p. 112, and *passim*).

To the character of Augustus, Ferrero does far more justice than to that of Julius Caesar. But it is impossible to believe, as he would have us, that such a character as Augustus, having once absorbed all the powers of the state, deliberately set to work to build up an able and powerful nobility to which he might safely depute some of the powers

that overburdened him. The revolution, especially the last seventeen years of it, had practically extinguished the old senatorial nobility, and it was a decadent senate which deputed to Augustus all the powers of absolutism. He enjoyed their exercise, and wished his successor to enjoy them, and forged for his own soul its greatest sorrows by the way in which he played fast and loose with the most sacred things in the hearts of his children, in order that he might have a lineal successor—that he might found a dynasty.

With Ferrero's treatment of Ovid one can be heartily content. And this is a great satisfaction after the righteous anger which his treatment of Vergil and Horace has awakened in us. We seemed to detect in his constant sneer the attitude of the uneducated socialist, of the anarchist, toward art and letters. But we have no protest against his sneers at the author of the *Ars Amatoria*.

B. PERRIN.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers during the First Decade after the Black Death, 1349-1359. By BERTHA HAVEN PUTNAM, Ph.D., Instructor in History at Mount Holyoke College. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Volume XXXII.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1908. Pp. xi, 224, 480.)

THE monograph of Dr. Putnam will command serious attention as a study of those restless and problematical years immediately following the Black Death and more remotely preceding the Peasants' Revolt. As the title barely suggests, the work is a study on the administrative rather than the economic side of the history of Edward III.'s noted labor laws, the operation of which is followed through the various agencies of the government employed for their enforcement. For the purposes of a review, the book may be described in two aspects: first as a process of investigation, and second as to its subject-matter.

The investigative process begins with the Ordinance of Laborers of 1349 and the more extended Statute of Laborers of 1351, of which revised texts are given. Commissions and instructions to the itinerant justices of laborers are found in the chancery enrollments, chiefly the Patent Rolls. The fortunate discovery of eighteen small rolls containing fragments of the proceedings of these justices, which escaped destruction in the Peasants' Revolt apparently by the accident of being incorrectly filed among the Assize Rolls, has made it possible, meagre as these records are, to observe the enforcement as carried into the country. By dint of search among the more abundant records of the Exchequer, the King's Bench, and the Common Pleas, as many as 9,000 cases relat-

ing to the labor statutes have been revealed. The vast extent of these sources has justified the author in her limitation of time to a period of ten years and in confining her search almost entirely to the archives of the Public Record Office, observing mainly the operation of the king's courts, giving less attention to the enforcement as carried on by the local courts of the counties, the hundreds and the manors, while the action of ecclesiastical authorities has been omitted entirely as requiring separate treatment. Even with these limitations the work represents the most extensive investigation of a single question through the various administrative and judicial records which has yet been made. The larger part of the book contains transcripts of hitherto unpublished documents principally of illustrative cases before the courts, many of which have an interest apart from the subject in view.

On the side of material facts the book affords an interesting array of new evidence on various questions economic and political, although from the incompleteness of the survey some of the conclusions can only tentatively be offered.

As to the moot question, upon which writers have differed most widely, whether wages were kept down by the measures or not, the author dissents emphatically from those who have represented the statutes as ineffective. They were strongly operative, she believes, temporarily at least, in keeping wages at a lower level than they would otherwise have reached.

Upon the still more difficult problem whether the enforcement of the statutes quickened or retarded the emancipation of the villeins, with some reserve it is shown that in the disputes which came before the king's justices the lords were striving to secure laborers at low wages rather than to recover their escaped bondsmen, and that the charges most frequently brought before the courts were those of violation of the wage clauses of the laws. The recovery of villeins, therefore, if undertaken by judicial processes, must have been rather through the agency of the local courts which remain to be investigated.

The interest of the book is sustained by a persuasive literary style and by a workmanship which is admirable in several respects. The footnotes are ample in explanations and gracious acknowledgment of all assistance received; the transcriptions have been made by the expert hand of Miss Mary Martin whose work is notably accurate; and the selections of the appendix are plainly correlated with the text which they illustrate.

JAMES F. BALDWIN.

In the Days of the Councils: a Sketch of the Life and Times of Baldassare Cossa (afterward Pope John the Twenty-Third).

By EUSTACE J. KITTS. (London: Archibald Constable and Company. 1908. Pp. xxiv, 421.)

It is unfortunate that Mr. Kitts should not have succeeded in finding a more suitable title for his volume, for instead of taking us, as he promises, through the period of the councils, he acts as our guide merely through the first and least important council, namely that of Pisa, and instead of the complete life of Baldassarre Cossa he carries the Neapolitan cardinal to the threshold of the papacy, only to draw the curtain at that breathless moment. The book is really a history of the Great Schism, and no reason anywhere appears why the author, who consistently shows himself to be a single-minded and straightforward writer, should fail to say so on the title-page, especially as he has succeeded in preparing, if we bar one hundred pages of introductory matter which resumes the relations of the Church and the empire in the Middle Ages and is as tedious as a school primer, what can unhesitatingly be called a sound and painstaking, though a by no means original, work. Its substance and core is a careful setting forth of the various methods for terminating the schism proposed or followed at one time or another, coupled with a clear enumeration of the difficulties that thwarted each new effort in behalf of religious peace and unity. The documentation is not always entirely satisfactory, owing to the circumstance that the author, although his studies have carried him back to the original sources, leans largely upon the excellent secondary works dealing with the period, and frequently yields to the temptation of referring undisputed facts to them. A somewhat amusing consequence of this dependence is seen in his ready adoption of German words, for no other reason apparently than that they happened to be in the text before his eyes. Thus the predatory inhabitants of certain Italian islands are represented as lying in wait for Strandgut (p. 142), the castle of Sant' Angelo appears under the disguise of the Engelsburg (p. 154), an important baron of Piedmont is introduced to the reader as the Markgraf of Montferrat (p. 201), and the German King Rupert, in the spirit of carnival merry-making, dons a grotesque masquerade and makes his bow to us as Rupert Clem (pp. 165, 198).

The two commanding personalities of this period of church history are the Spaniard Pedro de Luna, who became Pope Benedict XIII. of the Clementine obedience, and the Italian Baldassarre Cossa, afterward Pope John XXIII. The author minutely traces the relations of each of these men to the Great Schism, and is scrupulously just to the personal charm, the persuasiveness, the rock-like steadiness of Pedro, as well as to the daring, the vigor and the political unscrupulousness of the Macchiavellian Baldassarre. But though even-tempered as the historian should be, Mr. Kitts pays the price for this cold merit by his failure to

endow his leading personalities with the warm breath of life. They remain pawns moved over the chess-board of Europe by the hand of an invisible *fatum*, and although the author may have excellent grounds for a cosmic philosophy which minimizes the part of the individual on the human stage, the present reviewer, without quarreling with the author's fundamental views of life, may yet regret their literary result, and deplore that a book of such considerable scientific value should lack the human touch.

There is an excellent index and a good working bibliography. The illustrations are nine in number and not particularly notable. The Lists of Rulers, added for the reader's convenience, are not as complete as might be, for the kings of England and Scotland are missing entirely, and in the German list both Wenzel and Rupert have been overlooked.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL

Documents Nouveaux sur les Moeurs Populaires et le Droit de Vengeance dans les Pays-Bas au XV^e Siècle. Lettres de Rémission de Philippe le Bon. Publiées et Commentées par CH. PETIT-DUTAILLIS, Professeur Honoraire à l'Université de Lille, Recteur de l'Académie de Grenoble. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1908. Pp. vi, 226.)

THE body of this valuable work is made up of a collection of petitions to Philip the Good, of Burgundy, which were selected by the editor as valuable documents for the social history of the fifteenth century. To accept the allegations of petitions as proofs of facts is of course impossible; but the allegations of such petitions, whether true or untrue, throw valuable light on the state of society, for true or not they are almost necessarily in accordance with the manners and customs of the time. It would be dangerous to accept the statements of such petitions as representing typical occurrences. The facts recited, while entirely within the range of possibility, are by the very fact that they form the subject of a special proceeding likely to be exceptional in their nature. If we wish to determine the frequency of occurrences, such as homicide, riot, or incontinence, we cannot rely on such documents as these, but must go to such rich mines of information as the judicial rolls of England. The editor possibly relies too much on the recited facts of feud, murder and incontinence in these petitions as illustrating typical life in Flanders at the middle of the fifteenth century; but the documents are of great value as supplementing other evidence on this point, and as filling in the historical outlines with living color.

Probably the most valuable portion of the work is the introductory matter prefixed to the two series of documents. The first series, intended to illustrate the popular customs and ideas of Ghent and Liège, is prefixed by a short but admirable statement of certain habits of the people. The dishonesty and the murderous temper of the population, its

licentiousness and petty broils, are well described, and the facts of the petitions cited in proof of them. The second series of documents, illustrating the family wars, truces and peace, and the legal or quasi-legal right of vengeance, is introduced by a long and scholarly discussion, in which the condition of the medieval law on these points is thoroughly treated. The family proceedings by which pacts of peace were made and legal truce enforced are curious examples of the persistence of the fundamental German conception of the family as a legal unit; a conception which still prevails on the Continent in the "family council" for the settlement of various matters after the death of the head of a family. While there seems to be no trace of this Germanic idea in the common law of England, the idea of family entity still remains in the mountain districts of the South, where many of the scenes described in the petitions and discussed in the learned introduction might have taken place. The family feud is not so fully a thing of the past that even the historian of to-day can afford to neglect this study of medieval life.

The introduction takes up in turn: family feuds and the right of vengeance in Flanders; the family truce and the more permanent and binding family peace; the development of the law regulating such matters; and the legal right of private vengeance. The learned introduction is summed up in the concluding, and, may it be added, quite European sentence: "Vengeance will not disappear from our habits, the sentiment of honor will persist; but at least our texts show its disappearance from the law."

Vie de Jeanne d'Arc. Par ANATOLE FRANCE, de l'Académie Française. In two volumes. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 1908. Pp. lxxxiii, 553; 483.)

The Maid of France: Being the Story of the Life and Death of Jeanne d'Arc. By ANDREW LANG. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1908. Pp. xvi, 379.)

M. ANATOLE FRANCE has read prodigiously in the literature of the first half of the fifteenth century, both French and also that of western Europe at large. He has put the result of his reading into a coherent and interesting narrative. Notwithstanding his industry and his gifts, his prejudices and his treatment of the authorities make his life of Jeanne d'Arc dangerously untrustworthy. Errors of statement and of reference inevitably creep into any book of a thousand pages, however carefully prepared, and M. France asks pardon for these mistakes most charmingly. Ordinarily the reviewer may point them out in a note, and may concern himself chiefly with the general quality of the book reviewed; but M. France's errors exhibit a strong and constant bias which vitiates the narrative as a whole. His brilliancy may well impose upon an ordinarily intelligent reader, while even a student may be impressed by the number and variety of his citations.

Only a few typical illustrations of M. France's bias can be given here. Both in the *Scottish Review* and in his *Maid of France*, Mr. Lang has pointed out numberless errors of detail, important and unimportant. M. Salomon Reinach has filled with them pages of the *Revue Critique* in a review generally favorable. For example, M. France seeks to show that Jeanne was a saint of the later medieval type, like St. Catherine of Siena, and, in proof of this, that her acquaintances and contemporaries were especially insistent upon her saintly chastity. In his preface, p. xxvi, he observes, "Dès lors il ne suffisait pas qu'elle eût été chaste; il était nécessaire qu'elle l'eût été miraculeusement; il était nécessaire qu'elle eût poussé la chasteté et la sobriété dans le boire et le manger jusqu'à la sainteté. Aussi les témoins viennent-ils publier à l'envi: *Erat casta, erat castissima. Ille loquens non credit aliquam mulierem plus esse castam quam ista Puella erat. Erat sobria in potu et cibo. Erat sobria in cibo et potu.*" In support of this statement, M. France refers to four depositions taken at the second trial. His use of Latin shows that he intended literal quotations, inasmuch as three out of the four are in Latin, although translated from the deponents' original French. Except for a single "casta" at a page not cited by M. France, not a material word which he quotes can be found in these three Latin depositions, and in the French deposition of Aulon there is nothing which can be translated into M. France's Latin. At the second trial, seventy or eighty deponents, being invited to do so, wished in all sincerity to speak praise of Jeanne. They knew and assumed that she was chaste, but other characteristics were more distinctive. Six or eight of the deponents used the word "casta", but in no case with special emphasis, as M. France would have us believe. "Castissima" occurs but once, so far as I can discover (*Procès*, III. 18). Even her occupations of spinning and tending cattle are mentioned by the deponents oftener than is her chastity. M. France's theory of Jeanne is the opposite of the truth. The difference between her temper and that of St. Catherine was extreme. To say of the latter "*Erat sobria in potu et cibo*" would mislead; St. Catherine went far beyond temperance in the direction of saintly abstinence. Jeanne did not.

Again, it is M. France's theory that Jeanne was directed by one or more clever churchmen who made her their mouthpiece and puppet. No contemporary ever mentioned this prompter, and even M. France knows nothing of his name. Yet the growth of M. France's legend concerning him outstrips the growth of contemporary legends about Jeanne. He is suggested in volume I., at page 51. Before the bottom of page 52 is reached, he is known to have come from the banks of the Meuse, he has suffered greatly from the wars, and has gathered prophecies concerning the salvation of France which he has furbished up for his pupil's use. Not only is evidence wanting that Jeanne was prompted in her mission by intriguing churchmen or by others, but the contrary is proven beyond a doubt. After her capture, during the last year of her life,

prompting is obviously out of the question. Humanly speaking, she was absolutely alone. Upon M. France's theory a contrast would appear between her earlier and her later life. In fact the two are consistent; that which she had been at Vaucouleurs and Chinon, at Orleans and Rheims and Compiègne, she was at Beurevoir and at Rouen.

The error of M. France's book is deep-set. From the foul mockery of Voltaire he is as free as from the moral enthusiasm which, by a strange perversion, was joined to it in Voltaire's mind. His mockery is as comprehensive, and, applied with the skill of a literary artist, it gives tone to very many pages of his book. Thus he writes "*Si nous ne savions de Jeanne d'Arc que ce qu'ont dit d'elle les chroniqueurs français, nous la connaîtrions à peu près comme nous connaissons Çakia Mouni*" (p. xv). Doubtless the account which these chroniclers give of Jeanne is not altogether consistent or accurate, but it is not less trustworthy than that given of Charles VII. or the constable Richemont, and it is more detailed. To speak of Jeanne as "*la petite sainte*", of her company as a "*béguinage volant*" or a "*troupe vagabonde*" is satire, and satire with little foundation. To impugn Jeanne's testimony and to suggest her mental weakness, M. France alleges strange lapses of memory which show that she had only "*un souvenir confus de certains faits considérables de sa vie*" (p. iii). He adds that her perpetual hallucinations for the most part prevented her from distinguishing truth from falsehood. No one else, I believe, has discovered this considerable confusion in her testimony; but, as M. France frequently takes her denial of a charge as conclusive proof of the charge, the confusion which he finds is accounted for. Jeanne was never a disciple of Frère Richard, as M. France often asserts and implies. To say that she "*brûlait de quitter la quenouille pour l'épée*" (I. 96) is the opposite of the truth, as appears throughout her story. The historical student thoroughly familiar with Jeanne's life and circumstances will profit from M. France's leisurely and illuminating excursions into contemporary literature, and will be aided by the side-lights which he often throws upon the course of events. Others should handle the book with misgiving.

In an appendix appears the medical opinion of Dr. Dumas, a distinguished physician, concerning Jeanne's psychological condition. Cautiously expressed, it yet illustrates the difficulty which necessarily besets a man of science in dealing with her case. The physician who diagnoses the ailment of his patient does so after personal examination of the symptoms, or, at the worst, after their examination by another qualified physician. Thus he is reasonably sure of his facts. But the master of natural science is seldom fitted for historical study, and, moreover, has not the time necessary for careful historical inquiry concerning the facts of Jeanne's life. Hence Dr. Dumas's opinion is based largely upon alleged symptoms which did not exist. It neces-

sarily resembles an expert's answer made in a court of law to the so-called hypothetical question, an answer commonly productive of much practical error. Dr. Dumas's review of M. France's book in the *Revue du Mois*, May 10, 1908, is less cautious.

Apparently Mr. Lang's life of Jeanne d'Arc began in a review which should refute M. France's errors. This Mr. Lang has accomplished by sound historical criticism condensed for the most part in learned notes because necessarily too detailed to interest the general reader. Mr. Lang's admiration of the Maid would not let him stop with a refutation of error, but made him go forward to produce a readable and, on the whole, a sound biography of Jeanne. He too has read deeply in the literature of the fifteenth century, though not so prodigiously as M. France, and his side-lights are thrown more faithfully, if somewhat less luxuriantly. A few of his conclusions will be disputed in minute detail. Only one question is of importance.

Mr. Lang believes that Jeanne went to Vaucouleurs before mid-summer, 1428, was then repulsed by Baudricourt, withdrew to Domremy, remained there about six months, and returned to Vaucouleurs about January 1, 1429 (p. 333). The only considerable authority for the earlier visit is a single word in the deposition of Poulengy, who, speaking about twenty-six years after the event, said that Jeanne came to Vaucouleurs "circa Ascensionem Domini, ut sibi videtur". Poulengy testified in French, which was translated into the Latin above quoted. Several words may be suggested for which "Ascensionem" might easily have been substituted by a careless scribe. Poulengy testified that Jeanne promised help to Charles "before the middle of Lent", an unlikely form of promise if made but forty days after the former Lent was over, although very natural if made about New Year's. Novelompont, Poulengy's companion, testified that Jeanne made the same prophecy in January, and he said nothing about an earlier visit to Vaucouleurs. Mr. Lang suggests that if Jeanne had been speaking at New Year's, she would have mentioned the siege of Orleans; but in Poulengy's report of conversations with Jeanne which were certainly held in January, reference to Orleans is equally wanting. Jeanne's own testimony makes strongly against Mr. Lang's theory. "Dixit etiam quod vox dicebat sibi quod veniret in Franciam, et non poterat plus durare ubi erat; quodque vox illa sibi dicebat quod levaret obsidionem, coram civitate Aurelianensi positam. Dixit ulterius vocem prae fatam sibi dixisse, quod ipsa Johanna iret ad Robertum de Baudricuria apud oppidum de Vallecoulors capitaneum dicti loci, et ipse traderet sibi gentes secum ituras" (*Procès*, I. 52). Jeanne was speaking of a visit to Vaucouleurs after New Year's in 1429, and would hardly have omitted all reference to an earlier visit, had one been made.

The question is of greater importance than appears at first sight. Mr. Lang says that Jeanne "resisted during three or four years the

commands of her Voices" to go to France (p. 46), and again he speaks of "the precise moment when Jeanne yielded to her Voices and determined to go into France" (p. 58). This seems to me to be contradicted by the tenor of Jeanne's life and by her testimony. "Interrogée se elle fist oncques aucunes choses contre leur commandement et voulté; respond que ce qu'elle a peu et sceu faire, elle l'a fait et accomply à son povoir" (*Procès*, I. 169). The leap from Beaurevoir and the recantation at St. Ouen were the exceptions which prove the rule. It is true that Jeanne's "Voices" first spoke to her more than three years before her departure into France, and that soon thereafter they spoke to her of succoring the kingdom. It seems probable, however, that at the first they chiefly told her to be a good girl, and that God would help her. Their prophecy that she should save France was at first vague, and became a definite command to go to the help of the dauphin and to raise the siege of Orleans only about Christmas time, 1428. Then the command was obeyed soon after it was definitely given. When Jeanne learned that she was bidden to go at once to war, she was reluctant, indeed, but that she disobeyed this command for months and years appears to me quite out of the question. By what steps the command of the "Voices" to succor France, at first general, became at length very specific, has not been much considered, but is worthy of study. Had she lived for years after her childhood in constant conflict with her "Voices" and in disobedience to their orders, yielding only to overwhelming pressure at the last, her spiritual life would have shown signs of the conflict, and would not have manifested the happy serenity, the unbroken love and reverence which made her what she was.

FRANCIS C. LOWELL.

Sir Francis Walsingham und seine Zeit. Von Dr. KARL STÄHLIN, Privatdozent an der Universität Heidelberg. Erster Band. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1908. Pp. xiv, 662.)

ENGLISH biography as well as English constitutional and economic history has begun to furnish a field for German historical scholarship in recent years. Dr. von Ruville's notable life of the Earl of Chatham is probably the most important contribution to the history of eighteenth-century England that has appeared within the last two decades; and the first installment of the present work, which is planned on an almost equally ambitious scale, indicates that the Germans have waked up to the possibilities of Elizabethan biography also. Certainly the life of Walsingham furnishes an unrivalled opportunity. No Tudor statesman of equal importance has remained so nearly "undone" as he; while on the other hand the various Elizabethan calendars have for years past afforded an excellent guide to the sources, and otherwise facilitated research. Dr. Stählin certainly showed wisdom in his choice of a subject.

His work is obviously the result of prolonged and painstaking research. An introduction of thirty pages describes the family history of the Walsinghams from medieval times down to the Reformation; the first book (230 pages, in three chapters) discusses the youth, training and first political activities of Sir Francis up to the year 1570; the second, which forms the bulk of the volume and completes it, is exclusively occupied with a minute description of his embassy to France up to 1573. The thoroughness and solidity of this part of the work is beyond question. Every fine point of the French marriage negotiations is laboriously discussed, every tangle of cross-purposes unravelled, every phase of Walsingham's stay in Paris (no less than ten are specifically enumerated) is subjected to the closest scrutiny. But there is little imagination, no sense of humor, and a conspicuous absence of light and shade which leaves the reader utterly bewildered at the close. With all his research Dr. Stählin has not been quite able to put himself in the place of the man whom he describes; and the interest of his narrative suffers greatly in consequence. Moreover when dealing with internal affairs his judgment and estimate of the relative values of different authorities are by no means always to be implicitly trusted. The unsupported assertion of the erratic eighteenth-century antiquary, Browne Willis, for instance, is certainly an inadequate foundation for the positive statement on page 126 that Walsingham sat as member for Banbury in Elizabeth's first parliament, especially in view of the fact that the official lists of *Members of Parliament* printed by order of the House of Commons (*Parl. Pap.*, 1878, 69, pt. I., pp. 400-402) give no return for that town in 1558-1559.

It would not, however, be fair to imply that the book is disfigured by many such blemishes as this. Though its bulk and lack of proportion render it almost unreadable for any but the specialist, it will long remain a mine of valuable information concerning one of the most complicated periods of Elizabethan history; and its use will be rendered far easier than that of many other similar productions by an admirable index of names and places. A second volume, which is to contain a critical bibliography and an essay on the manuscript sources, will complete the work.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660. By GEORGE LOUIS BEER. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. viii, 438.)

IN 1907 Mr. Beer issued the first volume of his series upon the old colonial policy of Great Britain, in which he presented in a new and convincing fashion the fundamental causes of the separation of the colonies from the mother country. He now turns back to the beginnings of his subject and analyzes with great thoroughness and skill the origins

of British policy, tracing step by step the growth of certain financial and commercial principles that were to be the bases, at a later time, of a definite colonial system. In future volumes he will fill in the gap from 1660 to 1754, a task requiring at least three volumes more and involving the handling of many exceedingly difficult and obscure problems.

Mr. Beer views the colonies as the outcome of a natural process in British expansion and as furnishing from the beginning all the conditions of a new experiment. The establishment of the colonies in America "was not the result of isolated or fortuitous circumstances but, like all great historical developments, was intimately connected with the main currents of the world's political evolution". Our colonial period was not merely the earliest phase in the rise of an independent nation, it was still more the time in the history of a world-wide colonizing movement when Great Britain sought so to mould metropolis and colony as "to conform to the prevailing idea of a self-sufficient empire". In the eyes of the men of the early seventeenth century Virginia, Massachusetts and Barbadoes were not separate communities detached from the mother country, but were outlying dependencies serving to reinforce the mother state in its natural and inevitable conflict with other European maritime powers. The relationship thus created gave rise to certain principles of control not formulated by theorists or doctrinaires but prepared in the crucible of practical necessity. These principles shaped themselves gradually in practice and like all great social and governmental ideas had been long in actual operation before they became fixed in the writings of the mercantilists.

The great merit of Mr. Beer's book is that it traces these principles back to their origins and follows their appearance one by one, at different times and under different circumstances, in the gradual shaping of something like a colonial system. This evidence does not show us any completed or articulated scheme of control; but it does show that such a system was in process of crystallization earlier than has commonly been deemed to be the case. All the essential ideas of the mercantilists regarding the colonies as sources of supply for the mother country alone are to be found well established before 1640. England was already applying most of the injunctions laid down in the navigation acts twenty years before those acts were drafted, so that the great statutes of the reign of Charles II. were rather a culmination than a cause. England was encouraging the colonies to produce what had to be bought of other countries and was forbidding them to traffic with foreigners or to allow foreigners to traffic with them. Similarly she was viewing the colonies from the standpoint of her customs and her shipping, and as a place of receipt for her criminals and for the vagrants of her cities. She was making herself the vent and staple and was borrowing from the practices of the merchant companies the idea of a monopoly of trade.

All these points Mr. Beer brings out with great clearness and supports them with a wealth of evidence, and the chapters which contain the

exposition of his main thesis are the most important portions of his book. Less novel are the pages devoted to the beginnings of the administrative system and less convincing in that they seem to show a more orderly scheme of colonial control than the various experiments of the period would warrant us in accepting. Management of the colonies in the years before 1660 was little more than an attempt to find a way without adequate chart or compass and, as compared with the comprehensive system gradually called into existence after 1660, was casual and almost haphazard. I differ very unwillingly from a writer who has made this field so peculiarly his own, but I am unable to believe that the attitude of the early Stuarts toward Virginia and Massachusetts was actuated by any lofty plan of imperial unity. The motives seem to me to have been essentially political and religious and not colonial in the true sense of that word. Similarly, I am unable to believe in the greatness of Cromwell as the founder of a colonial system. Circumstances demanded an extension of the power and authority of the Commonwealth and thereby created an apparent tendency toward centralization in the various parts of the British dominions, but it certainly was not accompanied by any adequate scheme of colonial organization. I cannot believe that either Cromwell or the early Stuarts conceived of a colonial empire in anything like the later sense of that term. Differences of opinion may be nothing more than differences as to the motives of those who were the ruling powers in England. As Mr. Beer himself says, "the time was not ripe for the establishment of a comprehensive and symmetrical system of colonial control". The age before 1655 was still religious and men were not thinking "colonially". But they were working out more or less unconsciously some of the essential principles that were to find embodiment in the well-developed colonial policy of the more modern age that followed. This fact Mr. Beer demonstrates with absolute conclusiveness.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

A History of Modern Liberty. By JAMES MACKINNON. Volume III. *The Struggle with the Stuarts, 1603-1647.* (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1908. Pp. xviii, 501.)

THE monumental work of Professor Mackinnon makes rapid progress in spite of its bulk. Not only has he completed the third volume, but his preface tells us that the fourth is already in manuscript. The plan of his task now appears fully developed. It is, in itself, interesting, for it is proposed, practically, to rewrite certain selected portions of history most identified with the development of political liberty, from that standpoint. In pursuance of this idea volume I., on the Middle Ages, and volume II., on the Reformation, have already appeared. Volume IV. will conclude the struggle with the Stuarts, volume V. will treat of

the revolutionary movements of the eighteenth century, especially in America and France, volume VI. will be devoted to the French Revolution from 1789 to 1804, and the two concluding volumes will discuss the Revolutionary and Emancipation movements in the nineteenth century. It is an ambitious and an inspiring task which Professor Mackinnon has set himself. One cannot but admire the energy required to fill eight stout volumes such as these. Unquestionably such a work is worth doing. But whether it is worth doing on quite such a scale, to attain its highest usefulness, may perhaps seem doubtful to some. No one can, of course, pretend to know at first hand so many and such different fields as are here covered, so that with all the ability, the goodwill and the energy in the world a single author must, of necessity, depend largely on the work of others. And there is no doubt that the world contains relatively few persons even among scholars or disciples of liberty who will read this work, compared with the public it would have if it were expressed in one or two volumes. Such a conclusion is one that inevitably suggests itself at the outset and does not grow fainter with reading. None the less the present volume, if one lays aside the feeling that so much of it has been said before, contains a considerable amount of good reading, some interesting information and points of view more or less new. In particular, it gathers up in one place very conveniently much that is expressed in many other scattered works. The author has had the great advantage of Professor Gardiner's investigations to guide him through the tangled politics of the period. But he has evidently looked into the sources on his own account, especially those directly related to his particular subject. Covering a well-worn field he approaches it from a different direction than that of the purely political historian, and often contributes if not greatly to the knowledge at least to the understanding of some movements elsewhere more lightly dwelt on. Though naturally a strong champion of Parliament he is, in general, fair-minded with respect to their adversaries, and not blind to their faults, as his estimate of Pym shows. And his opinion of the Solemn League and Covenant is unusually judicial. He has a bibliographical scheme of his own, growing, no doubt, from the character of his work. He puts at the end of each chapter a list of authorities upon which it is based, these being in some cases evaluated. Useful in itself and peculiarly suited to his purpose, this gives no clue to his authority for individual statements of fact or opinion. It would be impossible in any brief space to enumerate those with which one might, for one reason or another, differ. In a sense it would scarcely be worth while, in that few of them affect the value of a history of liberty. However much they might be questioned were the book a history of political events, they are in the main on matters little affecting the progress of liberal ideas. One notes with some surprise, however, that the index contains no reference either to the Diggers or the Levellers, nor so far as has been found, any notice of one of the most useful and inter-

esting studies on this subject, Borgeaud's *Rise of the Democratic Spirit in England and America*. One notes also rather less than might be expected of that sturdy nonconformist John Lilburne, however much one may agree that "on the whole I . . . am glad he is in the history of England, but think he was an ass." On the contrary we must be grateful for the long and interesting account of Scottish thought and action in this period, which to those of us inclined to consider England too exclusively, will prove the most valuable and suggestive part of the book.

Ireland under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum. In two volumes. By RICHARD BAGWELL, M.A. Volume I., 1603-1642. Volume II., 1642-1660. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1909. Pp. xv, 370; xii, 388.)

IN 1885 appeared the first two volumes of Mr. Bagwell's *Ireland under the Tudors*, which was completed by the publication of the third volume in 1890. The present work begins with the accession of James I. and ends with the Restoration. Within two years a historian of England has written that "there is no general history of Ireland in the seventeenth century adequate at once in scale and research." So far as the period thus far covered by Mr. Bagwell is concerned, that reproach has been wiped out. If, as we hope, he is able to complete his work through the Stuart period as he plans, it will be removed altogether. Since he began his investigations into the history of Ireland a large proportion of the material used in these volumes has found its way into print. The *Calendars of State Papers, Ireland*, has been completed down to and including 1669. Grosart's edition of the *Lismore Papers*, and Mrs. Townshend's *Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork*, Miss Hickson's *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, chiefly consisting of the depositions and documents relating to the rebellion of 1641, together with books like Lord Fitzmaurice's life of Sir William Petty, and the valuable contributions of writers like the late Mr. Falkner, have done much to provide material for such a study. In addition to these Mr. Bagwell has, of course, consulted the mass of material previously printed, and much still remaining in manuscript. It is peculiarly unfortunate in such a work as this that he, like Professor Gardiner, has been denied access to the Strafford Papers in Lord Fitzwilliam's hands. They would perhaps have added something to his admirable account of that statesman's activities in Ireland. His bibliography, one observes also, does not note the work of Continental scholars in his field, like that of Bonn, who in his *Englische Kolonisation in Irland* has contributed a good deal to the understanding of the subject. Nor has he regarded much the wider aspects of the case, the corresponding movement in America, or the detailed course of English affairs save as they directly concerned specific Irishmen or Irish events. He has stuck very close to his text.

Even the appearance of Colonel Jones and his troops in Ireland comes upon one with an element of surprise no doubt akin to the effect produced on the men of his time. In one direction, and that unconnected with the narrative, the present volumes may be open to criticism. That is in the scarcity of maps. To most readers, even to most scholars, the geography of Ireland in the seventeenth century is as vague as that of America to many Englishmen in the twentieth, and more maps would have been very welcome. With such an immense mass of names it may have seemed impossible to include them all in the index, though this would have added to the value of the book. And though the omission of the older divisions, Ulster, Leinster, Munster and Connaught, may, in a sense, be defensible, their inclusion in the index would have been logical and useful. Among minor matters one may observe that Mr. Corbett notes in his life of Monk certain details of that general's operations in Ireland which, especially a letter from the Longleat MSS. (pp. 24-25), throw some light on that period, particularly on the affairs at Portnahinch and Kiltrush, and the operations in Kildare and Queens County in 1642. Similarly the work and character of Sir Richard Grenville might have been illuminated by certain notes in his biography which has recently appeared. Doubtless many such additions might be and will be adduced. Yet the sum of them will not materially affect the value of such a work as this. All the adjectives which greeted the appearance of Mr. Bagwell's earlier volumes, judicial, impartial, dispassionate, restrained, may well be repeated here. For as a result of his long and patient investigation we have the first adequate account of a peculiarly vexed and important period, careful, scholarly, accurate. Comparison with other books in the same field is practically impossible for there are none such. Miss Hickson's useful book confines itself to a narrower range and, even so, is rather documentary than narrative. Father D'Alton's interesting volumes cover a far larger field and devote relatively much less space to the period here covered. Almost all other books are more or less controversial. Mr. Bagwell's work is in sharp contrast to this. His style is sober and restrained. Controversy is sedulously avoided, and even on the most vexed points he contents himself almost invariably with stating the facts and evidence. In the most controverted period, that of the Rebellion, he confirms Miss Hickson's work and conclusions. At times his narrative is direct even to baldness. "Neill Gary had warned O'Dogherty not to fight, but he neglected this advice and was killed by Irish soldiers who wanted his land. His head was sent to Dublin and stuck up on a spike over the new gate" (I. 56-57). Coote "never went to bed during a campaign, but kept himself ready for any alarm and lost his life in a sally from Trim during a night attack, at the head of seventeen men, the place being beset by thousands" (II. 332). This is not the manner of Froude. Indeed one might at times be glad of more generalization and, especially in the extraordinary confusion of the wars, a more pronounced guidance. Mr. Bagwell has

that most important asset of a historian, knowledge, not merely of facts, dates, places and events, but of the men in his period, which adds incalculably to the value and interest of his work. The light thrown on the character of the viceroys and their activities is thus very great, and the motives of the great number of participants in the struggle are developed generally by simple statement of their own words and deeds. In short, Mr. Bagwell has not merely produced the best history of Ireland during this period, but the only one in its class. And he has laid a heavy debt of gratitude on reader and scholar alike for a contribution of the highest value in a field at once one of the most difficult and important in modern history.

W. C. ABBOTT.

Sir George Mackenzie, King's Advocate, of Rosehaugh: his Life and Times, 1636(?)–1691. By ANDREW LANG. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1909. Pp. xii, 347.)

SOME seven years ago Mr. Francis Watt published in his *Terrors of the Law* a brilliant, vivid portrait of "the Bluidy Advocate Mackenzie". That little sketch, not mentioned, it happens, by the present author, placed the king's prosecutor abominated of the Covenanters in a more favorable light than he is commonly regarded. Mr. Lang now offers us an exhaustive study of his life and times which is an apology, though a qualified one, not only for the man but for the government which he represented. The author's thesis is that "in the education of Scotland the Restoration was a bitter but necessary movement"; that, granted Charles's agents were cruel and unscrupulous, they succeeded in breaking down the intolerable claims of the extreme Presbyterians, a task which gentler means and more worthy men would never have accomplished. Mackenzie, however, while with them, was in many respects not of them. He was "a scholar, 'the flower of the wits of Scotland', an erudite and eloquent pleader, a writer who touched on many themes,—morals, religion, heraldry, history, jurisprudence,—the author of perhaps the first novel written on Scottish soil", he was "a thoroughly modern man, one of ourselves set in society and political environment unlike ours, and perverted by his surroundings", and "the times brought to the surface of his nature elements which, in a more settled age, would have laid dormant and unsuspected by himself." He was the servant of his master and "he adopted . . . the policy of repression, when . . . the policy of concession was surrounded by insuperable difficulties." His career is traced in chronological detail in connection with the events of the period and some space is devoted to his writings.

Mr. Lang shows his usual minute and varied learning, and brightens the gloomy and stormy sketches over which he passes with occasional flashes of wit. New light is thrown on old problems; for instance, new

material is marshalled (pp. 32 ff.) to strengthen the case against the Marquis of Argyle, executed in 1661, and (pp. 204 ff.) it is shown as never before how much clan animosity had to do with the ruin of Argyle's son, the ninth earl, in 1681, though Mr. Lang seems to contradict himself (pp. 216 and 233) in trying to explain the attitude of the Duke of York. If one is particular about "cheese-parings" he cites reasons for putting the date of Mackenzie's birth two years later than the traditional 1636. Yet, while it has many merits, the book is hard reading. We are led through labyrinths of detail, events are alluded to rather than described, and, to use the author's own words in another connection, "his characters are as numerous as the grains on the ribbed sea sands." More than one point of controversy is treated in a perplexing or inclusive fashion (*cf. e. g.*, pp. 83 and 325), and the hero is at times obscured in a Scotch mist.

As to details, Mr. Lang seems to minimize the political importance of the Church of Rome in pre-Reformation Scotland (pp. 11-12); 1660 as the date for the defeat at Rullion Green is a misprint for 1666 (p. 84); White Hall (p. 239) is commonly written as one word; it is not made clear whether Lockhart's appointment as King's Advocate was intended to be temporary, or whether Dalrymple crowded him out (pp. 290-292). We must hope that it is a typographical error which makes a Scotchman err in a scriptural name. It was Uzzah not Uzziah who came to grief for touching the Ark (p. 174). All in all, however, we should be grateful to Mr. Lang for his generally sane attitude and for scholarly findings in a period where so much has been distorted by political and theological prejudice.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Le Secret du Régent et la Politique de l'Abbé Dubois (Triple et Quadruple Alliances), 1716-1718. Par ÉMILE BOURGEOIS, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. [La Diplomatie Secrète au XVIII^e Siècle, ses Débuts.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1909. Pp. xxxvi, 384.)

THIS volume is the first in a series of three dealing with *La Diplomatie Secrète au XVIII^e Siècle*. From its extensive use of new documents, its wide knowledge of the literature, its keen and discriminating judgments, and its clear and vivid narration, it is a work worthy of the reputation of Professor Bourgeois and of the Prix du Budget awarded by the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Its merits are appreciatively but judicially discussed in an opinion rendered by Sorel, with the award, which is printed in the preface.

The carefully classified bibliography contains an exhaustive list of the materials in French. The author's researches in the archives of other European countries are avowedly less extensive. With respect to England, for instance, except the *Mémoires de Cellamare* no unprinted

sources are indicated, and of the printed only the older, better known ones appear. Professor Bourgeois explains this on the ground that his work here has been based on Wiesener's *Le Régent, l'Abbé Dubois et les Anglais d'après les Sources Britanniques*. As to modern books, in view of some that find a place, it is strange that Blok's *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk* does not appear, nor Mr. Wiston-Glynn's recent work on John Law. Altogether, however, there is ample evidence for the claim of the writer that his examination of the *politique* of the regency, excepting the books of Wiesener and Baudrillart, largely based on English or Spanish archives, and the study of Father Briard, biographical rather than historical, is the only attempt since Lemontey to deal with the subject from the French sources.

Professor Bourgeois's thesis is that the policy of the Regent, inspired by Dubois, was directed toward their own personal ends in contrast with the official traditional policy of Louis XIV., which, it is maintained, was for the manifest advantage of France as a whole. After the Peace of Utrecht the Grand Monarque aimed to maintain the union with Spain, to reconcile Austria, thus leaving France free to develop her colonial policy and forcing England, isolated from the Continent, to renounce her maritime supremacy. Peace was menaced by the House of Farnese in Italy and by the House of Hanover in the north: Louis's aim was to neutralize Italy and to oppose the Pretender to Hanover. But Dubois worked with the Regent to frame an alliance with England and Holland, and subsequently with Austria, in order to secure the succession in the event of the death of Louis XV. This was in reality, as Sorel points out, the "secret of Dubois", since he originated it, rather than that of the Regent. Dubois sought as his own reward the cardinal's hat and the office of minister of foreign affairs. To obtain their ends the Regent and his counsellor alienated the majority of the French, gave up the cause of the Pretender, granted commercial concessions to the Dutch, demolished Mardyke, contributed to England's aggrandizement. To secure the adherence of Austria the neutrality of Italy was violated, which led to war with Spain, "one of the paltriest languid wars", growled Carlyle, "of extreme virulence and extreme feebleness". In the north Sweden was abandoned, and Russia which might have acted as a check on England was rebuffed. While professing peace the diplomacy of the two political gamesters "cut and pared" the states of Italy "like Dutch cheeses", stirred up dissension in France, and divided Europe into two irreconcilable camps. In his hostile estimate of the policy of Dubois and his master it is a question if Professor Bourgeois does not exaggerate the foresight of Louis XIV., and, admitting the self-seeking of the new policy, his treatment would have been more convincing if the advantages of continuing the old had been more fully discussed. As to particulars, new or more complete evidence is produced against many traditional views. For example, Saint-Simon's spiteful account of Dubois's low origin seems to be discredited beyond peradventure, and

Dubois is exonerated from the old charge of pandering to the vices of the Regent in his youth. The view is again and effectively attacked that Charles XII. had any intention of invading England in 1717; the whole scheme was a device of Goertz to extort money from the Jacobites. Also Alberoni is pictured in a less aggressive light than commonly. There are many exquisite pen-portraits, and the devices by which Dubois sought to secure his ascendancy in English society are piquantly described. A few slips are to be noted. John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, appears (p. 34) as Lord John Dalrymple Stair; Hamptoncourt (p. 246) is unusual, and one wonders what can be meant by "St. Martin Scort" (p. 251). The Prince of Wales was not named "Regent" on the king's journey to Hanover in 1716 (p. 137) but "Guardian of the Realm and Lieutenant", an office unknown since the days of the Black Prince. Stanhope became (p. 173) Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as First Lord of the Treasury in 1717. There was no "Duke" of Dorset till 1720 (p. 83), and the reviewer knows of no "Duchess of Sandwich" (p. 243). It is hardly just to say (p. 62) that the Jacobites were shot *en masse* after the Rising of 1715.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765. By GEORGE LOUIS BEER. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. x, 327.)

FROM all the preceding books upon his subject and period, Mr. Beer's *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, differs radically in respect either of its method or of its point of view. From most of its predecessors it differs in both respects. And its differences, with scarcely an exception, are to Mr. Beer's credit and to his reader's profit. The point of view is that of English officialdom, of the men who, in administrative office, and sometimes in legislative position, felt themselves responsible for the conduct and control of the empire over seas. The method is a patient and systematic examination, volume by volume, and page by page, of the traces which their activities have scattered through the files of the London Record Office. This is a work which needed to be done. And it needed to be done as Mr. Beer has done it, in a spirit of sympathetic appreciation for their difficulties, but not of blind acquiescence in their conclusions.

The book falls into two nearly equal parts. The first (chapters I.-VII.) is concerned with the test imposed upon Britain's traditional colonial policy by the experiences of the Seven Years' War; the second with the efforts of the colonial administrators to reshape that policy in the light of their recent experiences. Mr. Beer first shows that, in return for a colonial obedience more or less complete, Great Britain had long afforded the American colonies constant naval protection at her own cost, and had even spent large sums upon frontier garrisons and Indian presents. But for the rest she still expected the colonists:

to assume the chief burden of their own local defense in time of European peace; and this, in fact, they had measurably done. The approach of war, however, put a new face upon the problem of colonial defense, and after the failure of the Albany Congress (chapter II.) and the refusal of the colonies not merely to assist one another, but even to provide adequately for themselves, colonial administrators on both sides of the Atlantic were for a few months prolific in plans for meeting the cost of imperial defense by Parliamentary taxation (chapter III.). These were, to be sure, temporarily laid aside for political reasons, but they were not forgotten. And when peace arrived the fiscal problem had been cleared by the complete breakdown of the requisition system—admirably traced in chapter IV.—and the need of Parliamentary taxation had been demonstrated to the entire satisfaction of the official mind. Meanwhile another factor had appeared, destined to exert a great and perhaps a decisive influence upon the course of colonial reforms after the war. This was “an illegal and most pernicious Trade, carried on by the King’s Subjects, in North America, and the West Indies, as well to the French Islands, as to the French Settlements”, whereby, as Pitt believed, France was “principally, if not alone, enabled to sustain, and protract, this long and expensive War” (p. 105). In the only adequate treatment of this subject ever published, Mr. Beer shows in detail and beyond question (chapters V.–VII.) that this treasonable trade gained vast dimensions in spite of numerous prohibitions by colonial authority, and of the determined efforts of the home government to suppress it by the use of courts of admiralty and writs of assistance on shore, and of many vessels of the royal navy at sea.

The second part of the book, which traces the reshaping of colonial policy in the light of war experiences, is introduced by an interesting chapter (VIII.) on the pamphlet controversy whether England should retain Canada or the French West Indies. Herein Mr. Beer finds “a change in the economic theory of colonization”, from the ideal of a colony which “produced commodities that the mother country would otherwise have to buy from foreigners” to “the more modern view that colonies should primarily furnish a market for the mother country’s manufactures” (pp. 134–136, *passim*). He realizes, to be sure, that both ideas had long prevailed, as indeed was almost inevitable, since each is complementary to the other; but his desire to find in this change of theory a clear and striking explanation for the ensuing changes in the colonial system has perhaps led him to exaggerate its importance, or, at least, its abruptness. Certainly the tenth chapter, which explains in detail the changes made in the enumerated commodities and the bounty system in 1763–1765, seems quite to justify the conclusion (p. 226) that the aim of these “purely commercial regulations” was “to encourage and not to restrict colonial industry”, while, similarly, the

eleventh chapter, dealing with the causes that produced 4 Geo. III., c. 15, seems to show beyond doubt that "experiences during the war", and not a change of economic theory, formed their basis (p. 228). In the revenue acts of 1764 and 1765, which are the subject of chapter XIII., Mr. Beer returns to the fiscal motive with which he began, and the concluding chapter, on colonial opposition, well brings out the fiscal character of the Sugar Act of 1764, and its effect in preparing New England to resist the more famous Stamp Act of the following year.

Of the book as a whole its author justly says that its focus of interest is the British Empire, and not the rise of the American nation; that it is on its positive side a portrayal of British policy, and only on its negative side an account of the preliminaries of the American Revolution, and hence, if viewed as a study in American history, it is incomplete. Nonetheless it constitutes, in the reviewer's opinion, the most substantial contribution to an understanding of the causes of the American Revolution that has appeared since Mellen Chamberlain wrote his chapter for the sixth volume of Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, twenty years ago; while upon its own direct subject it is not only unrivalled but unapproached by any one.

Passing to more detailed criticisms, it is obviously a matter of taste whether one shall agree with Mr. Beer that the Molasses Act of 1733 "was not an integral part of the colonial system proper" (p. 291). It was, indeed, at strife with the purpose of making a market in New England for British woollens; but in that circumstance it is possible to see not an aberrancy from the colonial system proper, but only an exceptionally clear manifestation of that internal conflict of interests by which the colonial system proper was rent at last. It is also to be regretted that Mr. Beer has not increased the usefulness of his very full notes by making references to the *New York Colonial Documents* and similar works, when, as often happens, they contain papers used by him, but concealed from common knowledge under citations like "B. T. N. Y. 34 Mn8". These are, however, small matters, whose enumeration can but serve to emphasize the general impeccability of the work.

C. H. H.

Reformversuche und Sturz des Absolutismus in Frankreich (1774-1788). Von HANS GLAU, ao. Professor a. d. Universität Marburg. (München und Berlin. R. Oldenbourg. 1908. Pp. viii, 396.)

"IN its origin, the revolution was no movement in favor of political liberty, but rather an agitation in behalf of reform and order", and among the leaders in this early period, "undoubtedly the Physiocrats played the most important role. It was they who enticed the monarchy

into the path of reform and, as the determined opponents of corporations, summoned it to the struggle against the privileged classes and privileges, preached with passionate enthusiasm the necessity of a revolution from the top down that should overthrow all class barriers, sweep away the remains of the feudal constitution and make of France a modern, unified state" (p. 9). De Tocqueville (*L'Ancien Régime*, p. 264) called attention to the importance of the work of the Physiocrats, but did not develop his theme. Cherest (*La Chute de l'Ancien Régime*), concerned with the fall of the old government, began his work with a study of the Assembly of the Notables. The latter part of Glagau's volume overlaps Cherest's first volume, the Assembly of the Notables entering into both, but the conceptions underlying the two syntheses are quite different. In the synthesis of Professor Glagau, the assembly marks the failure of the monarchical government to reorganize France, sweeping away privileges and establishing a strong central power with equality before the law, but with no new responsibility on the part of the government or means of control on the part of the French people; for Cherest, the assembly was the beginning of the Revolutionary crisis. The treatment of the Assembly of the Notables by Glagau, resting as it does upon a complete knowledge of the printed and manuscript sources, is much more satisfactory than that by Cherest.

The purpose of Professor Glagau was to give an adequate account of this very important attempt of the old government to solve the reform problem and to show that its failure was due to the opposition of the classes threatened by the loss of their privileges and of the nation that feared the increased power the reforms would put into the hands of an irresponsible government. An introductory chapter on the programme of the Physiocrats is followed by studies on the ministries of Turgot, Necker and Calonne. The reforms of the first were based on the destruction of privilege and the strengthening of the central power; Necker's plan rested on reform combined with decentralization and would have weakened the central government; Calonne borrowed from both of his predecessors, but followed Turgot more closely than Necker. Although the volume of Glagau is a monograph and its aim a correction of perspective rather than a study of detail, the new material that he had at his disposal and a more careful interpretation and combination of the old led him to many new and important conclusions. The most important, perhaps, is the explanation for the fall of Turgot found in the difference of opinion between himself and the king on the advisability of supporting the colonists against England.

The new material utilized in the preparation of the volume consists of the unpublished reports of the Austrian ambassador Mercy (archives in Vienna) and the *mémoires*, letters and other documents in the Paris archives. An appendix of sixty pages contains eight *mémoires* of Calonne on the Assembly of the Notables addressed to

the king and the queen and hitherto unpublished. It is to be regretted that Dr. Glagau could not carry out his original intention of publishing the very valuable despatches of the Austrian ambassador.

In thoroughness of criticism, largeness of synthesis and lucidity of exposition, Glagau's work reminds one of that of Ranke. It is certainly one of the most noteworthy additions to the literature of the French Revolution in the past twenty-five years.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Duchesse de Dino (puis Duchesse de Talleyrand et de Sagan): Chronique de 1831 à 1862. Publiée avec des Annotations et un Index Biographique par la Princesse RADZIWILL née Castellane. Volume I., 1831-1835. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1909. Pp. iii, 461. Troisième édition.)

THIS *Chronique* is, in a sense, a continuation of the volume of *Souvenirs* of the Duchesse de Dino, which appeared a few months ago, and which embodied the recollections of her early years up to the time of her marriage in 1809. The editor intimates that there are no memoirs to cover the interval between 1809 and 1831, the date at which the *Chronique* begins. This volume is made up of notes recorded by Mme. de Dino from day to day and of selections from her long correspondence with Alphonse de Bacourt. Somewhat more than half of it is given to the residence in London during the mission of her uncle, Prince Talleyrand, although there are no entries for the first period of the residence. The remainder of the volume is concerned with people and politics in France after Talleyrand had declined to return to London. The first part, therefore, supplements Pallain's *Ambassade de Talleyrand à Londres (1830-1834)*, and the second the Comtesse de Mirabeau's *Prince de Talleyrand et la Maison d'Orléans*, but it is the *petits faits*, often important for the comprehension of the personal element in situations, which Mme. de Dino records, although one catches echoes of graver discussions.

The uncertainties of Louis Philippe's position in France find surprising proof in notes indicating that during the summer of 1831, and as late as September 21, Talleyrand and his niece were thinking of Madeira as a refuge. Her impression of the king's moderation and firmness, especially in dealing with questions of foreign policy, became admiration. His ministers, except Casimir Périer, and, perhaps, Thiers, seem to her of small stature in comparison. Of the young Duke of Orleans she thought favorably, although to her mind he made too many concessions to democratic ideas. She was so much of an aristocrat that even the English reform measures seemed a reckless step in the direction of revolution and she felt that England was standing where France had been in 1789.

The choice passages of the *Chronique* give impressions of Brougham,

Palmerston, Grey, Wellington, and, for France, Louis Philippe, Royer-Collard, Guizot and Thiers. One can hardly imagine a more disagreeable portrait than that drawn for Lord Brougham: "Cet étrange Chancelier, sans dignité, sans convenance, sale, cynique, grossier, se grisant de vin et de paroles, vulgaire dans ses propos, malappris dans ses façons", who "venait dîner ici, hier, en redingote, mangeant avec ses doigts, me tapant sur l'épaule et racontant cinquante ordures". But Mme. de Dino had a sincere admiration for Wellington and Grey, and her descriptions of the Princess Victoria are charming. Scattered through the volume are some of the best of Talleyrand's *bon mots*.

It should be added that the *Chronique* contains a detailed statement of the manner and spirit in which Talleyrand composed his memoirs. According to Mme. de Dino's account it was the ignorance displayed by Lacretelle in a work on the eighteenth century that prompted Talleyrand to undertake the sketch of a period which he thought had been most misunderstood. This was in 1809. Shortly afterwards he wrote upon the group of incidents in which the Duke of Orleans was the principal figure. This so delighted his friends that from 1810 to 1814 he was busied upon memoirs, in which he embodied large parts of the two sketches. Mme. de Dino says that so many of his papers were either lost or mislaid that he was obliged to rely chiefly upon his memory. During the Restoration the memoirs were worked over again and again, and parts of them read to so many persons that she was afraid that unauthentic memoirs might appear to deprive the authentic memoirs of interest. She adds that they were more than ordinarily free from anything that seemed libellous. This statement indicates that some of the arguments made during the controversy over the authenticity of the Talleyrand memoirs in 1891 were beside the mark.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the late Lord ACTON, LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., and STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Volume XI. *The Growth of Nationalities.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. xl, 1044.)

PERHAPS in no other volume of this series has the need of a unifying hand been so much felt as in this; for by no stretch of the imagination can the Principle of Nationality be used as the touchstone for world-history between 1840 and 1870. However, since a label was needed, this may serve as well as another. The editors have had to have recourse to several foreign scholars in order to cover the cosmopolitan field outside of Great Britain and her colonies which are here dealt with. Does this practice show the limitations of English historical scholarship? A German or French co-operative history would probably be written wholly by Germans or Frenchmen. On the

other hand, Lord Acton's successors can plead that, by borrowing, they secure in each case a supposed expert. But is it not at least debatable whether in a work which purports to give the best *British* opinion on modern history, there should be interspersed the opinions of foreigners? Every student of the creation of the German Empire will go to German sources for the facts; has he not a right here to look for an English (and not German) interpretation of these facts? This is not the place for discussing these questions, but it is well to ask them.

And to ask them does not imply that the foreign contributors fall short. The editors would have had to search far to find men better qualified than Professors Émile Bourgeois, Ernesto Masi and H. Friedjung; to whom are respectively assigned several of the most important sections concerning France, Italy and Austria. The late Sir Spencer Walpole deals with England from 1852 to 1868; Dr. A. W. Ward with Revolution and Reaction in Germany, 1848-1850; and M. Albert Thomas, one of the ablest of the younger French historians, with the Second Empire. Dr. G. Roloff has the crucial chapter on Bismarck and German Unity. But it is not so much the description of these main-travelled historical roads which gives this volume novelty as the account of the secondary or more remote countries. Here is an excellent chapter by Mr. G. A. Fawkes, on Rome and the Vatican Council. Here the English reader will find succinctly told the story of Belgium and Holland, of Spain and Switzerland, of Scandinavia and Russia, of India, Japan, China and Australasia. The editors have followed the methods of the earlier volumes in mingling political history and economic, religious and social, literary and aesthetic.

In brief space such a volume cannot be reviewed: at the most, a reviewer can only mention characteristic traits. It may seem paradoxical to say that the deepest impression this volume makes is of its lack of impressiveness. There is a dead level of more than respectable scholarship—an immense accumulation of facts—yet hardly more distinction than you meet in a dictionary. Is this because the editors have pumice-stoned the salient features of their contributors away, or have the contributors insensibly depersonalized themselves in their effort to conform to the specifications of an impersonal enterprise? The late Ernesto Masi, for instance, both in his writing and in his talk showed a mind at once keen and nimble; you would hardly suspect this from his chapters here. So Walpole's history has a sturdy individuality which seems to have evaporated when he wrote the present summaries. More noteworthy still is the fact that, in a volume of some 400,000 words, having to do with some of the greatest personages of modern times, there is not a ten-line pen-portrait of real vividness. The style throughout is so standardized that you cannot tell the translations from the original English contributions. This may be a tribute to the trans-

lator's skill, but it somewhat discredits the natives. If you met them, you would find that each had his individual voice, manner and opinions; is it on the whole desirable that their writings should be shorn of individuality, and give forth a monotonous conformity? Must the general levelling tendency inseparable from such a work be so obviously yielded to? The reader will reply according to his tastes.

When, however, this tendency invades historical statements themselves, it is time to protest. Such an invasion appears, for example, in Dr. Roloff's disingenuous description of the opening of the Franco-Prussian War. After stating that France's "preposterous demand . . . was curtly rejected by the King personally and by Bismarck officially", he adds: "He [Bismarck] immediately made these last dealings public, so that the German nation might be fully cognizant of the obtrusiveness of the French policy and the repulse it had received, and in order to 'wave the red rag before the Gallic bull'" (p. 463). Dr. Roloff concludes: "The war appears to have been inevitable, but the occasion and pretext were selected by Bismarck. . . . It has often been stated subsequently that the war was Bismarck's doing. . . . But it can easily be shown that it was not in Bismarck's power to avoid the war, since Napoleon had long been making careful preparation for it." This is not adequate treatment, in a serious history, of the most important single European event in the past forty years; but we must at least admire the sublime *hauteur* with which the German apologist refuses even to discuss the doctored Ems despatch. A similar desire to gloze or dodge appears in other cases. We find no mention of the punishment inflicted on the rebellious Sepoys; yet posterity has a right to know that a Christian nation like England blew its Indian rebels to pieces at the cannon's mouth. So we should be told that Bazaine's surrender at Metz aroused a bitter dispute as to his integrity; and we should be furnished a candid statement of the Spanish marriages. These are a few tests, which might be greatly multiplied. They raise the question, What audience does such a history address?

No review, however brief, can overlook the hopeless confusion in proper names. Here indeed a sane standardizer is needed at every turn. Remembering that at the beginning of their undertaking the editors informed the English-speaking world that America was discovered by *Cristoforo Colombo* (I. 7) we feared what would happen when they came to deal with the proper names of this period. Sometimes they use the foreign form *literatim*, which leads to such an absurdity as "Elsass and Lothringen" (p. 49) in an English book; elsewhere (p. 612, for instance) the proper English words—Alsace and Lorraine—are given. We find "Cech" (p. 46) and "Jellacić" (p. 177); but the symbols "č" and "ć" are not and never have been English. It would be no whit less absurd to print the Russian names

in Russian letters; or to speak of the reigning English family as the House of Braunschweig; or to write København for Copenhagen. Again such a solecism as Lombardo-Venetia could only be equalled by Anglo-Scotland, which the editors would scarcely sanction. Why should Princess Belgioioso's Christian name be spelt Christina (p. 85) and the Queen of Spain's Cristina (p. 553)? A similar muddle prevails in the use of italics. There is no more reason for italicizing Reichstag than for italicizing Parliament; and if bourgeoisie and régime are not now naturalized English words, when will they be? And surely some mention should be made in the text that the battle of Königgrätz is more commonly known as Sadowa. A list of misprints in proper names would be long. The bibliographies fill 115 pages, and again they make us ask why so much space has been devoted to material that is incomplete from the start and bound to become obsolete in a few years. These bibliographies are too imperfect to be of service to the specialist, and too miscellaneous for the general reader. To take a single example: Under the title "Cavour" the volumes of letters edited by Mayor and Bert are omitted; the monographs by Mazade and Zanichelli are omitted; Massari's biography, which is as much a "first source" (though far different in excellence) as Morley's *Gladstone*, is omitted; Bianchi's brief memoir and indispensable *La Politique de Cavour* are omitted; Bonghi's sketch is omitted; Countess Martingengo Cesaresco's admirable volume is omitted; and in place of all these we find E. Cadogan's spurious biography! An examination of other sections might reveal similar gaps and similar anomalies.

France and the Alliances: the Struggle for the Balance of Power.

By ANDRÉ TARDIEU, Honorary First Secretary in the French Diplomatic Service. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. x, 314.)

THE writing of contemporary history is quite the most difficult form of the historical discipline. This volume unfolds a story of great interest and high importance in a very attractive form. Yet throughout there is a haunting sense in the reader's mind that the nice equilibrium of civilization as described by a professional journalist is a sort of chimera; unreal and unstable. The story of how France, humbled to the dust in 1870, has now regained her seat at the council board of Europe and secured a peaceful revenge on the empire which was built at her expense, is well told by M. Tardieu, and told as he believes it. He likewise gives his authorities. But is it historically true?

Such volumes must be read with great caution; they are journalistic rather than historical and really argue by assumption. For instance, it is assumed throughout the book that the official, governmental France here pictured is the whole of France, whereas the France which has achieved so much is the France of a minority. There is a socialistic

France and a clerical France, neither of which has the patriotic ardor for existing institutions which makes them truly representative and insures their permanency. The France which has rebuilt national prestige, restored the European balance of power and formed a great colonial empire in one generation is the France of a comparatively small minority, a few million of free-thinkers, Israelites and Protestants. Its leadership is remarkable, its persistency striking, its successes a phenomenon. Yet the tenure of its power is very uncertain. Inheritor of a perfect instrument of tyranny, the Napoleonic administrative system, this oligarchy is well entrenched, but it is an oligarchy and the country is thoroughly democratic.

Moreover it is in the field of diplomacy that the France of to-day has shown her greatest strength. Her administrative functions are not so well performed. Our author confesses her periodic unreadiness for war, either by land or sea, though he asserts the integral and intrinsic power of both army and navy. Since the Congress of Vienna France has lived mainly on the dissensions and discords of the European Concert. This narrative exhibits the continuation of the process up to the present hour. But can it continue? Her great empire of Indo-China is confessedly a source of great weakness, Japan remembers the French attitude during her last war, and the vast dimensions of French Africa do not prevent the question of the Morocco frontier from being a constant source of exasperation, not to Germany alone but to other trading powers. Finally it is not thinkable that Italy should see with complacency the whole north African shore divided between France and Great Britain.

The journalistic pseudonym of M. Tardieu is "George Villiers"; his connection with the Foreign Office is, though real, honorary and formal. It was customary about two years since to regard his work on his paper *Le Temps* as the authoritative announcement of governmental policy, and as the mouth-piece of government he had access to most important sources of information abroad as well as at home. Now the union of French logic with journalistic instinct can alone produce such a book as this; to the "general", complete, convincing and prophetic. Cautious readers, however, must accept these pages for what they are, a tonic to French patriotism, a justification of the French oligarchy, and a somewhat self-complacent paean of victory. Such a volume is moreover somewhat dangerous to foreign equanimity: British reviewers have been stung by its critical attitude toward the *entente*, and its studied insolence is not one, but many, pin pricks in German ulcers. At this distance it does not appear that the German Empire was so utterly routed at Algeciras as the book asserts. While her claims were disallowed she retains her voice in African affairs. Russia seems to have obeyed her behest in regard to Austria-Hungary's Balkan policy.

The optimism of the author is phenomenal. Sentiments are bonds between nations and persons stronger than any others except material

interests. The chapter on the relations of France and America is delightfully "French". Skipping lightly over the sources of international exasperation, the tariff adjustment, the church policy, etc., M. Tardieu notes, as important, the fervid rhetoric of our orators on ceremonial occasions. So it is: the Revolution period when French royalty gave us aid in order to stab its British foe in the back is well remembered, but, as most of us also know, the First Republic sought to black-mail us. Napoleon sold Louisiana for his own purposes, but for his own purposes likewise he laid heavy burdens on our commerce which were almost intolerable. Some other similar sources of exasperation in recent times are quite as historical and equally well remembered. There is a fervent desire in America for the welfare of France, but the amazing hoards of French savings are quite as available for our disadvantage as for our benefit in serious crises. In short, the exaltation of mind in our journalistic lecturer, adroit and able as he is, rather sates the reader than satisfies him. This seems to have been felt at home some time ago, for *Le Temps*, as is generally believed, no longer leads in the race for authentic news from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In any case there is greater caution on both sides.

Aside from its disconcerting lucidity, the volume is noteworthy for several "feelers" which it extends apparently with the hope of calling forth expressions of opinion as to the future. France is asserted and is believed to have abandoned her revenge in the sense of going to war for the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. But what would Europe do in case, where tension is greatest, that is between Germany and England, there should be a breach? The former blockaded by sea, with her ports held to ransom and her commerce destroyed, would still have her mighty army. Presuming the desire of France to remain neutral, M. Tardieu questions her power to do so and, gratuitously as it seems, pictures Germany attacking France for no other reason than to fight where she can, and secondarily to hold a hostage for the day of readjustment. This sounds like an attack of nerves, but it is used to spur Russia to the strengthening of her army, and move France herself to greater and ever-greater preparedness for war as a guarantee of peace. But the main question is, after all, what would Europe and America do in the hypothetical case of such flagrant defiance to the rights of neutrals and the general principles of international law?

Another such "feeler" is put forth in the cautious treatment of American relations to European affairs. It is represented that we have but one concern, the maintenance of the existing balance of power in the interest of peace. The continued use of italicized "*statu quo*" throughout the book is unfortunate because whatever that may mean in France, English and American readers are annoyed by it. But the thesis of the book is at least indicated by it. The existing equilibrium suits France, and probably England; it certainly does not find enthusiastic support elsewhere. How about the United States? If it were-

true that the Russo-Japanese War had its initial impulse in Germany's policy to weaken Russia in Europe; if it were true that the British-Japanese treaty was a check to American aspirations on the Pacific; in short if many other innuendoes were based on fact, the "feeler" might call forth a response. As matters are, the event will exhibit the truth, and it will be time enough to answer such questions when they are no longer academic as they now are.

Modern Constitutions: a Collection of the Fundamental Laws of Twenty-two of the Most Important Countries of the World, with Historical and Bibliographical Notes. By WALTER FAIRLEIGH DODD. In two volumes. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1909. Pp. xxiii, 351; xiv, 334.)

THIS set contains a carefully edited collection of important written constitutions, with amendments, in force at the beginning of the year 1907. Some important changes of even later date are incorporated, such as, for instance, the new suffrage laws of Austria, and the newer organization of the Russian Duma.

A brief sketch of constitutional development and a select bibliography accompany the fundamental laws of each country. A four-page general bibliography and a twenty-page index with cross-references add to the value of the work. The typographical appearance of the volumes is neat, and the effect of the set as a whole is attractive.

Although the title mentions twenty-two countries, twenty-three documents are listed, the difference arising apparently from the fact that Austria-Hungary is counted as two countries and their fundamental laws given, as well as the fundamental general law, for the empire as a whole. Outside of Europe the constitutions included are those of Japan, England's federated colonies of Canada and Australia, the United States of America, and four of the Latin States of America, *viz.*, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile. Naturally enough, all of the federations of any consequence are included with the exception of Venezuela, which in form, at least, is a federative republic.

Many of these constitutions are already accessible in English, and others are contained in foreign collections of texts readily found in important library centres, but it is unquestionably convenient to have at hand so many fundamental laws, brought down to date, and translated into good idiomatic English. The collection of fourteen foreign constitutions issued in 1894 for the use of the New York State Convention was sadly lacking in this respect and was defective also because of the wide variation in terminology used by the several translators. In this set a consistent technical vocabulary throughout is emphasized, though occasional slips might be enumerated, as, for example, when the ambiguous word "unitarians" is used in one place to denote the opposition to

federation (I. 1) and in another place the phrase "supporters of centralization" (II. 38). In passing it may be said that the Mexican constitution of 1824 (II. 37) is fully as much Spanish in origin as American, many sections being taken bodily from the Spanish constitution of 1812, which in its turn derived the substance of its provisions from the constitutions of the French Revolution. A rather careless slip may be seen on page 294 (volume II.) where the note states that the Apportionment Act of 1901 provided for a membership of 391 in the Lower House of Congress. The proper number of course is 386, with five since added for Oklahoma.

The collection as a whole is excellent and will prove to be well-nigh indispensable to that large and growing body of students who desire to compare the governmental systems of states so as to gain thereby a clearer knowledge of the underlying principles of political development.

J. Q. DEALEY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS and FRANCES G. DAVENPORT. (Washington: Published by the Carnegie Institution. 1908. Pp. xiv, 499.)

PROFESSOR ANDREWS and Miss Davenport, together with all students of the history of the American colonies and Revolution, are to be congratulated on the publication of this the first installment of the Guide to the manuscript materials in the British archives which relate to the United States. The present volume contains an inventory of the materials in the British Museum, the Privy Council Office, the House of Lords, in Lambeth Palace, Fulham Palace and in the possession of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and in various smaller repositories. To the vast collections in the Record Office a later and separate volume, by Professor Andrews, will be devoted. The lists of papers in the British Museum, the Privy Council Office and the libraries of the universities include all manuscripts relating to the island colonies and to Canada, but this rule was not so completely carried out in the case of the other collections. A brief description or identification of every document or pamphlet is given, with the number which it bears—both of volume and folio—in the catalogue of the collection to which it belongs. An elaborate index, with special helps and classifications of its own, concludes the volume. With the aid of this Guide it therefore becomes possible for the inquirer to ascertain in a brief time where the sources which he is seeking are located and what he can afford to ignore. As a handbook for investi-

gators it will be of the greatest value. With it in his possession the student can proceed with certainty from the first that he will not miss any important source of information. Thus a large amount of useless searching will be avoided.

But there is another point of view from which this volume—and its successor as well—may be regarded. It is a chart of an hitherto imperfectly discovered country. For generations we have been hearing from time to time about the Rawlinson or Clarendon Papers in the Bodleian Library, or the Egerton, Sloane and Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum. Individuals from this country have paid them brief and desultory visits and have reported finds which have helped to clear up more or less minute points in American history. These finds have occasioned the publication of many volumes and have established, or helped to establish, not a few reputations. But it all has borne much the same relation to the exploration of the British materials for American history as did the voyages of the early explorers to the opening-up of the American continent. The explorers in both fields touched the shores of the continent or penetrated a little distance inland. Historical students will now have in their possession a chart which indicates in sufficient outline the entire territory which they have to explore, with its chief natural features and artificial divisions. It has now become possible to form a somewhat definite idea of these various collections, so far as they relate to American history. The character of the documents and the periods within which they fall are set forth in this volume.

The publication of this Guide, therefore, is one among many signs that we have entered upon a new epoch in the study of American history. It is the outgrowth of a demand for a more thorough and exhaustive investigation of the sources. It implies and will be followed by a more comprehensive and scientific treatment of the period as a whole than hitherto has been possible or even imagined. The era of partial views and isolated efforts, whether in the collection of materials or the writing of history, is passing away. The nation must and will come into possession of the sources here catalogued and its scholars will explore them and will write its history with an adequate knowledge of all its bearings and connections and a purpose to do justice to all parties concerned. And the most valuable among these sources will not always remain in manuscript form, but in due time will be printed in orderly sequence and under proper editorship. Then the work contemplated by the editors of the Guide will have been accomplished, for we shall then know after some proper fashion the history of our origins as a nation and of our connection with the land that gave us birth.

The compilers of the Guide have performed their task with great thoroughness and care. The general descriptions of the different collections and the identifications of the separate documents are models of clear and concise statement. In a goodly number of cases helpful references are made to collateral printed sources or to collections where the

identical documents are to be found in print. Among the documents in the Additional Manuscripts, in the British Museum, which relate to the Peace Commission of 1778 (pp. 149-153), references might well have been made to Stevens's *Facsimiles*, where not a few of these papers may be found. The fact that they are there reproduced is, however, noted under the head of the Auckland Manuscripts in the list of transcripts which have been made for the Library of Congress and which is appended to this volume.

Very few errors or misprints have been noted, and in view of the care with which the volume has been edited, it is not likely that its prolonged use will bring to light any considerable number of such. The statement however is made on p. 172 that the permanent Council or Board of Trade of 1696 owed its appointment to Parliament. It was of course commissioned by the king, as similar boards in previous times had been, however great the influence of Parliament upon the adoption of the policy may have been.

HERBERT L. OSGOOD.

Statistical and Chronological History of the United States Navy, 1775-1907. In two volumes. By ROBERT WILDEN NEESER, Fellow of Yale College. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. 153; 487.)

In these two volumes, Mr. Neeser has published about one-third of his monumental work on the American navy. As the remaining volumes will require much time and labor, he is at present unable to make any promises respecting the date of their completion. The entire work, which covers the period 1775-1907, he divides into five parts, as follows (I. vii., preface): (1) Administration of the Navy Department, and Events and Dates of Reference in United States Naval History; (2) Engagements, Expeditions, and Captures of Vessels of War; (3) Captures of Merchantmen; (4) a Complete Record of Every Vessel's Service and Fate; and (5) American Privateers, 1772-1862; the State Navies, 1775-1783; and the Confederate States Navy, 1861-1865. We understand that it is Mr. Neeser's intention to include a sixth part, which will contain lists of secretaries of the navy, assistant secretaries, chiefs of bureaus, commanders of squadrons, etc. It may be seen from this synopsis that every phase of the history of the navy of the United States is treated, and that special attention is paid to naval operations, naval administration, the history of vessels, the navy of the Southern Confederacy, the state navies and the privateers. There is, to be sure, a kindred subject, the colonial navies and privateers, but this obviously does not form a part of the history of the "United States navy".

From the point of view of the reader, Mr. Neeser's work contains a seventh part, a bibliography of the American navy, which is published as volume I., and which forms one of the author's most valuable contri-

butions to naval history. While no bibliography, owing to inevitable limitations, wholly exhausts its subject, that of Mr. Neeser, it must be said, approaches remarkably near to this desideratum. How thoroughly he has executed his work appears from the statement that his bibliography contains no less than 9,284 entries, three times as many as are found in an excellent publication of the same kind and covering the same field, which appeared in 1906. One of the notable features of volume I. is the listing of the naval sources in manuscript found in the Navy Department, Treasury Department, Department of State, Department of War, and Library of Congress, at Washington; in the British Admiralty Records, at London; and in the Archives Nationales, at Paris. Attention should also be called to a complete list of the official publications of the American government relating to the navy, which is now published for the first time. As the author, following a natural order of procedure, has not yet investigated privateering and state navies his record of the manuscript sources of these subjects is incomplete.

Volume II. contains the first three parts of the complete work as enumerated by Mr. Neeser in his preface. Part I., to which is devoted the first twenty-two pages of this volume, consists of a chronological table of naval events of a somewhat miscellaneous character. Each event is accompanied with reference to all the chief sources of information bearing upon it. In this connection, one may add that the inclusion of exhaustive references to every important item of information forms one of the most valuable features of the work.

With parts II. and III. the author begins the principal task which he has set for himself, namely, the composition of a statistical or tabular history of the navy. Since naval history consists largely of numerous items of information respecting ships, cruises and engagements, it lends itself remarkably well to presentation by means of tables. On the other hand, by no means all of the essential facts can be compressed within the rigid limits set by tabular forms. The skeleton of history may be thus presented, but not the flesh and blood, which demand a more vital and flexible method of treatment.

Mr. Neeser has accurately described his book in the preface as "a comprehensive reference work of our naval history". It is also an immense guide-book to the field of history of which it treats. The execution of so extensive and erudite a work requires the rare qualities possessed by Mr. Neeser, patient and painstaking scholarship and unlimited industry and enthusiasm. The fine craftsmanship of the publisher is also worthy of notice. Each volume is accompanied with an excellent index.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

History of North Carolina. By SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE. In two volumes. Volume I., from 1584 to 1783. (Greensboro, N. C.: Charles L. Van Noppen. 1908. Pp. xxiv, 724.)

CAPTAIN SAMUEL A. ASHE, editor of the leading Democratic newspaper in North Carolina in the days of stalwart ascendancy in the party, has in recent years devoted himself to historical effort; and the first tangible result is the present volume. It is a clear piece of narrative, carefully constructed from the original sources, rather strong in its accounts of personal incidents, and weaker in discussions of social institutions. For example, the treatment of Sir Walter Raleigh's colony is full and generally satisfactory, and the same can be said of the narratives of such incidents as the Tuscarora War, the regulator troubles and the Stamp Act affair. But no student of history will be satisfied with the perfunctory description of taxation (p. 392), indented service and slavery (p. 394) and the scant mention of paper currency. In fact, Captain Ashe is not a philosophical historian. Even in his accounts of larger incidents there is very little attempt to explain their connection with the remainder of the narrative. So little are social and economic conditions esteemed that in this book of seven hundred and twenty-four pages only nineteen are given to them; and there is no connected study of political institutions. The order is monotonously chronological, but a liberal use of subheads tends to overcome the difficulty which would naturally follow. Generally speaking this is our best history of North Carolina in the period covered, and it is better than many other state histories, but it falls short of being a satisfactory work and leaves the task still to be performed by a student better trained in general history and with a better sense of historical forces.

The most praiseworthy feature of the book, and that by which it will perhaps be best remembered, is the fact that it is our first general history since 1819 to reject the claims of the Mecklenburg Declaration. The recent exhaustive works of Hoyt and Salley, together with the quiet efforts of a number of teachers and scholars residing in North Carolina, have made it impossible for a serious historian to accept the older view. Captain Ashe meets the situation frankly; he repudiates the twentieth of May resolves but clings a little more closely to those of the thirty-first, as though he would merely shift the basis of state pride. But his course is worthy of all commendation; for it takes some courage to criticize the Mecklenburg myth in North Carolina. A similar spirit of fairness is shown in dealing with the "Lost Colony" myth. He very properly finds that no reliable evidence exists to show what became of Raleigh's unhappy colonists and relegates to oblivion the fancy that they exist to-day in a group of mixed-blooded persons known as "the Croatans".

The excellent manner in which the book is printed and bound is creditable to the North Carolina publisher who has given it to the public.

It has seven maps and many other illustrations, among them a handsomely engraved portrait of the author.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

A History of Missouri, from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union. By LOUIS HOUCK. In three volumes. (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company: 1908. Pp. xviii, 404; viii, 418; x, 380.)

THE appearance of a comprehensive history of Missouri during the provincial and territorial periods will be most welcome to all students of the history of the West. The only important general works in this neglected field, Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*, Scharf's *History of St. Louis*, and Sheppard's *Early History of St. Louis*, are local in character. Mr. Houck brings to his pioneer undertaking unlimited patience and enthusiasm, means to gather material from the very scattered sources, and an intimate personal knowledge of the hitherto neglected southeastern section.

After an opening chapter on boundaries and natural conditions, the history begins with the mound-builders, the early Spanish and French explorations of the Mississippi Valley, the Kaskaskia settlement, and the exploration of the Missouri and the "Mineral District" on the Maramec. Apart from some possible criticism as to proportion, this portion is painstaking and adequate, although the identification of De Soto's line of march in Missouri will hardly be accepted without question.

For the Spanish period, Mr. Houck presents a wealth of new material. Extensive extracts are given in translation from the letters of instructions, reports, etc., of the lieutenant-governors, from the Spanish archives at Seville, and many points are made clear in the tortuous and vacillating policy of the Spaniards. A more detailed discussion of the English attack on Kaskaskia and St. Louis in 1780 and the curious expedition against St. Joseph in 1781 would have been welcome. A later chapter deals with the very elementary form of government under the Spanish. The special studies of the five local centres of settlement, St. Genevieve, St. Louis, New Madrid, St. Charles, and Cape Girardeau are by far the most valuable part of the whole work. The local records, which Mr. Houck himself has done so much to preserve, the extensive land records at Jefferson City, and the numerous collections of private papers in the Missouri Historical Society and in private hands, have all been used with patience and discrimination. The importance of the lead mines and the early settlement of the Southeast, the close connection with Kaskaskia and Vincennes, the full details of General Morgan's unsuccessful colony at New Madrid, the influence of the westward movement of the Americans are but a few of the important contributions, apart from the mass of more local information. With the valuable chapters on social and economic conditions these studies are the first real history of the Spanish period.

The treatment of the territorial period is somewhat briefer and naturally does not contain so much that is absolutely new; one feels that it has less attraction for the writer. Too much space, it would seem, has been given to biographical detail; the Boones Lick settlements certainly do not receive sufficient attention; it is rather surprising that more use has not been made of the files of the *Gazette* at St. Louis, especially for the local history of the Compromise struggle. Still it remains by far the best account as yet of the period. The discussion of social conditions is particularly valuable.

The book has certain faults incident to the lack of special training which the author so frankly confesses in his preface. Although the foot-notes and references are very numerous, the sources of information, especially in biographical details, are not always clear. A list of authorities would add to the value of the whole work and would, probably, have obviated the lack of uniformity in the citing of titles. It should be more clearly indicated that the numerous references to Hunt's Minutes are to the copy in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society, not to the original at Jefferson City. The indefinite references to the collections of this society, however, are unavoidable in the present condition of its invaluable material.

The history is clearly written and despite the mass of factual information is redeemed from dullness by the enthusiasm, and, especially in the later chapters, by the shrewd common-sense of the writer. But unless one is familiar with the unorganized condition of the materials and the lack of preliminary studies, he cannot appreciate the difficulties of the subject, nor how successfully, on the whole, Mr. Houck has surmounted them. He has done a real service to the student of to-day and laid a broad foundation for the future. Mention should be made of the numerous well-executed reproductions of maps and portraits. The index is voluminous and apparently adequate.

JONAS VILES.

The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise: its Origin and Authorship.

By P. ORMAN RAY, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science, Pennsylvania State College. (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1909. Pp. 315.)

"THE preceding pages have been written in vain", concludes the author of this doctoral dissertation, "if they do not justify the conclusion that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 had its real origin in western conditions and particularly in the peculiar political conditions existing in the State of Missouri and that the real originator of the Repeal was David R. Atchison." But surely one may dissent from the latter conclusion without feeling that Dr. Ray has written in vain. The investigation of the Western antecedents of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was decidedly worth while. If Dr. Ray

has not attained a new point of view, at least he has presented a fresh and suggestive account of the Missouri factional struggle between 1852 and 1854, and he has established successfully the contention that there was a popular demand in the trans-Mississippi country for the organization of the Nebraska territory.

The claim that Atchison was the originator of the repeal may be termed a recrudescence of the conspiracy theory first asserted by Colonel John A. Parker of Virginia in 1880. No new manuscript material has been found to support the theory, but the available bits of evidence have been collated carefully in this volume. It is argued that Douglas was not particularly interested in Nebraska, that he did not introduce any bill for the territorial organization of Nebraska between 1848 and 1854, and that he had "no motive of political preservation" which could have led him to originate the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, until Atchison, hard pressed by the Benton faction, forced this course upon him with dire threats.

In view of the lively interest which Douglas at all times exhibited in the fate of the country between Missouri and our Pacific possessions, it is difficult to understand why he should be accounted indifferent to Nebraska. He did not, it is true, *introduce* any bill for the territorial organization of Nebraska between 1848 and 1854, but he gave his hearty support to the Hall Bill of 1853, which in all essential points was like his own bill of 1848. Dr. Ray has quite overlooked, too, the interesting debate upon the bill which Douglas introduced in 1852 for military colonies along the emigrant route to California. That the real purpose of this measure was to colonize Nebraska and prepare the way for its territorial organization, does not admit of doubt.

Even if absence of motive on the part of Douglas could be proved, positive evidence would be needed to support the claims of Atchison. Lacking other support, Dr. Ray falls back upon Atchison's own statement, preferring to believe Atchison drunk rather than Douglas sober. It was not until September, 1854, that Atchison under the influence of liquor boasted: "Douglas don't deserve the credit of this Nebraska bill. I told Douglas to introduce it. I originated it." But in a public letter written in June, Atchison made no such claims; and two years later he made the frank and apparently sober avowal, "I do not say that I did it [*i. e.*, secured the repeal], but I was a prominent agent." So far from proving that Atchison originated the repeal in order to triumph over Benton, the evidence would seem to show that the people of western Missouri were clamoring for the repeal before Atchison announced his conversion to the policy, and that he utilized rather than originated the movement for his personal political profit.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

Studies in the American Race Problem. By ALFRED HOLT STONE.
With an Introduction and three Papers by WALTER F. WILLCOX.
(New York: Doubleday, Page and Company. 1908. Pp. xxii,
555.)

MR. STONE'S *Studies* consist of nine papers written for various occasions and dealing with general phases of the question, the negro in the Yazoo-Mississippi delta, the results of a plantation experiment to secure a permanent tenantry, the economic future of the negro, white competition, race friction, Mr. Roosevelt and the South, the negro in politics, and the mulatto as a problem. Three papers by Professor Walter F. Willcox are added, and they deal with negro criminality, negro census statistics, and the probable increase of negro population. Mr. Stone's chapters, as he tells us, are the by-products of a larger work on the general conditions of the negro in America at which he has been engaged for some years and which, we are left to infer, will be published in the near future. They are, therefore, rather loosely connected and in places they tend to overlap. Professor Willcox's papers are more naturally related to one another, and deal with more concise phases of the subject. Both gentlemen have made interesting contributions to the literature on the negro. The former is a Southerner and the latter a Northerner, but they seem to be agreed in their chief conclusions.

Mr. Stone is mildly pessimistic. His view is Southern, but it is not stated with usual Southern emphasis. "Here", he says, "is the key to my philosophy of race relations: it is the influence of local environment and local considerations in determining local attitude. This is my explanation of the differences of opinion among people of intellectual integrity, upon our so-called race problem. After a decade and a half of study, I have no hesitation in laying down the fundamental proposition that the attitude of the so-called Anglo-Saxon people toward the negro the world over is essentially the same under similar conditions. I am willing to go one step farther and express the conviction that this truth is so well grounded in fact and reason and experience that eventually it will be sufficiently recognized to afford a basis for mutual toleration and respect among all white people, as regards their social and political relations with the negro, and the other inferior or backward races with which they are brought into contact" (pp. 6-7).

This is, probably, the most considerate and reasonable statement of the negro question ever made by a Southerner who holds the views usually held by his people. We can argue on this basis, although we may not agree with it; and the race question has reached a stage of advanced development when it may be debated without appeals to emotions.

This does not mean that the reviewer approves of all of Mr. Stone's arguments. For example, it does not seem quite a fair argument to

say that the negro problem is identical with the general question of the treatment of inferiors in India and the Philippines. "If we had attempted to apply", says the author, "to the racial problems which have confronted us in the Philippines the same policy which we apply to our race problem at home, we should have made ourselves a laughing-stock in the eyes of the world" (p. 250). From the context it is evident that by our home policy our reconstruction programme is intended. Two obvious comments can be made: (1) If we should apply to the Philippines the policy of exclusion and repression which the South applies to the negro we should have insurrection and confusion in a short while; and (2) if we should apply to the Southern negro that policy of self-development in citizenship, giving local and higher offices to the inferior race as rapidly as it shows itself capable of filling them, we should soon have a state of affairs which would reduce to insignificance the protest of Mississippians in the Indianola post-office incident. Mr. Stone is right in referring to the Philippine situation as the typical Anglo-Saxon attitude toward the negro, but he is not right in assuming that the Southern attitude is the same as that of the government in our trans-Pacific possessions. In the South the inferior shall have no office whatever; in the Philippines he shall have all he can safely be entrusted with.

The most interesting point in Professor Willcox's papers is the conclusion from census tables that the negro is not increasing in numbers as rapidly as many people have thought, that his proportion of increase is declining; and that he is destined to be a smaller social factor than at present. These points are made with excellent clearness and authority. They show that conditions remaining as they now are the negro is in a losing position. Perhaps Professor Willcox would have done well to add that it is not necessary to assume that all the conditions will remain unchanged. It is certain that the negro's loss in vital statistics is partly due to his ignorance in regard to his health, partly to his carelessness, and partly to a physical constitution not yet adapted to our latitude. But if through artificial stimulus the first two difficulties should be reduced and if the third should be improved by nature, the declining ratio of increase might well be checked.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

Railroad Reorganization. By STUART DAGGETT, Ph.D., Instructor in Economics in Harvard University. [Harvard Economic Series, Volume IV.] (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1908. Pp. x, 402.)

NOTHING is more significant as indicating the trend of economic science than the wide range of topics which a professional political economist is now at liberty to consider. Twenty-five years ago the economist would have been obliged to introduce a study of railroad

reorganization, or indeed a study of any phase of corporate activities, with an apology for his temerity, and it is not at all sure that he could have urged such an apology with entire success. The author of the treatise under review, however, who is an economist of the younger generation, finds no necessity in the general attitude with regard to economics for attempting such an apology.

As stated by the author, this book discusses "in some detail the financial history of the seven most important railroads which failed from 1892-6, and that of one railroad, the Rock Island, which was reorganized in 1902. . . . In some respects the history of each road considered is peculiar unto itself. The Reading had coal to sell, the Atchison did not. The Southern ran through a sparsely settled country, the Baltimore and Ohio through a thickly settled one. The Erie has never recovered from the campaigns of Gould, Drew, and Fisk, from 1864-72. The Northern Pacific was not opened until 1883. . . . Excepting only the Rock Island, each of the roads whose reorganization is studied in this book has found itself at one time or another unable to pay its debts and has had to seek measures of relief."

The above quotation indicates better than any comment the design and structure of this book. It consists of special studies of cases in railroad reorganization selected because each is regarded as typical of some peculiar or noteworthy condition and the study closes with a chapter of conclusions or generalizations which the study of the special cases suggests. It is evident that a short review must content itself with a note upon these generalizations, which rest upon a detailed study of eighteen reorganizations and forty-two plans of reorganization, of which fifteen reorganizations and thirty-nine plans of reorganization "have had to do with the extraction of companies from financial embarrassment".

One of the most interesting of the generalizations submitted by the author pertains to the interests involved. These are the creditors, the stockholders and the syndicate, that is to say, the bankers who underwrite the new securities. This latter interest, while possibly temporary, is of great importance so long as it lasts, for its function is to support the impaired credit of the bankrupt railroad until such credit is restored as a result of the reorganization. Of the three interests named the dominant one is that of the creditor, while the influence of the stockholder is for the most part limited to such an adjustment of securities as will restore his stock to a stable value at the earliest possible date. The author's discussion of the manner in which these three interests have found expression in the various cases of railroad reorganization selected for study, and of the manner in which the money was secured to effect a reorganization, is most interesting.

In a short review, however, we cannot dwell in detail upon the analysis which this closing chapter contains. The author himself con-

denses his impressions into eleven concise paragraphs which give "the results of the discussion". In one particular only does he appear to me to have exposed himself to the criticism of incomplete analysis, and that is, his discussion of the effect of the value of the new securities issued as a result of the reorganization as compared with the value of the securities which they replaced. On the whole, however, the work appears to me to be excellent. It is one of the few books which have appeared on railways during the past ten years that is worth the serious study of a serious student.

HENRY C. ADAMS.

A History of Canada, 1763-1812. By Sir C. P. LUCAS, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1909. Pp. 360.)

IN this volume Sir Charles Lucas deals with selected phases of North American history, from the inauguration of British government in Canada, after the Treaty of Paris of 1763, to the close of Sir James Craig's administration in June, 1811.

The title of the book is scarcely an accurate indication of its contents, as more than half of the volume deals with the American Revolution. That the American Revolution had an important bearing on Canadian history no one will dispute. But that the details of campaigns in that historic struggle should bulk so largely in the history of Canada, while a great many very vital domestic matters are scarcely touched upon, indicates the characteristically European point of view from which the whole period is approached.

The first chapter deals with the Proclamation of 1763 and Pontiac's War, two-thirds of the chapter being occupied with the details of that abortive Indian rising. The next chapter is devoted to the causes of the American War of Independence and the Quebec Act. The first half of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of colonial and imperial relations, in which the matters in dispute between the American colonies and the mother country are treated in the light of modern British imperialism and not without didactic intent. The latter part of the chapter deals with the conditions determining the policy of the Quebec Act, and whether we agree or not with the historic and other judgments of the author in this delicate field, he is at least on essentially Canadian ground.

The third chapter, which is much the most extensive in the book—pages 90 to 207—is concerned chiefly with the War of American Independence, and, except for the account of Carleton's heroic defense of Canada under very adverse and discouraging conditions, the greater part of the chapter is occupied with details of American campaigns. It is obvious that the author is mainly interested in the imperial problems connected with the relations of the colonies to the mother country, hence the episodes of American colonial history are quite as instructive:

as those which pertain to Canada alone. Moreover, the hero of the volume is Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, and whatever has a bearing on his career and that of his friends and enemies is of interest to the author.

Sir Guy Carleton was undoubtedly a great soldier, probably the ablest of the British officers in America during the Revolutionary War. He was also a thoroughly honorable and conscientious administrator, setting his face resolutely against prevailing forms of executive corruption in an age when such forms of corruption were all but universal. But his ideas of justice and administrative efficiency were purely military and autocratic. Our author will have it, however, that Carleton was not only a great soldier and administrator but a statesman as well, though the reversal of most of his plans for the government of Canada took place before his administration closed, and the remainder resulted in a paralyzing friction between succeeding governors and the popular element in both provinces.

Chapter iv. deals with the Treaty of 1783 and the United Empire Loyalists. The Loyalists are very favorably regarded, notwithstanding that they demanded the repeal of the most characteristic features of the Quebec Act and the reversal of much of Carleton's policy. The next chapter is occupied with the establishment of representative government under the Constitutional Act of 1791 and the initial working of the new system during the closing decade of the eighteenth century. Incidentally it records the sorrows of Lord Dorchester, who found that his autocratic military methods were disliked not only by his subjects, as formerly, but by the home government and by other military autocrats, such as Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe. In this chapter Sir Charles Lucas quotes with approval and treats at some length the very interesting scheme of Chief Justice Smith for a general representative government for all the British North American provinces. Had it been adopted this confederation might have passed by more easy stages than did the individual provinces into the familiar modern form of responsible self-government.

The last chapter deals with the administration of Sir James Craig whose unhappiness came from following the policy of his predecessors and reaping where they had sown. Here our author gives striking evidence of his inveterate optimism as to British imperial policy, wherein ultimately whatever is right, even though those who bring it to pass are invariably wrong, while those who strive in vain to prevent it are chiefly statesmen and patriots. Thus we are taught that among the most unquestionable blessings which have been vouchsafed to an unreflecting empire have been the American Revolution, with the loss of the old American colonies, and the War of 1812. Yet, strange to say, there is naught but condemnation for those who precipitated these blessings, and praise for those who resisted them.

From a literary point of view the volume is quite successful, the author is careful as to his facts and the narrative of events is simple, direct and interesting.

There are a couple of appendices; the first of which contains the text of the Treaty of 1783, and the second, which is a natural sequel, contains a summary of the proceedings connected with the settlement of the boundary between Canada and the United States. The volume is enriched by a number of excellent maps.

Saint-Domingue: La Société et la Vie Créoles sous l'Ancien Régime (1629-1789). Par PIERRE DE VAISSIÈRE. (Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1909. Pp. viii, 384.)

M. DE VAISSIÈRE has made a very definite and important contribution to the colonial history of France. A long and diligent study of the rich and abundant colonial archives at Paris has enabled him to depict the social life of French Santo Domingo under the Ancien Régime with originality and authority. In his second chapter, *La Noblesse Française à Saint-Domingue*, we find all that remains of his original purpose, announced by him some five or six years ago, to write the history of the rôle played by the nobility of France in the work of colonization. He maintains in this chapter the thesis that the *gentilshommes*, emigrating to Santo Domingo first as officers in the service of the king, find themselves drawn by instinct from the towns to the plantations to regain their threatened independence and to live again the life of the *gentilshommes campagnards* of their ancestors in France, described by M. de Vaissière in his well-known work, *Gentilshommes Campagnards de l'Ancienne France*; that they became a new element which little by little exerted a large influence upon the heterogeneous society of Santo Domingo. Students of colonial history will rejoice at the decision of the author to broaden the scope of his study in devoting the larger portion of his book to the treatment of the picturesque society in general of the "pearl of the Antilles". His study has forced him to conclude that the idea of luxury and charm of the colonial life, at least for Santo Domingo, has been much exaggerated and is in fact almost legendary. Instead of being luxurious he finds the homes of the planters lacking not only in good taste, but often times in comfort even. He gives us many interesting details of the construction and furnishing of these homes. As to the life led by the colonists, he depicts it, by means of some well-chosen and extraordinarily interesting passages from a wide variety of documents, as crude, monotonous, voluptuous, lawless and at times almost barbarous. Upon this fact he lays much stress as an explanation of the marked tendency of the colonists to regard their residence in the island as only a means of acquiring a fortune and of their eagerness to return to France to enjoy the fruits thereof.

The author shows a very admirable caution in drawing general con-

clusions. This to be sure is a natural result of the research that he has made in some four hundred volumes of documents where he has found much conflicting testimony. He has followed the method in general of exposing such conflicting evidence and leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. This method would have been more satisfactory if M. de Vaissière had made use of his foot-notes to give information in regard to the persons from whom his quotations are derived. His failure to do this impresses one, I think, as a fault that characterizes the book as a whole. Apparently he has taken what he found without making sufficient effort to weigh it critically. Such a critical weighing of material is supremely important, it seems to me, in writing the history of any colonial community. Any such community of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries must have furnished much that was bizarre, lawless and almost barbarous to the majority of European travellers and governors sent out from Europe which naturally occupies a large space in the accounts of their travels and in their correspondence. How much does such material really portray the life of such a society? Must one not try to find by all the means in his power, in the case of any author one uses, his characteristics, his prejudices and his ability to observe and faithfully portray.

It is to be regretted that M. de Vaissière did not expand his study into one of much greater length. He could thus have saved himself the very difficult task of making, so to speak, a composite picture of a society for some four or five generations and could have traced the progressive development of successive generations. His work would have then had more value for students of special periods.

STEWART L. MIMS.

MINOR NOTICES

Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by James Hastings, D.D. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909, pp. xvi, 992.) This one-volume dictionary, not a condensation of Hastings's five-volume work but an independent production, is a valuable and convenient aid to students, prepared by men of solid scholarship. The competency of the authors to furnish thoroughgoing knowledge is evident from the mere list of their names, and many articles (like Kenyon's on English Versions, Greek Versions of O. T., Text of N. T., Vulgate, Adeney's on Canon and Criticism, Barton's Israel, Shailer Mathews's Apocryphal Gospels, Apocalyptic Literature, Eschatology, or Paterson's noteworthy article on Jesus Christ) are on the very highest plane of scientific possession of the material and lucidity of exposition.

Such articles as those on Adam, Creation, Fall, Miracles, Abraham, Tower of Babel, show a frank conformity to modern knowledge, and yet a certain conservatism characterizes the work as a whole. It is indeed commendable that such a work should avoid fresh adventurous views

not yet digested by discussion and should give to the general student what is judged to be the established result of criticism. In some instances the judgment is debatable, as in the case of Maclean's (Gospels) apologetic reconciliation of the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptics, for which some corrective is found in Davidson's John's Gospel. A few dogmatic articles (*e. g.*, Trinity) have a more marked traditionalism. But a striking feature of such more conservative expositions is that they are apologetic and even deprecatory, lacking the bold-heartedness which bespeaks the unassailable judgment. The final impression, therefore, is that, on the points at issue between traditionalism and modernism, the work is of a transitional character.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

Claudian as an Historical Authority. By J. H. E. Crees, M.A., D.Lit. [Cambridge Historical Essays, number XVII.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1908, pp. xvi, 259.) This painstaking study, a Thirlwall Prize essay of 1906, has been accepted by the University of London as a "D.Lit." thesis; an additional chapter follows Stilicho's career to its close. The author had written his book before he learned of Gùldenpenning's work, in which his conclusions are largely anticipated; and he ignores Vollmer's excellent article in the Pauly-Wissowa, which would have led him to modify several statements. It is well, however, to have in English this careful discussion of Rome's last great poet and his times. "In him", as Mr. Crees well says, "shines forth again in the radiance of a stormy sunset Latium and all Rome's spirit." But it is not fair to speak of his "remarkable servility"; and Crees is surely wrong in calling the times of Ammianus and Symmachus, Jerome and Augustine, a "savage and inhuman" or a "mean and sterile" age. Dill has done this period admirable justice. Crees minimizes Synesius's importance, and exalts Eunapius; his account of our sources is based on wide reading. The book is rather an historical study of Stilicho, as eulogized by Claudian; but all the important poems are summarized or quoted from, and the poet's life is traced in full. After using Claudian to support the old date, 403, for Pollentia, Crees is ungrateful in dismissing the poet as "a witness whose testimony we can chiefly trust when he is off his guard". The book is well printed; there are several errors in a brief Italian quotation on page 100, but, in general, misprints are rare, the most important being "Claudian" for "Prudentius", p. 170. The author's style is up-to-date: we find on one page "a dissolving view of the battle", "the peripeteia", and "driven back to their laagers"; while to call the historians of that period "conspicuously mendacious and unscrupulous" perhaps shows American influence.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

Die Wanderzüge der Langobarden: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Geographie der Völkerwanderungszeit. By Carl Blasel. (Breslau,

Müller und Seiffert, 1909, pp. xix, 133.) This work is a genuine contribution to one interesting department of German historical research, the attempt to establish the history of the Germanic tribes in the period before the actual invasion of the Roman Empire.

The first chapter is devoted to a review of the literature. The substance of the work is contained in chapters II., III. and IV., which deal with the three main topics: the original home of the Lombards, the date of the beginning of their wanderings, and the separate stations in their journey to their arrival on the upper Danube in 488. Chapter V. is a history of the "Amazon-fable", brought into the story of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon. The three pages of chapter VI. suffice for the history from 488 to the invasion of Italy in 568. An interesting discussion of some points in regard to the sources and an appendix on the meaning of the name "Langobard" complete the work.

The author's evaluation of the sources will be readily accepted. The statements of the Roman historians and geographers are the only secure sources for the early location and history of the Lombards; the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* is taken from genuine tradition existing among the Lombards in the seventh century; the *Historia* of Paul the Deacon, used by all the later medieval chroniclers, is made up in its early part from the *Origo*, popular tales, and a superficial and inaccurate acquaintance with classical writers, the elements being put together without care or discrimination. Paul is thus responsible for the mistakes and the confusion that have prevailed in the history of the Lombards to the present day.

The troublesome problem of the Scandinavian origin of the Lombards, alleged by Paul, is disposed of by the author finally, it seems. He shows that the mistake was Paul's and shows also how he came to make it. The earliest known home-land of the Lombards was the land on the lower Elbe, known later as the Bardengau; they were never in Scandinavia. In tracing the route of the Lombards by the places named in the *Origo* and in the *Historia* of Paul, the author arrives, wisely it appears, at negative results in the attempt to identify many of the names. He establishes, however, the general outline of the journey.

The author's use of the sources is sober and sound. So many and so widely varying views have been held by writers in regard to every point in Lombard history that he has been compelled to expend a large part of his efforts in controversy, but his conclusions are in the main convincing.

EDGAR H. MCNEAL.

Basile Ier, Empereur de Byzance (867-866), et la Civilisation Byzantine à la Fin du IX^e Siècle. Par Albert Vogt, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1908, pp. xxxii, 447.) Our indebtedness to the Byzantine Empire is now a commonplace in historical teaching, but any statement of it is too commonly a mass of glittering generalities.

This is due to the comparatively small number of detailed studies; as yet few periods in Byzantine history have been adequately described. The present work is the first history of the reign of Basil.

It is divided into four books. The first is introductory, treating of the empire from 842 to 867, Basil's origin, accession and character, and the composition of the court. Book II. discusses the government, including finances, legislation, judicial organization, internal administration, ecclesiastical policy, and many other details. Book III. summarizes the wars and the military administration. Book IV. sketches certain features of the Byzantine civilization, especially landholding, commerce and art. A large amount of space is taken up with careful descriptions of the various Byzantine officials and their duties; not much of this is new, but it forms a convenient work of reference. There is also a rather brief "critical study of the sources" and an appendix concerning the imperial chancery.

The author has found no new sources of information. The chief ones are comparatively well known and unsatisfactory. There is little strictly contemporary material. The interpretation of Basil's character and work must be based, to a great degree, upon the conflicting statements of partizans of a later generation. In this respect the author has done his work well, although he probably has ascribed too much to Basil's initiative. The bibliography of works consulted does not include Finlay, Hopf, Krause, Bury's notes to Gibbon, Oman's *Art of War*, Bonwetsch's *Kyriellus und Methodius*, and other pertinent titles.

The work as a whole is a valuable addition to the monographic literature on Byzantine history. The treatment of ecclesiastical matters is especially interesting. It includes careful analyses of Basil's policy, of the relations of Ignatius and Photius with the popes at Rome, of the extent to which the Greek church was willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman, and of the authority of the emperor over the Byzantine church. Interesting, too, is the author's skilful use of Basil's "Exhortation" to illustrate his character. Basil, the boon companion and murderer of Michael, addressed to his successor, whom he recognized as his own son and detested, but who was probably the son of Michael and Basil's wife, a series of moral and philanthropic precepts which might well have issued from the mouth of St. Louis. But did these sayings depict the real character of Basil?

DANA C. MUNRO.

Deutsche Kaisergeschichte in der Zeit der Salier und Staufer. Von Karl Hampe, o. Professor in Heidelberg. [Bibliothek der Geschichtswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Erich Brandenburg.] (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1909, pp. viii, 269.) Professor Hampe has devoted himself in this volume to the political side of the history of the empire, leaving all its constitutional and economic features for other

volumes which are to appear in the same series. He has made an excellent volume, which deserves great praise.

First of all, it is charmingly written in a clear flowing style, that is characterized by simplicity and clarity. Of course, since he writes German, his sentences are long, but they are seldom cumbersome. His meaning is generally at once apparent, and his language has a fine carrying power, which takes the reader along at a rapid rate.

In his choice of materials for his account he is very happy. He tells nothing merely for the sake of telling it, but connects everything that he narrates with the great stream of his narrative in such a way as to show its importance, its meaning and its general bearing. Not an event is narrated or mentioned that does not illumine the narrative. He has wisely omitted much that has for a long time been regarded as an essential part of every narrative history of the period. In this respect his book is a great improvement on every history that has gone before, because it contains only material that is really significant.

Professor Hampe is not content merely to narrate, but tries to explain, the causes which were operating at that time, and to record their effects. His book is a good example of the genetic way of treating history. He shows that the men about whom he writes were reasonable creatures, and acted from reasonable motives, and were governed by ideas and ideals. He shows the reasonableness of history in a convincing way.

One of the most interesting and valuable features of the book—and one of the most successful too—is the fine description and appreciation of all the important personages of the period. No one of importance is omitted, and the estimate of each is sane and just. Indeed he has humanized in a fine way the chief men of the period. His intimate knowledge of the Hohenstaufen period is clearly shown by this book. His pages which deal with Frederick II. are extremely fine.

One might criticize details or point out passages with which one does not agree, but in the main the book is exceedingly sane and well balanced. It is interesting to note that he does not agree with Professor Schaefer's views of the Concordat of Worms.

O. J. THATCHER.

Germany in the Later Middle Ages, 1200-1500. By William Stubbs, D.D., Formerly Bishop of Oxford, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Edited by Arthur Hassall, M.A. (London and New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1908, pp. xi, 255.) There is so great a dearth of books in English that deal with the history of Germany in the later Middle Ages that one is prepared to welcome anything that promises to throw light on that confused, and, in many respects, uninteresting period. As in his book on Germany in the early Middle Ages, the author has chosen to recount especially the doings of the rulers, in spite of the fact that many of them did very

little that was worth so dignified a narrative as he honors them with. His estimates of them as men and rulers are good, with one or two exceptions. His treatment of Henry VII., however, furnishes an example of the manner in which he was imposed on by the imperial ideal; for after admitting that Rudolf of Hapsburg and his successors could not hope to do anything in Italy and that they did wisely in surrendering all claim to authority there, he rhapsodizes over the foolish attempt of Henry VII. to revive the imperial ideal, and his ill-advised and ill-starred expedition into Italy.

It is amusing to see how the bishop's nationality makes itself felt in his treatment of Richard of Cornwall, for he labors at some length to prove that Richard was really emperor and everywhere recognized—as if that shed some glory on a reign that in every other respect was inglorious.

The narrative is easy and, on the whole, the material used is good. Exception, however, should be taken to his too favorable treatment and estimate of the weak and despicable Ludwig of Bavaria. Fortunately, the author does not confine himself to the kings of the period—several of whom were but sorry figures—but has an eye also for the important movements of the time, which were for the most part entirely independent of the royal will and influence. The establishment and growth of important families, such as the Hapsburgs, Luxemburgs, and Hohenzollern, the growth of cities, their municipal independence and their leagues, the rise of Switzerland and her sturdy struggle for independence, the almost royal position of many of the princes, and the expansion of Germany to the east, all find an appreciative, if brief, treatment in these pages. The book makes no real contribution to the history of the period, but is a welcome account of it.

O. J. THATCHER.

Un Cadet de Gascogne au XVI^e Siècle: Blaise de Monluc. Par Paul Courteault, Chargé de Cours à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux, Lauréat de l'Académie Française. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909, pp. ii, 308.) French historical scholarship is perhaps even more famous for perfection of form than for accuracy and solidity of matter. Of late years it has become the fashion for writers who have made some period or topic peculiarly their own by the publication of a number of scientific monographs on the different details and phases of it to summarize and present, within the compass of a single modest volume, the quintessence of their many years of profound study on the field as a whole. The preliminary monographs are invariably decked out in all the paraphernalia of foot-note, critical bibliography, and *pièce justificative*, but the final volume has none of these: the author rests on his previously acquired reputation here, and devotes all his efforts to making the presentation of the *tout ensemble* simple, unpretentious and artistic. Such a volume is the present work of M. Courteault; the "enquête

préalable absolument indispensable" is his brilliant monograph on Monluc's *Commentaires* (*Blaise de Monluc, Historien*, reviewed in the first number of the current volume of this journal, pp. 119-120).

The great merit of the present critical biography lies in its ingenious and convincing revision of the older verdicts on Monluc, which have been based almost exclusively on the picture drawn by himself in the *Commentaires*, and the substitution for them of another portrait, more complex perhaps, but certainly far more true. Monluc would have us believe that he was the ideal soldier, cool, brave, determined, indefatigable, past-master of the art of war and of that of managing men. In reality he was primarily "on the make", greedy of fame and fortune, able no doubt, but harsh, grasping and puffed up with a sense of his own importance. He makes himself out a fanatic Catholic; as a matter of fact he came very near turning Huguenot, and would certainly have done so had he thought that such a course would have been to his own advantage. On the other hand he was by no means as savage and cruel as he pretended: a host of his contemporaries merited the title of "boucher royaliste" as well as he. It is pleasant to discover that in one respect at least the Monluc of history was more attractive than the Monluc of tradition, and M. Courteault is to be congratulated that accuracy has not invariably necessitated disparagement.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Un Envoyé Hollandais à la Cour de Henri IV.: Lettres Inédites de François d'Aerssen à Jacques Valcke Trésorier de Zélande (1599-1603). Par J. Nouaillac, Ancien Élève de l'École Normale Supérieure, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1908, pp. 215.) This is a collection of 121 letters running from December 19, 1599, to January 22, 1603, preserved in the archives of the Hague. The writer of them, born in 1572, was son of the recorder to the States General. In 1597 when the Dutch sent a special embassy to Paris, consisting of Oldenbarnevelt and the admiral of Zeeland, Justin of Nassau, to dissuade Henry IV. from making peace with Spain, Aerssen accompanied them as secretary. The mission was a failure. Henry signed the peace of Vervins. The Dutch ambassadors departed for England to enlist the alliance of Queen Elizabeth, but their secretary remained in France as agent of the republic.

These letters are not a portion of his official correspondence, but are the familiar letters of a friend to a friend. For that reason, in a sense, they are more valuable than official papers, for the writer is sometimes indiscreetly candid in the information he imparts. Aerssen was in a fortunate position to acquaint himself with events, and almost every important phase of the reign of Henry IV. has light thrown upon it in these letters. It is well known, for instance, that the financial history of this reign is imperfectly understood, and the minute information afforded in these letters is grateful indeed. Of equal importance is the new light thrown upon the relations of Henry IV. with the Duke of

Savoy, and indirectly with Spain, and the large information they contain with reference to the conspiracy of Marshal Biron and the policy and conduct of the Huguenots, for Aerssen was a vigilant Calvinist.

There are also in these letters much interesting information touching the commercial relations of France and the United Provinces, notably over the grave question of the port of Calais in 1599, which Holland wanted to have closed to the commerce of Spain. Henry IV.'s policy of internal improvements, especially the draining of marsh lands and the construction of canals is also described. These data are peculiarly valuable because documents upon the economic history of the reign are not numerous.

Aerssen represented his government for ten years in France, though the present series of letters covers but four years of that term. The editor, however, has briefly sketched his life and public service in the latter portion of the introduction, and concludes with some information as to where Aerssen's other unpublished letters, evidently valuable, are preserved.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Trois Familiars du Grand Condé: l'Abbé Bourdelot, le Père Talon, le Père Tixier. Par Jean Lemoine et André Lichtenberger. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1909, pp. viii, 338.) The interest of these exquisite sketches is literary, biographical and social rather than purely historical. They are based upon unedited memoirs and letters preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the archives of Chantilly. Characteristic documents are printed in the appendix.

The Duc d'Aumale had already drawn in permanent historical form the lofty figure of the victor of Rocroi in its military and political aspects; the present volume illustrates the truth of his assertion that the man is no less interesting than the general. The authors find its best *raison d'être* in the greater definiteness which it imparts to certain characteristics of the Great Condé—his ever alert and omnivorous curiosity, his literary taste, the remarkable development of his scientific spirit, his keen sense of the ridiculous.

For nearly half a century the Abbé Bourdelot acted as chief physician to various members of the House of Condé and as purveyor of amusement and scientific news to its illustrious head—a veritable "*Intendant Littéraire de Chantilly*". His name is perhaps best known through the Academy which he founded for the discussion of current questions in science and philosophy. With all his charlatanism he was a scrupulous physician, loved science passionately and contributed his little share toward its progress, although the discussions of the Academy tempt one to ask—somewhat unjustly—if his science and that of his disciples was not upon a par with that of Molière's physicians. Altogether this sketch of the Abbé Bourdelot is a masterpiece of literary workmanship. The description of his amazing career at the bizarre court of Christina of Sweden is not its least attractive feature.

Père Talon's biography is of value as showing the growth of Jesuit influence over the prince. It illustrates the moral and religious evolution of his latest years.

The sketch of Père Tixier is historically the most important in the book. The prince employed him in the conduct of the most delicate family affairs. His *Mémoires* confirm and amplify the account of Mlle. de Montpensier and Bussy-Rabutin concerning the events which led Condé to imprison his wife, show that he had great reason to be dissatisfied with her conduct, and contain evidence tending to prove the unsoundness of her mind.

Tixier's letters to Condé concerning the enforcement of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in Normandy are of great value. Already used by d'Aumale and declared by him to furnish a crushing commentary on the Revocation, they are soon to be published by M. Rébelliau under the title of *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes vue de Chantilly*.

O. H. RICHARDSON.

A History of the George worn on the Scaffold by Charles I. By Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, Bt. (London, Edward Arnold, 1908, pp. 102.) To the professional historian or even the casual reader of history few things at first sight would seem less worth doing or reading than the investigation of the history of the "George" worn by Charles I. on the scaffold. Yet few who pick up the attractive little book which embodies this excursion into history and antiquarianism are likely to lay it down unread. The book itself, beautifully printed and profusely illustrated, is a pleasure to see. And the essay it contains is at once a very pretty piece of historical method and, to one interested in such things, an interesting story. After a brief introductory sketch of the Order of the Garter, the real narrative begins with a minute account of Charles I.'s execution. The "lesser George" or gold medallion of the order he wore at that time was handed by him to Bishop Juxon just before laying his head on the block. This "George", it was long supposed, passed to James II. and was preserved by the exiled Stuarts. In 1787 Sir Ralph Payne, an ancestor of the author, was asked by the prince regent to secure the jewel, which they had, and probably succeeded. But for certain ingenious and, in the main, convincing reasons Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey concludes that this was not the "George" which Charles wore, but that the latter passed to one of the king's guards, Colonel Thomlinson, thence to the Parliamentary commissioners, was bought from them by one Widmor, probably acting for Thomlinson, was returned to Charles II. by Thomlinson's sister, and is now in Windsor Castle. Such details as are brought out throw much interesting side-light on more important transactions, apart from their own somewhat romantic interest. One may perhaps note that though Colonel Dixwell, the regicide, married in or near "Newhaven", his descendants are to be found not there (p. 37) but about Boston.

La France Monarchique. Avec Introduction et Notes par George H. Powell et Oswald B. Powell, B.A. (London, Blackie and Son, 1906, pp. xi, 491.) The character of this volume, scarcely suggested in its title, is more clearly indicated in its subtitle, *Scènes de la Vie Nationale depuis le Douzième jusqu'au Dix-huitième Siècle tirées de Mémoires Contemporaines.* Forty writers are represented in extracts, varying from four to thirty pages. All, save three or four, are from well-known *mémoires*. Each extract is accompanied by a short introduction, chiefly of biographical data, and there is a long general introduction in which the basis of the choice and the purpose of the collection are explained. There are also numerous foot-notes, almost exclusively biographical, a chronological table, a list of the editions used, and an index.

The book seems to be designed primarily for the use of young students. In the judgment of the reviewer, it is more likely to be found serviceable by teachers of the French language than by teachers of history. As the entire volume is in French and the archaic literary forms have been retained in the extracts of remote date, much time must be consumed, even by students with considerable knowledge of French, in getting at the thought of the writers. So far as history is concerned, the reviewer believes their time may be more profitably employed in other directions.

Others features indicate even more clearly that the editors' idea of history is the literary conception. Historical materials which of themselves lead so readily to erroneous ideas as do *mémoires*, if used with young students, ought to be furnished with a copious supply of cautions or at least with the data by the use of which the necessary cautions may be observed. The former are not supplied at all, and the latter only in an incidental and inadequate manner. Even the dates of writing and the writer's opportunity for knowing whereof he wrote are often missing.

A considerable part of the introduction is consumed in expounding, after Bodley's *France*, that peculiar compound of English prejudice and preconception in regard to recent French history which assumes that because Parliamentary government under the Third Republic has had a different history and employs a different method from that of England it is therefore abnormal and unsuccessful.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Professor Hugh E. Egerton has brought out a second edition of his *Short History of British Colonial Policy* (London, Methuen and Company, pp. xv, 579). The first edition was published in 1879. The volume has been carefully revised with a view to the events of the last eleven years, the greatest of which was, of course, the South African war. Professor Egerton believes that war to have been unavoidable, but his discussion of its results is marked by his usual fairness, sanity and pene-

tration. The results of the recent convention in providing for a confederation of South Africa are not included in the volume. The new edition is improved by an excellent bibliography and a fuller index.

Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika: Ihre Politische, Wirtschaftliche und Soziale Entwicklung. Von Dr. Paul Darmstaedter, o. Professor in Göttingen, [Bibliothek der Geschichtswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Erich Brandenburg.] (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1909, pp. vi, 242.) Professor Darmstaedter presents in these brief pages the outlines of our history, in succinct and clear form, from Jamestown to the \$29,000,000 fine. The viewpoint is national and the treatment scientific. Sixty-eight pages are devoted to the colonial period, twenty to the Revolution and the Constitution, and more than a hundred to the struggle between the North and the South. A closing chapter treats judiciously what the author terms the Problems of the Present.

In all these divisions of the book sound knowledge and good taste are manifested. The full and sympathetic sketch of President Lincoln shows once again how great a place the first Republican president has won in world-history. Some objection might be raised to the acceptance as sober history of Carl Schurz's opinion that "rein moralische Motive in dem Kampfe gegen die Sklaverei vorherrschend und entscheidend gewesen sind" (p. 162), and others will demur at the conclusion that slavery and slavery alone was the cause of the Civil War. But this is not saying the author is not correct, nor is it to be taken as indicating a partizan attitude, for he looks upon the whole great strife between the North and the South very much as we regard the conflict between Austria and Prussia in the German Confederation. To him Gettysburg and Königgrätz, occurring in point of time so nearly together, were very similar as to their real meaning. This is perhaps a new comparison, but to the reviewer seems eminently just.

In treating the "present problems" of the United States Professor Darmstaedter is quite as fortunate. Railway rebating, the growth of "der Grosskapitalismus", the negro question, all receive fair and purely historical treatment. Once only the author treads very close to the borders of forbidden ground; that is, when he says (p. 228) that the federal government may yet be compelled to take possession of the railroads of the country.

New-Englands Plantation, with the Sea Journal and Other Writings. By Rev. Francis Higginson, First Minister of the Plantation at Salem in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. (Salem, Mass., The Essex Book and Print Club, 1908, pp. 133.) *New-Englands Plantation*, a tract of twenty-one pages in its first edition (London, 1630), contains the earliest printed account of the colony at Salem, of the natural conditions surrounding it, and of the life led there in its earliest days. The author

was Reverend Francis Higginson, who arrived in the colony June 30, 1629, was ordained teacher of its church on August 6 ensuing, and died on August 6, 1630. Though three editions were printed in London in 1630, few copies have survived. Reprints were published in 1792, 1836 and 1846 in various collections. The present volume, printed in an edition of only 175 copies, contains the text of the first edition, that of the third, that of Higginson's account of his voyage, preserved in manuscript, and some documents relating to his emigration. All are reproduced in a painstaking manner, the printed pieces in facsimile. There is an introduction, a page of notes, and an index.

New Hampshire as a Royal Province. By William Henry Fry, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Volume XXIX., Number 2.] (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1908, pp. 526.) This work is confined to the colonial period. It treats of what was the principal field of investigation by Dr. Belknap who has always held the primacy among the historians of New Hampshire. Dr. Fry takes up what remains of the material that was accessible to Dr. Belknap and the very large accessions which modern investigation has made available.

The late John S. Jenness expressed an opinion, as follows:¹

Dr. Belknap's narrative of this early period, founded upon materials such as these—the only ones, however, at his command—could at best have drawn a mere outline of its history; and now it turns out that even the outline of our early history made by that elegant historian is utterly mistaken and distorted. The annals of New Hampshire, from the time of its first planting down to its erection into a royal province, in 1679, require to be entirely rewritten. A great mass of new material for that purpose has lately been gathered together by our antiquarians, and now awaits only the kindling pen of an impartial historian to shed a clear and satisfactory light over the tortuous ways and the dark mysteries of our early history.

The author of the work under examination has evidently made a systematic and satisfactory use of both the old and the new material to which modern investigators now have access. His method is not controversial. He is content to present the facts deducible from the records with reference to an orderly development of the province on the more important lines of political, industrial, financial, judicial and military activities and progress. He recognizes a divisional point at 1680, the date of the organization of the separate province. The period from the settlement to date of the union of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, and the time of that union, 1641 to 1680, are the

¹Jenness, *Notes on the First Planting of New Hampshire*, in *N. H. State Papers*, XXV., appendix, p. 698.

subject of elaborate treatment in the introduction. From 1679 to the departure of Governor John Wentworth in 1775, New Hampshire had a distinct and continuous province government with the exception of the brief time between 1685 and 1692. The author has grouped the results of his studies in this later period in six chapters, the Executive, the Legislature, the Land System, Finance, Justice, and Military Affairs.

The work in its entirety presents a view of colonial New Hampshire which will add a valuable contribution to its history and will afford fresh evidence of the abundance and value of the material which the author has found available for his present undertaking.

A. S. B.

History of the New York Society Library, with an Introductory Chapter on Libraries in Colonial New York, 1698-1776. Compiled and written by Austin Baxter Keep, A.M. (Printed for the Trustees by the De Vinne Press, 1908, pp. xvi, 607.) The present work is another excellent example of the tendency in American universities to recognize the importance of scientific investigation of local history. From a popular point of view nothing could be less attractive than such studies; like other pioneer work they involve much hewing of wood and drawing of water. But nothing is more essential to the progress of scientific research; and to leaders in research nothing can be more attractive.

Mr. Keep's investigation is remarkable for breadth and thoroughness. The manuscript minutes of the trustees of the library, complete from 1754 to date, the vestry minutes of Trinity parish, the minutes of the Common council, the diary of John Pintard, that well-known lover of learning, the Bray manuscripts in the library of Sion College, London, have all been sifted, together with a mass of newspaper and other material.

The result of these laborious researches is not only a monumental history of the Society Library, but an unrivalled history of libraries in colonial New York, and a large amount of new material relating to the history of other New York libraries during the nineteenth century, among the less known but not the least interesting of which were the Protestant Episcopal Library Society and the library established by Signor Da Ponte in 1826.

The value of the work to the local historian and genealogist is of course paramount, but it is also of importance as a study in library organization. The problems of library organization are nowhere more complex or more interesting than in New York and this record of the various efforts which have been made to secure a better library service in the metropolis must be of interest to librarians in all the larger and older urban communities.

On the side of library administration, however, the character of the library's collections and the policy pursued in making them, the use

of the library, its extent and nature, the equipment of the institution, etc., there is disappointingly little. A table showing the details of expenditures during the history of the library, a list of the publications of the library, and other matter of similar character would have added less to the bulk of the work than to its value.

One is inclined to believe, too, that in the composition of the work it would have been well to adhere less closely to the method of the annalist, and that the occasional efforts made to add vivacity to the narrative detract from its dignity.

Of a writer of local history, however, we may expect works of supererogation as well as those of an opposite character. The limitations of material and subject make these inevitable.

W. DAWSON JOHNSTON.

Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1752-1755, 1756-1758. Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. (Richmond, 1909, pp. xxix, 551.) The proceedings of the Burgesses in two whole assemblies are recorded in this volume, the former having eight sessions, at various periods extending from February, 1752, to its dissolution in November, 1755, the latter four sessions, the first beginning in March, 1756, the last ending in April, 1758. The texts seem to be reproduced with great care and the introductions mark in respect to scholarship and relevancy a great advance upon the earlier volumes in the same series. Annotations, however, have been almost entirely suppressed. At the end are printed some sixteen pages of documents from George Bancroft's transcripts and from the Virginia archives—a group too small and too casual to be of sufficient illustrative importance.

This portly volume has all the value which the journals of a legislative assembly must ordinarily have for the history of a province. But in addition it may fairly be said that nowhere else can the history of Virginia's action in the Seven Years' War be so well traced as here. Only the published letters of Dinwiddie and of Washington rival the book in this respect and they are not the legal records of governmental action. One perceives that Dinwiddie was not unpopular at first, nor until after he raised so insistently the question of the pistole fee; and one sees how difficult it was for him after that episode to persuade the assembly to loosen the purse-strings with anything approaching generosity. After the affair at Fort Necessity, however, and especially after Braddock's defeat, money is voted on a liberal scale, though with some attempts at first to keep control of the details of expenditures. Supplies of money and of men occupy much of the time of the assembly from the fifth session of the earlier of the two assemblies mentioned above to the end of the volume. Meanwhile the frequency of sessions brings much of the usual routine business; and there is the usual process of perpetual adjustment of laws respecting

tobacco. In all outward aspects the volume maintains the high level of its predecessors.

Writings of George Washington. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Lawrence B. Evans, Ph.D., Professor of History in Tufts College. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908, pp. lxix, 567.) Three classes of papers are to be included in the series of *Writings of American Statesmen*, of which Professor Evans's volume is the first. They are: "Documents which are of themselves important state papers", as Washington's *Farewell Address*; "accounts of important events in which the writer was a leading participant", as Jefferson's relation of the purchase of Louisiana; and "papers setting forth the opinions of the writers on important public questions", as Washington's opinions on Western settlements. Each statesman will be given one volume, and the important papers which will be included will be such as are of some interest to the general public and of special interest to college students. The selections made in the present volume are well calculated to realize this object. They deal with the early life of Washington, the Revolution, the formation of the Constitution, the starting of the new government, neutrality, the treaty-making power, the whiskey insurrection, and other similar incidents, and they close with the *Farewell Address*. There is an excellent analytical table of contents, an introduction of twenty-nine pages which contains a satisfactory treatment of Washington's relation to many of the important problems of the day, and a competent chronology. If the series is completed on this plan and made to cover some of the men who come later than the Revolutionary period, it ought to be a serviceable work for advanced classes in American history.

Augustus Caesar Dodge. By Louis Pelzer. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, Iowa, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1908, pp. xv, 369.) The Historical Society of Iowa has set a commendable example in directing attention to the "lesser statesmen" of American history. The editor of the *Iowa Biographical Series* is quite right in thinking that the lives of these less conspicuous men frequently best express the sentiments of their constituents. While such a series may not contribute much to our general knowledge of politics at Washington, it may be made to yield large returns if it opens up unworked areas in local politics.

There is not much to be said about Augustus Caesar Dodge as a national figure. He was essentially a commonplace man, possessing neither originality nor marked political talent. But as the representative of the territory and state of Iowa, he is not uninteresting. If his biographer had chosen to interpret his career in terms of local politics, he would have made a welcome contribution to the study of ante-bellum politics in this trans-Mississippi country. We know far

too little of those social and political transformations which overthrew Benton in Missouri and Dodge in Iowa. Mr. Pelzer records the political revolution of 1854 which broke the Democratic ascendancy in Iowa and prevented the re-election of Dodge to the Senate; but he has given no adequate explanation of the revulsion of popular sentiment in a constituency which had hitherto been staunchly Democratic.

Within the somewhat narrow limits of his task, Mr. Pelzer exhibits great industry. He has ransacked the *Congressional Globe* for personal items—not even omitting to tell the reader when Dodge moved to print five thousand copies of the Nebraska Bill—and he has verified faithfully all such extraneous details as the salary and office hours of the secretary of legation when Dodge became minister at the court of Spain. Seventy-five weighty pages of notes and citations bear witness to the painstaking—not to say painful—accuracy of the author. The outcome is not a well-balanced biography. The last twenty-three years of Dodge's life—when, to be suré, he was no longer a federal office-holder, though still an influential personage in his state—are crowded into a single chapter of ten pages, while his ancestry is traced discursively through some thirty-seven pages. Nevertheless, these earlier chapters contribute to an understanding of the environment in which Dodge moved. While the founding of the great commonwealth was not without dramatic moments, on the whole it was a steady process which attracted sober home-seekers rather than picturesque adventurers.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

The Story of a Border City during the Civil War. By Galusha Anderson, S.T.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of Chicago. (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1908, pp. xi, 385.) The author, a native of western New York, was an aggressive Union man and Baptist minister resident in St. Louis from 1858 to 1866. The book contains his personal recollections with a considerable discussion of the political conditions in St. Louis and Missouri as a background. The two divisions of the book are of quite unequal value. In the general discussion the conventional treatment of the period is followed without question; St. Louis dominates the state, and Blair and Lyon dominate St. Louis and save Missouri to the Union. No attention is given to the significant vote of the state in 1860, and no adequate credit to the influence of Benton's determined struggle for nationalism. A less excusable defect is the treatment of the "conditional Union" men. One looks in vain for any sympathetic understanding of the hard lot of these men who in the end stood by the flag in spite of ties of blood and tradition, or any appreciation of ex-Senator Henderson, the war Democrat, most influential member of the Convention of 1861, or even of Hamilton R. Gamble, provisional governor and himself a "conditional Union" man. Blair and the seventeen thousand Republicans of 1860 deserve great credit, but they did not control St. Louis, much less Missouri, which at every

opportunity cast an overwhelming vote against Secession. In short, the writer's viewpoint has been little modified in forty years.

But this lack of a period of reconstruction of judgments adds a charm to the really important part of the book, the personal reminiscences, which at times approach contemporary evidence in tone and vividness. The descriptions of the prisons and refugees, the hospitals and the Sanitary Commission, the passing of slavery in St. Louis, and the general over-turn of society are of real value. Perhaps the personality of the young, vigorous and rather uncompromising Union pastor and his relations with men of all shades of opinion are the most interesting features of the book.

JONAS VILES.

The Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln. By J. Henry Lea and J. R. Hutchinson. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909, pp. xvi, 212.) By far the most notable volume which has been published so far this year in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth is Lea and Hutchinson's *Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln*. The authors have performed several important services. They have discovered and here publish documents which carry back the English ancestry of Lincoln three generations further than heretofore established. They show by direct and indirect evidence that the family had substantial claim to be numbered among the minor gentry of England and that if Samuel Lincoln, the great-great-great-great grandfather of President Lincoln, did come to this country as a weaver's apprentice, Samuel Lincoln's father probably was entitled to write gentleman after his name. They for the first time present fully in orderly and convincing fashion the American pedigree from Samuel Lincoln down. They establish by documentary evidence a new, and, from at least two points of view, important fact in the American chain, *i. e.*, that Abraham Lincoln's grandmother, the mother of Thomas Lincoln, was not Mary Shipley, as heretofore believed, but Bathsheba Herring—a second wife. They give much valuable information about cognate American families, all of which helps place the Lincolns in that intelligent and enterprising pioneer class to which they really belonged. If the authors have left a few points unsatisfied they are minor points—nice tasks for future genealogists, and all so clearly indicated as to be easily attacked.

Not the least merit of the volume is its surprising interest for a genealogy. The material is presented with such clearness and with so much pride and pleasure in the task the authors set themselves—a patriotic service they evidently felt it, as it was—that one reads from start to finish with deepening satisfaction. The publishers deserve the thanks of all Lincoln lovers for the handsome volume they have made.

IDA M. TARBELL.

The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln and its Expiation. By David M. DeWitt. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. xi, 302.) In his final chapter Mr. DeWitt makes, I believe, a real contribution to the literature on this subject. Did President Johnson have an opportunity to see the petition of the five judges asking for the commutation of Mrs. Surratt's sentence in time to have acted upon it? This is the question discussed. Mr. DeWitt admits that with the death of Stanton the possibility of answering this question with assurance vanished. He does show, however, both with skill and conclusiveness, that Joseph Holt's *Vindication* and his *Refutation* are totally valueless as historical documents.

Not much is to be said for the rest of the work. Everybody knows that a plot to capture Lincoln preceded the plot to assassinate him, that both were the projects of the half-insane Booth, that the Great Conspiracy was a myth, that the military tribunal that tried Lincoln's murderers was without standing in law, and that Mrs. Surratt was convicted on insufficient evidence. To rehearse, therefore, particularly at such great length as Mr. DeWitt does, the wearisome tale of crime and madness on the one hand, and of official excitability and malignity on the other, is indeed a thankless task, to which moreover our author is able to bring neither a tolerable literary style nor a sense of humor.

The hypothesis which is offered in the opening chapter that Booth desired to capture Lincoln in order to force him to an exchange of prisoners rests, of course, on mere conjecture.

E. S. CORWIN.

Historic Indiana. By Julia Henderson Levering. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909, pp. xvii, 538.) Indiana history prior to statehood cannot be separated from the history of the Northwest, from which the state was carved. No attempt to do so is made in this volume, but the well-known connections of this region with French explorations, British occupation, Spanish influence on the Mississippi, and American conquest during the Revolution, are brought into view in the early chapters of the volume. The stories of the pilgrimages by the early settlers in the West, of their homes, habits and hardships, of their schools and social life, their adventures with the bear and the Indian—these are told in a graphic collection of incidents and reminiscences which has evidently been a labor of love by one whose own life has been rather closely related to the scenes and times of which she writes, the author's father being one of the most worthy and hardy of the pioneers whom the book so well memorializes. The author's stories and recollections and personal journals are such as are common to the early history of the Northwest. There are chapters on the Indian Territory, and the New State, but like the chapters on the Early Church in Indiana, Crimes on the Border, and the changes in travel from the blazed trail to the electric trolley, they continue the interesting pioneer stories of the white man's

contact with the Indian, of political electioneering in the early life of the state, of early experiences in medical practice, of the lawyer's life on the judicial circuits, and of the great changes that two generations have witnessed in the life and development of the state. There is not much on the governmental, political and institutional aspects of the state. The work is not offered as a connected and organized history, in any sense. It is rather a presentation of many miscellaneous historical incidents, phases and aspects in the life of Indiana localities and people, past and present. There are chapters on Indiana in the Civil War, Education, and Literature in Indiana, Agriculture in Indiana, National Resources, and the Type and Quality of the People—but no claim will be made that any of its chapters presents even an historical outline of the subjects of which the chapters treat. Yet the volume deals in a very interesting and readable way with much important historical material. Between its lids one may learn much of value about Indiana without reading a dull page. It is a fine tribute of a daughter of the commonwealth to the land and people whose life she has shared. Its topics, incidents and stories and its vivid contrasts between "then and now", are treated of in good literary style; and these merits together with the numerous and appropriate illustrations and the handsome and artistic form in which the book is published make the work a decided credit to the author and to the state.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

TEXT-BOOK

Colonization: a Study of the Founding of New Societies. By ALBERT GALLOWAY KELLER, Ph.D., Professor of the Science of Society in Yale University. (Boston and London: Ginn and Company. 1908. Pp. xii, 632.)

BEFORE 1898 there was little interest in this country in the history and social conditions of European colonies. Colonial empire indeed to the average American would have meant little more than the state of things preceding our Revolutionary War. To be sure, there was a hazy notion that of late there had been going on a rapid extension of European control in Asia and Africa. The fact that our government had been concerned to some extent in the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 was known, the Congo Free State was understood to be in some way connected with attempts to crush out the last of African slavery, and there was a general notion that China was crumbling to pieces and would soon be divided among certain European powers. In 1898 our war with Spain brought close attention to the Philippine Islands, and aroused a widely spread interest in the problem of which those islands formed a part. The small number of observers who for years had been watching the processes of the extension of European ideas and authority throughout the non-European world was thus suddenly recruited in all

parts of the nation. Magazine articles, books and addresses on these subjects began to multiply, and regular courses of instruction on colonization were offered in many colleges and universities. Those who undertook to offer such courses at the outset were confronted with the difficulty of getting material in English which could be used in the average class. There were no general text-books, and assigned reading was not easy when passing beyond the scope of the British colonies. Lectures alone are not a fruitful means of instruction, but in many cases little else was practicable. Modern colonization began with the Portuguese and the Spanish in the fifteenth century and for a hundred years they were alone in the enterprise; the Dutch were among the first of those to attack their monopoly; the turn of events was by no means confined to America, but was well-nigh world-wide, and the English colonies from which our republic has come were but a small part of the vast overseas empire established by Portuguese and Spanish and Dutch and French and English. Obviously to follow the complicated thread of the story one needs to use many languages and to be conversant with world-history in many lands. Only thus does one learn that the United States is only an episode—an important one, to be sure—in the great processes which for four or five centuries past have been transforming the world. No one, too, can intelligently grasp modern history and modern social and economic conditions without broad knowledge of this great drama of European colonization.

To remedy some of the difficulties in the way of the college instructor Professor Keller has prepared a text-book on colonization of upwards of six hundred pages. The purpose being to provide a text for college classes in those branches of the subject for which material is especially lacking in this country, the author has not attempted to use primary sources, and has omitted the great field covered by the British and French. After the preliminary chapters, therefore, the greater part of the book is devoted to the work of the Portuguese, the Spanish and the Dutch. A couple of chapters in closing cover the brief Scandinavian experience and the very recent Italian and German undertakings. Very judiciously, too, a large part of the discussion relates to economic and social processes. These, indeed, are of the essence of colonization. Commerce has from the first been the crux of the colonial question, and the reaction on Europe of the acquisition of colonial possessions is of vast significance. Such discussions by Professor Keller, for instance, as that bearing on the collapse of the Portuguese Indian Empire and the decadence of Portugal, or that covering the production of gold and silver bullion in the Spanish Americas and the economic effects in Spain and the rest of Europe following the flow of this tide of the precious metals from the New World, or that treating of the Dutch experience with colonizing chartered companies, are illuminating chapters in the history of mod-

ern society. Indeed, the book is of value to the thoughtful general reader quite as much as for the purposes of a college class—a value enhanced by a small but well-selected bibliography. It is by no means an easy task to get so much into the compass of one volume without compression that leads to confusion, but Professor Keller has done it, and done it well. It is to be hoped that in subsequent studies he may contribute to the solution of some of the many problems which remain unsolved by the original investigator.

HARRY PRATT JUDSON.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

Mr. Robert Nisbet Bain, assistant librarian at the British Museum and author of many works on Slavonic and Scandinavian history and literature, died in May at the age of fifty-four.

We have just received notice of the death of Mgr. Pietro Wenzel, archivist of the Vatican.

Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, connected from 1880 till lately with the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State, editor of the *Writings of James Monroe*, *Letters to Washington* and other works, died in the city of Washington on May 10, aged 54.

Professor Charles W. Mann of Lewis Institute, one of the most valued historical teachers in Chicago, died May 1. The edition of the *Diary of James K. Polk*, which he had been preparing for the Chicago Historical Society, will be finished by Dr. M. M. Quaife, and will appear some time in the autumn or winter from the press of A. C. McClurg and Company.

Professor Eduard Meyer of the University of Berlin serves as the next German exchange professor at Harvard University, lecturing on ancient history. Professor George F. Moore goes to Berlin to lecture on the history of religions. Mr. G. W. Prothero of London lectures on the history of the British Empire during the second half of the year.

At the University of Chicago Dr. Ferdinand Schevill has been promoted to the full rank of professor in history; Dr. William E. Dodd, hitherto professor at Randolph-Macon College, has been appointed professor of American history; Dr. Joseph P. Warren has been promoted to an assistant professorship.

Professor William Stearns Davis of Oberlin College has been appointed professor of ancient history in the University of Minnesota.

We have delayed to notice that Dr. William E. Lingelbach was promoted last fall from the position of assistant professor to that of professor of European history in the University of Pennsylvania.

Professor Oliver H. Richardson of Yale University has been appointed to the professorship of European history in the University of Washington.

Dr. Emerson D. Fite has been promoted to an assistant professorship of history at Yale University.

Dr. Clarence Perkins of the University of Missouri has been made assistant professor of history in the Ohio State University.

Mr. Payson J. Treat has been appointed assistant professor of history and political science in Leland Stanford University.

The secretary of the American Historical Association has distributed to members the biennial *Handbook*. Besides giving the addresses of members the pamphlet conveys much useful information relating to the publications and activities of the Association. The *Annual Report* of the Association for 1907, consisting of two volumes (the second devoted to a portion of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas) is expected to come from the Government Printing Office in July. Volume one of the report for 1908 has been transmitted to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and composition upon it can begin immediately after the beginning of the new fiscal year. Professor Krehbiel's prize essay on *The Interdict*, for which subscriptions should be sent to the treasurer, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, is now in press.

A new publication devoted to the history of the natural sciences, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Technik*, edited by K. von Buchka, H. Stadler and K. Sudhoff, with the collaboration of the most eminent specialists, is to be published by Vogel, Leipzig. Articles will be printed in German, English, French or Italian.

The *Annual Magazine Subject-Index* for 1908, edited by Mr. Frederick W. Faxon (Boston Book Company, pp. 193) is a subject-index to 120 American and English periodicals additional to those which are included in the *Readers' Guide* and *Annual Library Index*. Though general in character it should be mentioned here because about thirty of the periodicals indexed are journals of history or genealogy and about as many more are publications of American historical societies.

From the papers left by the late Professor Ludwig Traube, of Munich, his friends and disciples propose to publish a series of five volumes of *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, edited by Franz Boll. The first volume (Munich, Beck, 1909, pp. lxxv, 263) relates entirely to palaeography and the history of manuscripts, the principal portion being a history of palaeography from Papebroch to the present time. Among its other contents are a summary history of manuscripts and libraries, and a biography of Traube with a list of his published works.

A third and enlarged edition of the standard work, *Genealogisches Handbuch der Europäischen Staatengeschichte*, by O. Lorenz, has been prepared by E. Devrient and published by Cotta (Stuttgart, 1908).

In spite of the intimate relation that exists between history and economic geography, workers in one field are often ignorant of what is being accomplished in the other. To help to remove this defect the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* prints in its February number a series of notes on over thirty books and articles published in France within the last two years and bearing upon both departments of learning.

A monumental collection of the most important sources for the history of religion and civilization, *Orbis Antiquitatum: Religions- und*

Kulturgeschichtliche Quellenschriften im Urtext, Umschrift und Uebersetzung, is to be published by Lumen (Leipzig and Vienna), under the direction of M. Altschüler and J. Lanz-Liebenfels. The first issues are to be old versions of the Bible, of Talmudic and cabalistic documents and of the apocrypha of the Old and New Testaments. The most important manuscripts will be reproduced in phototype in an atlas. Part of the codex Hebr. 95 of the Munich library, the only complete manuscript of the Talmud of Babylon, has been published (Pars III., Tomus I., Cod. Hebr. Monac. 95, Die Pfersee-Handschrift, Heft I.), and the first volume (Genesis) of *Die Griechischen Bibelversionen* (Septuagint and Hexapla).

Of more popular character than the foregoing will be a collection announced by the house of Dietrich, *Religions-Urkunden der Völker*, edited under the direction of Dr. J. Boehmer with the collaboration of many German university professors. This series will consist of free translations into German of the religious texts of all peoples, together with some descriptive sources, and introductions, notes and indices. One of the five sections of the collection relates to the primitive peoples of America. A volume has already appeared on *Die Religion der Batak: Ein Paradigma für Animistische Religionen des Indischen Archipels*, by J. Warneck.

A. N. Blatchford's *Church Councils and their Decrees* (London, P. Green, pp. 151) contains short accounts of the councils of Jerusalem, 45; Nicaea, 325; Constantinople, 381; Chalcedon, 451; the second and fourth Lateran Councils, 1139, 1215; Toulouse, 1228; Constance, 1415; Trent, 1545; and the Vatican Council, 1869.

Studies in Mystical Religion (Macmillan, 1909, pp. 556), by Mr. Rufus M. Jones, treats of the mystics from the days of primitive Christianity to the end of the English Commonwealth.

Dr. W. P. Ker of University College, London, delivered an address to the Historical Society of the University of Glasgow on January 8, 1909, *On the Philosophy of History* (MacLehose).

Mr. E. Bruce Forrest has contributed an article on *The Equipment of a History Room* to a recent issue of the *School World*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Ibarra y Rodriguez, *Cómo debe ser Enseñada la Historia?* (Cultura Española, February); A. D. Xenopol, *Zur Logik der Geschichte* (Historische Zeitschrift, CII. 3); James Ford Rhodes, *Newspapers as Historical Sources* (Atlantic Monthly, May); F. H. Clark, *The Influence of the Report of the Committee of Seven on History Work in the High Schools* (Educational Review, April); A. L. Smith, *History and Citizenship: a Forecast* (Cornhill Magazine, May) [a lecture on F. W. Maitland].

ANCIENT HISTORY

Under the title *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, especially in its Relations to Israel* (London, Luzac, 1908, pp. 249), Professor R. W. Rogers has published a set of lectures delivered by him at Harvard University.

The French Institute of Oriental Archaeology was opened at Cairo in April. Its publications, which will relate to the history of Egypt, will be published through the house of Fontemoing, Paris.

The first part of Raymond Weill's *Les Origines de l'Égypte Pharaonique*, covering the second and third dynasties, has been published in the *Annales du Musée Guimet* (Paris, Leroux).

The first volume of Dr. Georg Möller's work on *Hieratische Paläographie* (Leipzig, Hinrichs) deals with Egyptian book-writing in its development from the fifth dynasty to the period of the Roman Empire.

The fourteenth volume of *Archives Marocaines* (Paris, Leroux) contains two monographs by Nahum Slouschz, assistant at the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, of which one, *Judéo-Hellènes et Judéo-Berbères*, is a study of the origins of Jews and Judaism in Africa (pp. 272), and the other, *Les Hébraeo-Phéniciens*, is an introduction to the history of the origins of Hebrew colonization in Mediterranean countries (pp. 206).

Writings relating to Greek history published outside France from 1901 to 1908 are analyzed by G. Glotz in the May-June number of the *Revue Historique*.

From the Clarendon Press comes the first volume of *Scripta Minoa: the Written Documents of Minoan Crete*, by A. J. Evans. This volume treats especially of the earlier pictographic and hieroglyphic script, but contains an introductory general view of the progress of the discoveries, the successive types of script and their relation to one another.

Six lectures delivered before the University of London by David G. Hogarth, director of the Cretan Exploration Fund, treating mainly of the circumstances under which Hellenic civilization came into existence, have been issued by the Clarendon Press under the title *Ionia and the East*.

Professor Allan Marquand of Princeton has contributed a volume on *Greek Architecture* (New York, Macmillan, 1909, pp. x, 425) to the series of illustrated *Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities* edited by Professors Percy Gardner of Oxford and F. W. Kelsey of the University of Michigan. In this admirable book the principles of construction, form, proportion, etc., are discussed with much learning but so clearly as to be intelligible to beginners.

The first volume of the Library of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris is entitled *Mélanges d'Histoire Ancienne* (Alcan),

and includes the following monographs: M. Aemilius Scaurus, A Study of the History of Parties in the Seventh Century at Rome, by G. Bloch; Histoire de l'Ostracisme Athénien, by J. Carcopino; and L'Approvisionnement d'Athènes en Blé au V. et au VI. Siècles, by L. Gernet.

L. Pareti's *Ricerche sulla Potenza Marittima degli Spartani e sulla Cronologia dei Navarchi* (Turin, Bona, 1909, pp. 90), separately printed from the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Turin*, second series, vol. LIX., treats of the Spartan navy from its origins to the Persian wars, the origin and the chronology of the *navarchia*, the composition of the fleet in classic times, the navy from 372 to 146 B. C., and the officers of the navy from the Persian wars to the battle of Leuctra.

From the University of Chicago Press comes a doctoral dissertation, accepted by the University of Bern, on *Artaxerxes III. Ochus and his Reign*, by N. C. Hirschy. The author has given special consideration to the Old Testament sources bearing upon the period.

A life of Theodor Mommsen by L. M. Hartmann (Gotha, Perthes, 1908), which professes to be only a biographical sketch, contains in the long appendix some political articles by Mommsen, published in the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* of 1848, and a brief writing which appeared in *Die Nation* in 1902.

A volume of "The Collected Essays of H. F. Pelham", edited by F. Haverfield, is announced for publication by the Clarendon Press.

Professor F. Haverfield has published through Macmillan a revised edition of Dr. W. P. Dickson's translation of Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian*, originally published in its English edition in 1886, and now out of print.

Professor D. R. Stuart, of Princeton, has issued in the series of *Macmillan's Latin Classics*, edited by Professor Egbert, a text of *Tacitus: The Agricola*, in which he has "endeavored to evaluate . . . the data rendered accessible by Annibaldi's recent publication of the Jesi manuscript", discovered in 1902.

Of the greatest importance for its subject is M. E. Bréhier's *Les Idées Philosophiques et Religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. xiv, 336), in which the author explains the doctrines of the philosopher more clearly than has been done hitherto, and shows their historical origins.

Mr. T. R. Glover, of St. John's College, Cambridge, author of *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* and of *Studies in Virgil*, tries to make the thought and life of classical times real to the reader in his book on *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire* (Methuen, 1909, pp. 359).

Das Leben des Heiligen Symeon Stylites, the fourth heft of the series of *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen*

Literatur, edited by Professor A. Harnack and C. Schmidt, contains a critical edition of the Greek sources by Professor H. Lietzmann of Jena, with the assistance of the members of his seminar, and a translation of the Syriac sources by H. Hilgenfeld, who will later publish the Syrian text itself.

The Cambridge University Press has recently published the second volume of *The Digest of Justinian* (1909, pp. 462), containing books vii. to xv., translated by C. H. Monro.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. E. Zimmern, *Was Greek Civilization based on Slave Labour?* (The Sociological Review, January); P. Guiraud, *La Propriété Individuelle à Rome* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); Tenney Frank, *A Chapter in the Story of Roman Imperialism [200-180 B. C.]* (Classical Philology, April); C. H. Moore, *Individualism and Religion in the Early Roman Empire* (Harvard Theological Review, April).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

An English translation of *The Early History of the Church from its Foundation to the End of the Third Century*, by Mgr. L. Duchesne, has been published by Murray (1909).

In *The Rise of the Medieval Church* (Putnams), Professor A. C. Flick, of Syracuse University, traces the change from the apostolic church of the first century to the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Middle Ages.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. C. McGiffert, *The Influence of Christianity upon the Roman Empire* (Harvard Theological Review, January); H. von Soden, *Der Streit zwischen Rom und Karthago über die Ketzer-taufe* (Quellen und Forschungen, XII. 1); V. Ermoni, *La Crise Arienne* (Revue Historique, May-June).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

That part of Professor S. B. Harding's text-book on the medieval and modern period which relates to the Middle Ages has been issued with a separate cover and index, under the title *Essentials in Mediaeval History* (American Book Company, 1909, pp. 293).

Recent additions to the series *Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* (Berlin, Rothschild), edited by Professors von Below, Finke and Meinecke, are *Die Anschauungen des Papstes Nikolaus I. über das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche* (1909, pp. v, 69) and *Arnald von Villanova als Politiker und Laientheologe* (1909, pp. 105).

An important contribution to the history of Carolingian administration has been made by W. Luders in his work entitled *Capella: Die Hofkapelle der Karolinger bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts: Capellae auf Königs- und Privatgut*, concluded in the *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, II. 1.

Under the title *Mélanges Carolingiens*, V.-IX. (Paris, Champion, pp. 69), F. Lot publishes a series of papers on the history of Charles the Bald, which have previously appeared in *Le Moyen Age*, 1908.

M. P. Aubry has condensed into a small volume entitled *Trouvères et Troubadours* (Paris, Alcan, 1909, pp. 224) the results of his researches relative to the musical work of trouvères and troubadours, and the various kinds of musical entertainments in vogue in the Middle Ages.

L. Delisle, *Rouleau Mortuaire du B. Vital, Abbé de Savigni*, contains 207 titles written in 1122-1123 in different churches of France and of England (Paris, Champion, 1909, pp. ix, 47, and 49, plates, 207 documents, reproduced in phototype).

Among the writings on Saint Elizabeth called forth by the seven-hundredth anniversary of her birth, probably the most important is Albert Huykens's *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der Heiligen Elisabeth, Landgräfin zu Thüringen* (Marburg, Elwert), much of which was originally published in the *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*. Another work of value is Baron Friedrich von Hügel's *The Mystical Element in Religion as Studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and her Friends* (New York, Dutton).

Documentary publications: H. Otto, *Das Avignoneser Inventar des Päpstlichen Archivs vom Jahre 1366 und die Privilegiensammlungen des Fieschi und des Platina: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vatikanischen Archivs im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* [with *Konkordanztafel* by F. Schillmann] (Quellen und Forschungen, XII. 1).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Ricci, *Note sur les Tarifs de la Loi Salique* (Revue Historique, March-April); C. H. Haskins, *A List of Text-Books from the Close of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, XX.); J. Luvès, *Päpstliche Wahlkapitulationen: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Kardinalats* [a paper read at the International Congress for the Historical Sciences at Berlin, August 12, 1908] (Quellen und Forschungen, XII. 1); F. Schneider, *Toscanische Studien*, III. (Quellen und Forschungen, XII. 1); R. Scholz, *Studien über die Politischen Streitschriften des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Quellen und Forschungen, XII. 1); F. Bliemetzrieder, *Raimund von Capua und Caterina von Siena zu Beginn des Grossen Abendländischen Schismas* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXX. 2); J. Haller, *Die Pragmatische Sanktion von Bourges* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIII. 1); H. Pirenne, *Qu'est-ce qu'un Homme Lige* (Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, classe des lettres, 1909, 3).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Gentlemen Errant, by Mrs. Henry Cust (Murray, 1909, pp. xix, 551), will be of much interest to students of the life of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The compiler prints in condensed form, with abun-

dant scholarly annotations, four narratives from the old German chronicles relating to the journeys and adventures of four German noblemen in Europe, whose expeditions cover the period from 1465 to 1588.

The Renaissance and Reformation: a Text-Book of European History, 1494-1610, by Miss E. M. Tanner (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909), is adapted to the last years of high school or the first years of college. It is provided with questions, bibliographies, a chronological summary and eight large folding maps.

An address delivered by Richard Garbe, rector of the University of Tübingen, on the birthday of the King of Württemberg, has been issued in enlarged form under the title *Kaiser Akbar von Indien: Ein Lebens- und Kulturbild aus dem Sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, Haessel).

The English in China (London, Pitman, 1909, pp. 634), by Mr. J. Bromley Eames, sometime professor of law in the Imperial Tientsin University, is a history of the relations between England and China from 1600 to 1843, with a summary of later developments.

Mr. L. G. Wickham Legg has published a *List of Diplomatic Representatives and Agents, England and France, 1689-1763* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1909, pp. 49), which contains bibliographical indications and is a continuation of the list by Professor Firth and Mrs. Lomas noted in an earlier number of this REVIEW (XII. 710).

A standard work by an Austrian general, *A Short History of the Chief Campaigns in Europe since 1792*, by General A. von Horsetzky, has been translated by Lieutenant K. B. Ferguson and published by Murray.

The tenth heft in Professor Lamprecht's series, *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte* (Leipzig, Voigtländer), is F. Dittman's study of *Der Begriff des Volksgeistes bei Hegel*, and is also a contribution to the history of the conception of development in the nineteenth century (1909, pp. 108).

Dr. J. Holland Rose has edited *A History of Malta during the Period of the French and British Occupation, 1798-1802*, by the late William Hardman, of Valetta. The work is illustrated by documents, and includes an epitome of subsequent events.

Europe since the Congress of Vienna is the subtitle of the second volume of *The Development of Modern Europe* by Professors J. H. Robinson and C. A. Beard (New York, Ginn). A companion volume of *Readings*, covering the same period, has recently been published.

The Russian Army and the Japanese War, historical and critical comments on the military policy and power of Russia and on the campaign in the Far East, by General Kuropatkin (London, Murray, 1909, pp. 342, 356), is a translation by Captain A. B. Lindsay, edited by Major E. D. Swinton, of two of the four volumes printed in Russia and suppressed.

by the government. The two unpublished volumes are confined to military technicalities. In this country the book is published by E. P. Dutton and Company.

Lieutenant Karl von Donat continues his translation of the history of *The Russo-Japanese War* prepared in the Historical Section of the German General Staff, with a volume devoted to *Wā-fan-gou and Actions Preliminary to Liao-Yan* (London, Rees, 1909, pp. 272). The earlier volume on *The Yalu* has been noted in these pages (XIV. 405).

Commander Vldimir Semenoff's diary during the blockade of Port Arthur and the voyage of the fleets under Admiral Rojestvensky has been published by Murray under the title *Rasplata* ("The Reckoning").

A new volume in Professor Lamprecht's series, *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte* (Leipzig, Voigtländer), is an investigation into the *Kultur und Reich der Marotse: Eine Historische Studie*, by Martin Richter.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Lallemand, *Les Maladies Épidémiques en Europe du XVI^e au XIX^e Siècle*, concl. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); K. Benrath, *Neuaufgefundene Briefe von Paul Sarpi* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CII. 3); C. Brinkmann, *The Relations between England and Germany, 1660-1688* (*English Historical Review*, April); J. H. Rose, *The Missions of William Grenville to the Hague and Versailles in 1787*, I. (*English Historical Review*, April); E. Driault, *Bonaparte et le Recès Germanique de 1803*, concl. (*Revue Historique*, March-April).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Mr. Hubert Hall of the Public Record Office completed in June the thirtieth year of his service in that institution. In commemoration of this and in recognition of his constant kindness toward American students visiting the Public Record Office, a body of these American friends have presented to him a substantial gift and a formal testimonial bearing many signatures.

The historical bulletins of the March-April and May-June numbers of the *Revue Historique* include a review by M. Ch. Bémont of recent publications in the field of English history.

F. M. Stenton's account of *William the Conqueror, and the Rule of the Normans* in the *Heroes of the Nation* series (Putnams, pp. xi, 518) presents in readable form the most important results of recent scholarly research.

Mr. Nathaniel J. Hone has edited for the Manorial Society a legal treatise dating from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, entitled "*A Mannor and a Court Baron*", Harleian MS. 6714. (The Manorial Society, 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E. C., 1909, pp. ix, 59), of interest as an exposition of the then accepted views of the institutions of which it treats.

In the *Juristische Festgabe des Auslandes zu Josef Kohlers 60. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, Enke), Dr. H. D. Hazeltine of the University of Cambridge has a valuable article on the "Early History of Specific Performance of Contract in English Law".

A history of *The Development of the English Law of Conspiracy* (Baltimore, 1909, pp. 161), contributed by James Wallace Bryan to the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, series XXVII., nos. 3-5, purports to be based upon an examination of every relevant statute and case from the reign of Edward I. to the present. More than a fourth of the book is devoted to a study of the law in its relation to combinations of labor.

Besides the continuation of works already begun, the Navy Records Society expects to issue the Journal of Captain Sir John Narbrough, 1672-1673, also a volume of official documents illustrating the social life and internal discipline of the navy in the eighteenth century, and a selection from the correspondence of the first Earl of Chatham and his sons.

Messrs. P. S. King and Son of London have printed (1909, pp. 496) a *History of the Bank of England*, an English translation of a volume written in French by Professor A. Andreades of the University of Athens, who has traced in careful fashion the origin and development of the bank's business and its relations to the finances of Great Britain.

In the ninth volume of the *Political History of England* (Longmans, 1909, pp. 578), edited by the Rev. W. Hunt and R. L. Poole, Mr. I. S. Leadam treats of the period from the accession of Anne to the death of George II.

Mr. Algernon Cecil's *Six Oxford Thinkers* (Murray, 1909) is an attempt to trace the origin and development of certain ideas of history bearing upon the Christian religion by means of studies of six representative men, Gibbon, Newman, Froude, Church, Morley, Pater.

The Cambridge University Press has reissued in cheaper form Mr. E. Porritt's *The Unreformed House of Commons* (pp. 598).

A lecture by Professor C. H. Firth on *Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, as Statesman, Historian, and Chancellor of the University*, has been printed by the Clarendon Press (1909, pp. 28).

M. H. Ollion's *Notes sur la Correspondance de John Locke, suivies de Trente-Deux Lettres Inédites de Locke à Thoynard, 1678-1681* (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. 144), contains a chronological list of the letters of Locke accessible to the public, with references to the works in which they have been printed, or, in the case of unpublished letters, to the manuscripts. The letters to Thoynard relate largely to scientific discoveries and inventions, and are annotated by the editor.

A collection of *Joseph Cowen's Speeches on the Near Eastern Question, Foreign and Imperial Affairs, and on the British Empire*, revised by his daughter, has been published through Longmans (1909, pp. 349). The speeches extend from 1876 to 1897. Some have been reprinted in Major Jones's work, *Life and Speeches of Joseph Cowen*, others in Mr. Andrew Reid's book, *Election Speeches*. The remainder have appeared only in the daily papers.

In M. Paul Mantoux's volume *À Travers l'Angleterre Contemporaine*, published in Alcan's *Library of Contemporary History*, the topics principally discussed are the South African War and Opinion, the Organization of the Labor Party, and the Evolution of the Government and of the State.

British government publications: *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, VII.; Edward III.; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Richard II., vol. VI., 1396-1399; *Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters*, VIII., 1427-1447; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, Elizabeth, May-December, 1582; *Index of Chancery Proceedings*, 1621-1660.

Other documentary publications: W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, III., 1624-1629 (Oxford University Press); K. Meyer, *Collo-type Facsimile of Irish Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* [Rawlinson B. 502, including the Annals of Tigernach; the Psaltair na Rann; Brehon law tracts; and many poems and stories, tribal histories and genealogies] (Oxford University Press, 1909).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dean Armitage Robinson, *Lanfranc's Monastic Constitutions* (The Journal of Theological Studies, April); C. H. Haskins, *The Administration of Normandy under Henry I.* (English Historical Review, April); R. G. Usher, *The Deprivation of Puritan Ministers in 1605* (*ibid.*); A. V. Dicey, *Mr. Lowell on English Party Government* (Quarterly Review, April).

FRANCE

In its last two awards, the Grand-Prix Gobert has been given (except a small portion) to M. F. Strowski for his *Histoire du Sentiment Religieux en France au Dix-Septième Siècle*, and to M. Delachenal for his *Histoire de Charles V.* The Prix Thérouanne has been divided among M. Caudrilhier, author of *La Trahison de Pichegru*, and six others, and the larger portion of the Prix Bordin, between Dom H. Quantin for his *Martyrologes Historiques du Moyen Age*, and M. A. Vogt for his *Basile Ier.*

A work which will be of much aid in determining the origin of many valuable documents is being compiled by M. H. Omont and published by the Comité des Travaux Historiques under the title *Anciens Inventaires et Catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. The first volume (1908, pp. 482) contains three inventories of the sixteenth century.

The authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale are collecting all the *pièces judiciaires* of such celebrated cases as that of the Diamond Necklace, etc. A catalogue in several volumes will be compiled under the direction of M. Marchal, keeper of the department of printed books.

M. O. Martin, of the University of Rennes, has studied the conflict between lay and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the fourteenth century, in his work, *L'Assemblée de Vincennes de 1329 et ses Conséquences* (Paris, Picard).

The second volume of H. Hauser's invaluable guide to *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, XVI^e Siècle (1494-1610)* (Paris, Picard, 1909) deals with the reigns of Francis I. and Henry II. (1518-1559).

An important contribution to the early history of maritime jurisprudence is made by M. Auguste Dumas in his *Étude sur le Jugement des Prises Maritimes en France jusqu'à la Suppression de l'Office d'Amiral (1627)* (Paris, Larose, 1908, pp. 356). The author discusses the jurisdiction of the admiral from the origin of the office, the regulation of privateering, the organization and competency of the admiralty courts, the procedure in regard to prizes, extraordinary jurisdictions and the mode of executing judgment.

Professor James Westfall Thompson has brought out through the University of Chicago Press a large and handsome volume on *The Wars of Religion in France: the Huguenots, Catherine de Medici and Philip the Second, 1559-76* (1909, pp. 618), which will be reviewed in a later number of this journal.

M. H. d'Alméras has brought out a vividly written and copiously illustrated volume on *La Vie Parisienne sous la Révolution et le Directoire* (Paris, Michel, 1909).

The first number of the ninth volume of *University Studies*, published by the University of Nebraska (Lincoln, pp. 87), is a detailed account of *The First Revolutionary Step (June 17, 1789)*, by Carl Christophelsmeier.

G. Caudrillier's study of *L'Association Royaliste de l'Institut Philanthropique à Bordeaux et la Conspiration Anglaise en France pendant la Deuxième Coalition* (Paris, Soc. Franç. d'Impr. et de Libr., 1908, pp. xxviii, 90) is based on unpublished documents preserved in the Archives Nationales and in the London Record Office.

In a small book called *Au Pays d'Exil de Chateaubriand* (Paris, Champion, 1909, pp. 239) M. Anatole le Braz gives the results of an interesting investigation into the history of Chateaubriand's life during the seven important years, 1793-1800, which he spent in England, and especially into his life in Suffolk.

L'Exile et la Mort du Général Moreau, by M. E. Daudet (Paris, Hachette, 1909) is drawn from unused documents in the Russian and French archives and from family papers.

Mr. F. A. Simpson's volume, *Louis Napoleon and the Napoleonic Legend* (Murray, 1909), is based on a careful examination of much unpublished material.

Gambetta, par Gambetta (Paris, Ollendorf), a collection of family and personal letters, edited by M. P. B. Gheusi, with many portraits and facsimiles, supplies much new information, especially concerning the early years of the statesman.

M. Jules Sion's elaborate study of *Les Paysans de la Normandie Orientale: Pays de Caux, Bray, Vexin Normand, Vallée de la Seine* (Paris, Colin, 1909, pp. 544) while primarily geographical is also historical in its treatment. The work is published as the seventeenth fascicle in the Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers.

Documentary publications: Guillaume du Breuil, *Stilus Parlamenti*, edited by F. Aubert [Collection des Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire, XLI., XLII.] (Paris, Picard, 1909, pp. lxxx, 224); M. Stein, *Inventaire Analytique des Ordonnances Enregistrées au Parlement de Paris jusqu'à la Mort de Louis XII.* (Paris, 1908, pp. 132); Mlle. Pellechet, *Catalogue Général des Incunables des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, III. (C.-G.) (Paris, Picard, 1909, pp. viii, 653); A. Leroux, *Les Sources du Département de la Haute-Vienne pendant la Révolution* (Limoges, Ducourtieux, 1908, pp. 179); F. Vermales and S.-C. Blanchoz, *Procès-Verbaux de l'Assemblée Générale des Allobroges et de la Commission Provisoire d'Administration des Allobroges*, I. (October 29–November 16, 1792) (Paris, Alcan, 1908, pp. 244); É. Charavay, *Correspondance Générale de Carnot*, IV. (November, 1793–March, 1795); F. A. Aulard, *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public*, XVIII. (November 7–December 20, 1794); *Lettres de l'Empereur Napoléon du 1^{er} Août au 18 Octobre 1813, non insérées dans la Correspondance, publiées par X.* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1909, pp. 266).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J.-M. Vidal, *Doctrine et Morale des Derniers Ministres Albigeois*, I. (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); A. de Boislisle, *La Désertion du Cardinal de Bouillon en 1710*, concl. (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); É. Lamy, *Un Négateur de la Souveraineté Populaire: Nicolas Bergasse (1750–1832)*, I. (Le Correspondant, April 25); L. Hartmann, *Les Officiers de l'Armée Royale à la Veille de la Révolution*, I., II. (Revue Historique, March–April, May–June); P. de la Gorce, *Études d'Histoire Religieuse*, I. *Le Serment Ecclésiastique en 1791* (Le Correspondant, April 25); G. Lenôtre, *Madame Gasmier, l'Américaine* (ibid.).

ITALY AND SPAIN

Recent works on the medieval history of Italy are reviewed by M. R. Poupardin in the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for March–April. The latest such work from an American pen is Professor Ferdinand Schevill's *Siena* (Scribners).

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the direction of the National Library of San Marco in Venice has begun a *Catalogo dei Codici Italiani* (Modena, Ferraguti, 1909) of that library, and has published the first volume under the direction of the librarians, C. Frati and A. Segarizzi. The published volume describes 420 codexes, including all those of the Fondo Antico (Zanetti) and of the first three classes of the Appendice, relating to the Bible and ecclesiastical writers; jurisprudence and philosophy; medicine and natural history.

In the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, phil.-hist. Kl., 1908, 8, H. Simonsfeld publishes the fourth part of his investigations relative to the documents concerning Frederick I. in Italy. Several appendices are devoted to detailed explanations of single documents.

The Italian General Staff is to publish a two-volume supplement to the *History of the Campaign of 1866*, which, it is announced, will contain much new documentary material relating to Italian policy in this year.

Among the studies by Señor de Laiglesia, a banker, published in various reviews and now brought together under the title *Estudios Históricos, 1515-1555* (Madrid, 1908, pp. xiii, 743), the most original relate to the financial history of the reign of Charles V., whose imperial policy, it is argued, did not ruin Spain. Important unpublished documents are included.

Letters from the Peninsula (1808-1812), by Lieutenant-General Sir William Warrê, edited by his nephew, the Rev. Edmond Warre (Murray, 1909), forms an almost continuous narrative of the principal events of the war down to the battle of Salamanca.

Documentary publications: D. M. Giudici, *I Dispacci del Ambasciatore Veneziano Daniele Dolfris, 1702-1708* (Venice, Inst. Veneto di Arte Grafiche, 1908, pp. 300).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

The new quarters of the Royal Saxon Institute of the University of Leipzig for the History of Civilization and Universal History were opened a few weeks ago under the direction of Professor Karl Lamprecht. The building is itself one of great historical interest, the Goldener Bär in Universitätsstrasse, with memories of Goethe and other historical traditions. It has been fitted up in a modern manner and adapted to seminary uses, containing a library of considerable size, other collections useful to the history of civilization, and appropriate rooms for study. An attractive pamphlet respecting the new building is available: Here the general and special courses under Professor Lamprecht's direction will hereafter be given.

In O. Glauning's article *Ueber Mittelalterliche Handschriftenverzeichnisse* in the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1908, pp. 357-380, the

author gives an account of the progress of the labors of the academies of Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich and Vienna in preparing a *Corpus* of the catalogues of manuscripts drawn up in the Middle Ages in Germany.

In Dr. Andreas Walther's scholarly monograph, *Die Burgundischen Zentralbehörden unter Maximilian I. und Karl V.* (Leipzig, Duncker und Humblot, 1909, pp. ix, 220), the author's discussion extends from the period of Philip the Good to modern times, but detailed treatment is given to the years from 1477 to 1531.

Professor Moritz Ritter, editor of the *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*; has completed his authoritative work on *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation und des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (1555-1648) (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1908, pp. xv, 648), by the issue of a third volume.

Die Demokratische Bewegung in Berlin im Oktober 1848 (Berlin, Rothschild, 1909, pp. vi, 192) is the subject of a monograph contributed by Dr. G. Lüders to the series of *Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte*, edited by Professors von Below, Finke and Meinecke.

The association for Germanism abroad has recently decided to constitute a bureau to direct and centralize researches relative to the history of German emigration, to the extension of the German language and ideas, etc. The results of these researches will be published in two organs, *Das Deutschtum im Ausland* and *Die Deutsche Erde*, the latter of a more scientific character.

Three small volumes of the speeches of Kaiser Wilhelm II., coming down to 1905 and edited by Dr. H. Penzler, have been issued through the house of Reclam, Leipzig.

An account of the historical work accomplished by the learned societies of Vienna during the last sixty years has been compiled by J. Schwerdfeger under the title *Die Historische Vereine Wiens 1848-1908: Eine Darstellung ihres Wissenschaftlichen Wirkens* (Vienna, Braumüller, 1908, pp. x, 182). It contains reviews of works relating to the history of Vienna, Lower Austria, Carinthia and the Empire, and to numismatics, heraldics, anthropology and ethnology; and, in an appendix, a summary list of the publications of the various societies.

The second and third hefte of the *Archivalien zur Neueren Geschichte Oesterreichs*, published under the direction of the Commission for the Modern History of Austria, contain accounts of thirteen private archives and of twenty-eight volumes of *Bohemica*, mostly originals and copies from the time of Karl VI. and Maria Theresa, preserved in the Kinsky library at Prague.

Count Lutzow, a leading authority on Bohemian history and litera-

ture, has brought out a volume on the *Life and Times of Master John Hus* (Dent), containing many reproductions from old prints and paintings.

Among the most scholarly of the works called forth by the four-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Calvin, are Dr. P. Paulssen's *Johannes Calvin: Ein Lebens- und Zeitbild aus dem Reformationsjahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Belser); and the five volumes of Professor C. Doumergue's *Jean Calvin: Les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps* (Lausanne, Bridel), which will constitute a history of the thought and civilization of the period. The three volumes already issued of the latter work are entitled *La Jeunesse de Calvin*; *Les Premiers Essais*; *La Ville, la Maison et la Rue de Calvin* (see this journal, VII. 350, IX, 797, XII. 127).

Documentary publications: O. Posse, *Die Siegel der Deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806*, I. [751 bis 1347, von Pippen bis Ludwig den Bayern] (Dresden, Baensch, 1909, pp. 37, 53 tables); R. Knipping, *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter*, III. 1, 1205-1261 (Bonn, Hanstein, 1909, pp. xiv, 292) [Publications of the Society for the History of the Rhineland]; O. Höttsch, *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Innern Politik des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg*, II. (1666-1697) (Berlin, Duncker und Humblot); L. Bittner, *Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Oesterreichischen Staatsverträge*, II. *Die Oesterreichischen Staatsverträge von 1763 bis 1847* (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1909, pp. xxxvii, 349) [Publications of the Commission for the Modern History of Austria].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Curschmann, *Ueber den Plan zu einem Geschichtlichen Atlas der Oestlichen Provinzen des Preussischen Staates* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, February); G. von Below, *Bürgerschaften und Fürsten* (Historische Zeitschrift, CII. 3); L. Cardauns, *Zur Geschichte Karls V. in den Jahren 1536-1538* (Quellen und Forschungen, XII. 1); E. Emerton, *Calvin and Servetus* (Harvard Theological Review, April); J. Ziekursch, *Friedrich von Cölln und der Tugendbund* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, February); W. Busch, *Bismarck und die Entstehung des Norddeutschen Bundes* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIII. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

We have received from Professor Cauchie of Louvain, in a pamphlet of 90 pages extracted from the *Annuaire* of that university, the report of its historical seminary for the year 1907-1908, an interesting exhibit of active research in a wide variety of fields, with useful summaries of the results reached.

The twenty-first fascicle of the series published by the historical and philological conferences of the University of Louvain is a study in religious and economic history, *L'Abbaye de Villers-en-Brabant au XII^e et XIII^e Siècles* (Brussels, Dewit, 1909, pp. 350).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Crapet, *L'Industrie dans la Flandre Wallonne à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime: l'Organisation du Travail* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, May).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

J.-K. Kochanowski reviews publications of the years 1903-1907 relating to the history of Poland in the March-April and May-June numbers of the *Revue Historique*.

With the support of the Bavarian Academy, Paul Marc has compiled a *Generalregister* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909, pp. viii, 592) to the first dozen years of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. It comprises indexes to persons and subjects; to Greek words, Latin-Romanic and Germanic words; to manuscripts; to contributors, reviewers, authors of reviewed books, periodicals and necrology.

The twentieth volume of the Description of the Documents and Pieces preserved in the Archives of the Very Holy Synod, *Opisanie Dokumentov i Diel khraniachtchikhsia v Arkhivie Sv. Prav. Synoda* (St. Petersburg, Press of the Holy Synod, 1908, pp. vii, 1216), consists entirely of documents of the year 1740, a period of great importance in the history of the Russian church.

"*The M.P. for Russia*", reminiscences and correspondence of Madame Olga Novikoff, edited by W. T. Stead (Melrose, 1909, pp. 536, 531), contains letters from Gladstone, Froude, Freeman, Lecky and many other eminent men.

A. Heidborn's treatise on *Droit Public et Administratif de l'Empire Ottoman* (Vienna, Stern) aims at describing not only the legislation but the whole administration of the Ottoman Empire, in practice as well as in theory, with some account of its historical development. Only the first volume, apparently covering somewhat less than half the ground, has been published.

Dr. Vladan Georgevitch, the minister-president of the last Obrenovitch and the Servian representative in Constantinople, has published a book on *Die Türkische Revolution und Ihre Aussichten* (Leipzig, S. Hirzel).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

In his researches for the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution, relative to materials for the history of the German migration to the United States, Professor M. D. Learned has hitherto been chiefly occupied with the manuscript sources preserved in Bavarian archives. Mr. W. G. Leland has returned to Paris, to spend the next five months in completing there the necessary investigations toward his Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives of Paris.

Mr. David W. Parker has completed his work in the Department of State in calendaring the papers relating to the history of the territories, but, entering the Canadian archives service, is obliged to suspend work on the calendar at this point.

Few announcements of the year are so important as that of the publication, beginning next September, of *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, edited by Professors John R. Commons, U. B. Phillips and Eugene A. Gilmore, Miss Helen L. Sumner and Mr. John B. Andrews. The set will be made up of ten volumes. The first two will consist of a remarkable collection of material, much of it new, gathered by Mr. Phillips, and illustrating in detail the economics of the Southern plantation under slavery and under freedom, and the industrial development of frontier society from the colonial to the recent period. Of the other volumes, for which Mr. Commons is primarily responsible, the third and fourth consist of the rare reports of the labor conspiracy cases of 1806-1842 and of other materials respecting them. The remaining volumes are devoted to other aspects of the labor movement from 1820 to 1880, printing, from rare labor journals and the like, a varied body of materials concerning industrial conditions, trade unions and employers' associations, and the political activity of wage-earners. The work of collection has been performed under the auspices of the American Bureau of Industrial Research, with aid from the economic department of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The materials are largely contained in the remarkable library of materials on labor in America which the former has collected at Madison. Data concerning the recent additions to this collection are, by the way, presented in *Bulletin* no. 44 of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Writings on American History, 1907 (pp. xvi, 162), edited by Miss Grace G. Griffin, continues on the same lines as its predecessor the listing of books and articles relating to the history of the United States and Canada, with certain sections, clearly defined, of the literature of Spanish-American history. The number of items amounts in this issue to 3073. The volume is published by the Macmillan Company.

The volume entitled *Narratives of New Netherland*, in the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History*, has been postponed by the publishers until September. The reprint of Captain Edward Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour* will also appear in the autumn. The volume of *Narratives of Early Maryland* is to be edited by Mr. Clayton C. Hall of the Maryland Historical Society and is expected to appear in the spring of 1910.

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has received, by transfer from the State Department, the Journal and Minutes of the Electoral Commission of 1877 (mentioned in Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives*, p. 26); from the Treasury Department,

the accounts and vouchers of George Washington, for his military expenses during the Revolutionary War (Van Tyne and Leland, p. 83); and from the Post-Office Department various miscellaneous papers, 1825-1875. It has also acquired the letter books and log-books—54 volumes, 1788-1847—of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, showing naval movements between those dates, and his proceedings while in American waters during the War of 1812; the papers of John Leeds Bozman and his nephew J. L. Kerr, 1688-1856, among them being the speeches delivered before the Maryland legislature in 1787, giving an account of the proceedings in the Constitutional Convention, by Luther Martin and James McHenry; papers of N. Burton Harrison, comprising Jefferson Davis papers, Gurley, Clay and Jefferson letters; and a number of minor collections, Greeley, Wendell Phillips, Conkling, Emerson and Thomas Starr King letters.

A committee of the Association of History Teachers of Maryland, under the chairmanship of Professor C. M. Andrews, has printed in the *Atlantic Educational Journal*, 1908-1909, a *Bibliography of History for Schools*, with descriptive and critical annotations. It is intended that it shall be published in the form of a small book. It contains sections on American history and biography, the history of Maryland, the teaching and study of history, and a body of historical and biographical stories illustrating Oriental and European as well as American history. The annotations are prepared with much care.

In the volume of *Proceedings* of the American Political Science Association at its fifth annual meeting, December 28-31, 1908, are two groups of articles possessing historical interest. The one group is concerned with state and federal relations and comprises: "The Limitations of Federal Government", by Stephen Leacock; "The Influence of State Politics in Expanding Federal Power", by Henry J. Ford; "The Increased Control of State Activities by the Federal Courts", by Hon. Charles A. Moore; and "Increase of Federal Power under the Commerce Clause of the Federal Constitution", by Hon. William A. Anderson. The second group, relating to constitutional development, includes: "Some Recent Tendencies in State Constitutional Development, 1901-1908", by W. F. Dodd; "Recent Constitutional Changes in New England", by Allen Johnson; "Amendment and Revision of State Constitutions in Michigan and the Middle West", by John A. Fairlie; "Constitutional Revision in Virginia", by J. A. C. Chandler.

The *Publishers' Weekly* has now issued the fourth and concluding volume of R. R. Bowker's *Bibliography of State Publications*.

The Census Bureau has issued the volumes relating to Pennsylvania and Rhode Island in its series of *Heads of Families at the First Census, 1790*.

Mr. A. B. Faust's "German Element in the United States", which was mentioned in the last issue of the REVIEW, is to appear in the autumn (Houghton Mifflin Company).

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for March contains a list of works relating to the Mormons.

The American Antiquarian Society intends to publish in the forthcoming number of its *Proceedings* papers by Professor Edward L. Stevenson on "Early Spanish Cartography of the New World, with special reference to the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish Map and the Work of Diego Ribero"; by William B. Weedon on "Early Commercial Providence"; and by Reuben G. Thwaites on "Some Early Newspapers of the Ohio Valley". An appendix to Dr. Thwaites's paper will list the various issues of the newspapers of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and western Pennsylvania to the year 1812, noting the files possessed by various libraries. The society also intends to print a long letter relating to the Battle of Bunker Hill, recently presented by Mr. James P. Paine, accompanied by two other documents of the year 1775.

The *American Journal of History* prints in volume III., no. 1, a translation of the letter of Dr. Chanca, respecting the second voyage of Columbus, portions of Washington's order-book, September, 1776, extracts (1759 to 1763) from the diary of Colonel James Gordon of Virginia, with comments by Louisa C. Blair, and the "Log of an American in 1762 on a British Fighting Ship", with an introduction by Professor W. S. Myers. "The First Overland Route to the Pacific" (the journey of Colonel Anza across the Colorado desert, 1775-1776), by Z. S. Eldredge, is continued.

The principal original articles in the May issue of the *American Historical Magazine* are Mrs. C. F. McLean's first paper on the history of slavery, relating to slavery in Egypt, Mr. T. J. Chapman's paper "A Moravian Mission to the Western Indians in 1758", and Mr. A. M. Sherman's account of "The Wick House and its Historical Environment" (the region of Morristown, New Jersey). Mr. Duane Mowry contributes six letters of General John A. Dix, written between June, 1866, and January, 1867, which are of interest in connection with Reconstruction problems.

German American Annals for March-April contains an article on the settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana, by Professor J. Hanno Deiler, and a chapter of Mr. G. G. Benjamin's account of the Germans in Texas.

Number 17 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (1909, pp. xix, 266) contains reports of two annual meetings, additional notes from the Rijksarchief at the Hague on the history of the early Jewish colony in western Guiana, 1658-1666, contributed by Mr. Samuel Oppenheim, a detailed study of the Jews in Georgia, 1783-

1800, by Mr. Leon Hühner, a paper on the Sheftall family of Georgia, and several on the relations of eminent American statesmen to the Hebrews, of which that relating to Lincoln is especially interesting and valuable.

The *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society for December prints a series of miscellaneous letters to Bishop John Carroll, 1784-1815, edited by Rev. E. I. Devitt, S.J. The originals of these letters are in the archdiocesan archives at Baltimore. The series of letters from the Baltimore archives which was begun in a previous issue is continued.

The second volume of documents in Father Thomas Hughes's *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* (Cleveland, Burrows Brothers) may be expected to be issued in the autumn.

The *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* (London) for January reproduces two royal proclamations relating to William Penn, dated respectively July 14, 1690, and February 5, 1690/91. Both proclamations were printed contemporaneously but copies are exceedingly rare. The *Journal* also prints (January and April) installments of the journals of Esther Palmer, 1704 and 1705. The first installment bears the heading: "The Journall of Susanna Freeborn and Esther Palmer from Rhoad Island to and In Pensylvania, etc.", and the second: "The Journal of Esther Palmer and Mary Lawson, from Philadelphia to Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina and from thence back to Philadelphia again".

The late Mr. Thomas Balch's *Calvinism and American Independence*, originally printed in the *Presbyterian School Review* for July, 1876, has been reprinted as a small volume of eighteen pages (Philadelphia, Allen, Lane and Scott, 1909).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Newspapers have recently given some space to descriptions of a stone marked with runic characters, found in 1898 at Kensington, Minnesota, and recently placed on exhibition in the rooms of the Chicago Historical Society. The inscription is read as describing an exploring expedition of Norsemen in the interior of America in 1362. We will say no more concerning it than that we are abundantly convinced that it is not genuine.

The attention of our readers is called to the "Pilgrim Fathers' Memorial" which it is proposed to erect in Southampton, England, the port from which the *Mayflower* and *Speedwell* set sail on August 5/15, 1620. The exact form of the memorial has not yet been determined and will depend somewhat upon the amount of the contributions. A provisional committee of which the mayor of Southampton, Councillor R. G. Oakley, is chairman and honorary treasurer, and Professor F. J. C.

Hearfshaw of Hartley University College is honorary secretary, has been organized. Contributions or communications may be sent to these gentlemen.

The Bidder Press of Philadelphia have issued *Witchcraft and Quakerism: a Study in Social History*, by Amelia M. Gummere.

The Library of Congress has just issued three more volumes (XIII., XIV., XV., pp. 1510) of the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, covering the whole of the year 1779.

It is understood that Mr. Stan. V. Henkels is preparing a calendar of the letters of Washington and other important letters of the Revolutionary period which have passed through his hands as an auctioneer since 1876.

An elaborate edition of *The Life and Writings of Thomas Paine*, in ten volumes, has been issued by Vincent Parke and Company of New York. The work contains a biography of Paine by T. C. Rickman and appreciations by Leslie Stephen and other writers. The editor is Mr. D. E. Wheeler.

A biography of General Stephen Moylan, together with accounts of others of the Moylan family in the Revolution, has been prepared and published by Martin I. J. Griffin, Philadelphia.

It is understood that the *Life and Writings of James Wilson*, which Mr. Burton Alva Konkle is preparing, will run to six and possibly to seven volumes.

Yates's *Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1787* (Albany, 1821) has for some reason been reprinted as *Senate Document 728*, 60 Cong., 2 sess.

W. B. Clarke Company have published *The Autobiography of Captain Zachary G. Lamson*, 1797 to 1814, with introduction and historical notes by O. T. Howe. The chief historical interest of the book lies in its relation to the rise of American commerce in the period following the Revolution.

The *Life of Commodore Thomas Macdonough*, prepared by his grandson, Rodney Macdonough, has been published in Boston by the author. The volume includes Commodore Macdonough's autobiography, covering the years 1800 to 1822 (three years prior to his death), and many letters and official documents.

Mr. Charles O. Paullin has just completed a biography of Commodore John Rodgers (1773-1838) which will be published this fall by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland. The work is based mainly upon the manuscript materials in the Navy Department, both the official archives and the Rodgers papers. It should be an important contribution to early naval history.

Our Naval War with France, by Gardner W. Allen, treats a somewhat neglected portion of our naval history, the period immediately following the adoption of the Constitution. This and the author's previous volume, *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, relate the history of the navy from the Revolution to the War of 1812.

Mr. J. E. D. Shipp of Americus, Georgia, is on the point of issuing in a separate volume a biography of William H. Crawford under the title *Giant Days*.

The Tandy-Thomas Company, who have just issued *The Statesmanship of Andrew Jackson as told in his Writings and Speeches*, edited by F. N. Thorpe, announce that it is their purpose to issue volumes of similar scope and character on other American statesmen.

We are requested on behalf of Miss Sarah H. Porter to say that her book on *The Life and Times of Anne Royall* was not undertaken because of remarks by Mr. A. R. Spofford, as stated by our reviewer in the last issue of this journal, but had an independent and earlier origin.

When Railroads were New, by C. F. Carter, is largely descriptive of the popular attitude toward railroad building in its beginnings (New York, Holt).

The family of the late George Bancroft have agreed to deposit his extensive collection of papers in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The papers have especial importance for the periods in which he held public office, 1838-1841, 1845-1849, 1867-1874.

Dr. R. G. Thwaites's interesting account of *Cyrus Hall McCormick and the Reaper*, which appears among the proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1908 (pp. 234-259), has been issued as a bound separate, containing as a frontispiece a portrait of McCormick.

Memoirs of a Senate Page, 1855-1859, by C. F. Eckloff, edited by P. G. Melbourne, has been issued by the Broadway Publishing Company.

The series of cartoons, comments and poems of the London *Punch* relating to the American Civil War, has been reproduced in a volume edited with an historical and critical introduction by W. S. Walsh and published by Moffat, Yard and Company.

It is announced that the more important of the addresses delivered at the Lincoln Centenary Celebration in Chicago will be gathered into a volume which A. C. McClurg and Company will publish. The editorial work is in charge of Mr. N. W. MacChesney.

The *Works of Abraham Lincoln*, in eight volumes, edited by J. H. Clifford and M. M. Miller, has appeared with the imprint of the University Society, New York. There are introductions and special articles by Theodore Roosevelt and W. H. Taft.

Miss Ida M. Tarbell's study of Lincoln, entitled *Father Abraham* (pp. 39), has been issued by Moffat, Yard and Company.

The Wisconsin History Commission, besides the series of original papers whose inception was noted in our last number (p. 631), has planned the issue of a series of reprints which it inaugurates by publishing in a volume of 185 pages Colonel Frank A. Haskell's *The Battle of Gettysburg*. Colonel Haskell's narrative is now famous, perhaps a classic.

Evolution of Seward's Mexican Policy, by J. M. Callahan, is the latest issue of the *West Virginia University Studies in American History* (first series, *Diplomatic History*, nos. 4, 5 and 6). A preliminary chapter on the Pre-Bellum Shadows of European Intervention in Mexico traces events in Mexico and the diplomatic correspondence for some ten years preceding the Civil War. The Civil War period and the establishment of the empire under Maximilian are treated in two chapters of more than forty pages, in which the attitude of the United States is clearly developed. A final chapter presents Seward's ultimate solution of the Mexican problem, which led to the downfall of the empire. Professor Callahan has drawn fully upon all diplomatic correspondence of the time which relates to Mexico.

Mr. A. D. Noyes has prepared an extension of his work, *Thirty Years of American Finance*, bringing the account of the financial history of the government and people of the United States to the year 1907, and this revision, under the title "Forty Years of American Finance", is on the eve of appearing from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Autobiography of Nathaniel Southgate Shaler, with a supplementary memoir by his wife, has been issued by the Houghton Mifflin Company. In addition to the literary value of the work, Professor Shaler's life in Kentucky prior to the Civil War and his several exploring expeditions lend an historical interest to his memoirs.

Mr. Richard G. Badger of Boston announces the publication next fall of Mr. Frank B. Sanborn's *Recollections of Seventy Years*.

Letters and Memories of Wendell Phillips Garrison has come from the press (Houghton Mifflin Company).

Mr. Cleveland: a Personal Impression, by J. L. Williams, comes from the press of Dodd, Mead and Company.

Doubleday, Page and Company have issued Mr. John D. Rockefeller's *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events*.

The first number of the seventh volume of the *Revista de la Facultad de Letras y Ciencias* of the University of Havana contains a chapter of D. Enrique Piñeyro's forthcoming work, "Cómo acabó la Dominación de España en América".

It is announced that A. C. McClurg and Company will publish shortly *A Pictorial Log of the Battle Fleet Cruise around the World*, prepared by Chief Turret Captain R. J. Miller and the official photographer, H.

R. Jackson. The same firm announce for autumn publication "Something of the Men I have Known", by former Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

During the present year Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D.D., state historian of Maine, will publish a monograph entitled "Maine at Louisburg in 1745". The work will call attention to the prominent part that Maine, then included in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, had in Pepperrell's expedition, Maine men having constituted about one-third of the colonial troops at Louisburg, and will give their names, as far as is possible. The Maine legislature, at its recent session, appropriated money for further publication of the *Baxter Manuscripts*, and a thousand dollars each for 1909 and 1910, to be expended by the state historian in arranging, classifying, collecting, purchasing, preserving and indexing historical material.

Journal of a Missionary Tour through the New Settlements of Northern New Hampshire and Vermont, from the Original Manuscripts of Rev. Jacob Cram has been published at Rochester by George P. Humphrey.

The state of Massachusetts has published volume XV. of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1908, pp. 873), containing the resolves, orders, votes, etc., passed in the period from May, 1753, to April, 1757.

Dana Estes and Company are the publishers of a volume by C. S. Hanks entitled *Our Plymouth Forefathers, the Real Founders of the Republic*, which traces the religious movement which led to the settlement of Plymouth and relates the story of the colony.

Mr. James H. Stark has issued through W. B. Clarke Company *Boston, Antique Views of Ye Towne*. The views are about 150 in number, arranged chronologically, and accompanied by descriptive text.

The *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for April contains an address on Abraham Lincoln, by Robert S. Rantoul, delivered in Salem, February 12. The series of letters written to Colonel Timothy Pickering during the Revolution is continued, as are also the Essex County notarial records, and the records of the vice-admiralty court at Halifax, Nova Scotia, for the condemnation of prizes and recaptures of the Revolution and the War of 1812.

The firm of W. B. Clarke announce for early publication a work entitled "Lynn in the Revolution", comprising, besides numerous character sketches, a number of original documents, such as muster rolls and pay rolls, and including also the Hallowell journal. The work, which will be two volumes in extent, is compiled from materials left by H. K. Sanderson, the collector.

Francis Jackson's *History of the Early Settlement of Newton* (Massachusetts), which was published in 1854 and which has become increasingly rare, has been photographically reproduced under the auspices of the Newton Centre Improvement Association. The reproduction can be obtained from William M. Noble, 53 State Street, Boston. The volume is an important contribution to Massachusetts local history.

A list of 107 books upon Rhode Island history, prepared by Clarence S. Brigham, has been issued as a *Rhode Island Educational Circular: Historical Series*. Another of these circulars is *The Destruction of the Gaspee*, by H. B. Knox.

The library of Brown University has been presented with a mass of some twelve hundred letters from the correspondence of Eli Thayer (Brown, 1845), arising from his relations to public affairs in the Kansas conflict and in later periods of the history of the Republican party.

Volume VIII. of the *Proceedings* of the New York State Historical Association (Albany, 1909, pp. 316) contains the proceedings of the ninth and tenth annual meetings. The former was occupied with papers relating to the campaigns of 1812-1814 near the Niagara River, the other contains several valuable papers respecting the history of Rensselaerswyck and Albany in the colonial period.

The building of the New York Historical Society will be closed from June 2 to September 6 inclusive. The society, in co-operation with the Colonial Dames of America, will open the "Fulton Loan Exhibit", early in September, 1909.

Houghton Mifflin Company have issued *The Story of New Netherland: the Dutch in America*, by William Elliot Griffis. Besides tracing the history of the colony from the beginning of Hudson's search for the Northwest Passage, the work treats of social life among the Dutch colonists.

The Public Library of Trenton, New Jersey, has issued a *Bibliography of Trenton*.

The Pennsylvania History Club, an organization which had its inception in 1905 among the members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and whose membership is made up of those who have done or are doing serious work on some phase of Pennsylvania history, has issued its first volume of *Publications* (pp. 58). The principal part of the volume (40 pages) is a "list of members with their historical bibliographies", a useful contribution to Pennsylvania historical bibliography. This volume contains also the constitution and by-laws of the club, its present organization and minutes of its "meetings and pilgrimages", 1905-1908.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* publishes a first installment of the journal of Adam Hubley, lieutenant-colonel com-

mandant of the eleventh Pennsylvania regiment, on the Western expedition commanded by General John Sullivan, edited, with an introduction, by John W. Jordan. The journal begins at Wyoming, July 30, 1779. Mr. Jordan also contributes an article on "Moravian Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1734-1765". The "Selections from the Military Correspondence of Colonel Henry Bouquet, 1756-1764", and Mr. Hart's contribution, "Thomas Sully's Register of Portraits, 1801-1871", are concluded in this issue.

The March issue of the *Pennsylvania German* concludes the sketch of the Revolutionary colonel, afterwards judge, Matthias Hollenback, contributed by Edward Welles; and prints a brief paper of interest by James B. Laux, entitled "The Palatines of the Hudson and Schoharie". Items deserving mention in the April issue are: "The Origin of Sunday Schools", by Dr. I. H. Betz, and "Pennsylvania Germans in Public Life during the Colonial Period" (concluded in May), by Charles R. Roberts. Additional articles of interest in the May issue are, "Lancaster County History", by Israel S. Clare, and an illustrated article "Historic Lititz", taken in the main from *Historical and Pictorial Lititz*, by John G. Zook.

A general history of the South, in twelve volumes, under the title "The South in the Building of the Nation", is in course of preparation and publication by the Southern Historical Publication Society of Richmond, Virginia. The plan involves three volumes on the history of the individual Southern states, under the general editorship of Professor Julian A. C. Chandler of Richmond College; a volume of the general political history of the South, under the charge of Professor Franklin L. Riley of the University of Mississippi; two volumes of the history of its economic development, under the care of Professor James C. Ballagh of Johns Hopkins University; three volumes on its literary and intellectual life, which had been edited by the late Professor John B. Henne-man of the University of the South; a volume on the social life of the South, edited by Professor Samuel C. Mitchell of the University of South Carolina; and two volumes of the nature of a biographical dictionary, edited by Professor Walter L. Fleming of Louisiana State University. The volumes are illustrated and are to consist of about five hundred pages. Four volumes have already been issued. The work is sold by subscription.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* publishes in the March issue a document of interest entitled: "A Quaker Pilgrimage: being a Mission to the Indians from the Indian Committee of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, to Fort Wayne, 1804". It is a journal of the expedition written by Gerard T. Hopkins, with an appendix, written in 1862, by Miss Martha E. Tyson. The magazine reprints in this issue the rare pamphlet (printed in 1655) *A Just and Cleere Refutation of a False and*

Scandalous Pamphlet entitled Babylons Fall in Maryland, etc., by John Langford. "Some Distinguished Marylanders I have Known", by Henry P. Goddard, includes accounts of Severn Teackle Wallis, General Bradley T. Johnson and others.

To the *Fifth Annual Report of the Library Board* and librarian of the Virginia State Library is appended a calendar of petitions to the legislature, filed in the State Library, beginning in 1776 and arranged by counties. The present installment of three hundred pages covers eleven counties, Accomac to Bedford, out of a hundred. It is presented as a specimen, the archivist, Dr. H. J. Eckenrode, advocating the printing of these manuscripts in full rather than of abstracts, though the collection would probably amount to twelve or fifteen thousand pages of print. After this calendar is printed a trial bibliography of colonial Virginia (pp. 154), prepared by Mr. William Clayton-Torrence, embracing books, pamphlets and broadsides written in Virginia, about Virginia, or by persons born or residing in Virginia, and published in the years from 1608 to 1754. This bibliography has been executed with great care and minuteness and supplied abundantly with useful annotations and references.

The most considerable portions of the Randolph manuscripts which are printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for April are the appointments of commissioners to consider the subject of a contract between the king and the colonies for all tobacco produced (June 10, 1634), proceedings against persons speaking contemptuously of the government (July assembly, 1653), and certain orders of assembly, convened December 1, 1656, which are not printed in Henning. Under the caption "Virginia in 1650" appears the commission of King Charles to Governor Berkeley and Council, June 3, 1650. Among the "Miscellaneous Colonial Documents" are the minutes of council, April, 1716 (?), and proposals in regard to holding land on entries or surveys, 1723. The section devoted to Virginia legislative papers is of especial interest, including a letter of Colonel Dorsey Pentecost to Governor Henry, November 5, 1776, relating to conditions on the frontier; a petition of William Christian, William Preston and Arthur Campbell in regard to their services in Dunmore's War; a petition of the Committee of Safety of Princess Anne County, 1776, in regard to the proposed removal of the people of that section; and another petition of the same year from sundry inhabitants of Princess Anne and Norfolk Counties. Connected with Colonel Arthur Campbell's scheme for the incorporation of Washington County, Virginia, in the state of Franklin, is "The Humble Remonstrance of the Captains of Washington County" (1785 or 1786).

The manuscript volume possessed by the Virginia Historical Society containing reports of cases in colonial courts by Edward Barradall and Sir John Randolph has been copied for inclusion in a volume of Vir-

ginia colonial law reports to be published in Boston, under the editorship of Mr. R. T. Barton of Winchester, Virginia.

At Jamestown Island on May 13 the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities unveiled with appropriate ceremonies a bronze statue of Captain John Smith by Couper, a gift of the late Joseph Bryan of Richmond and of Mrs. Bryan.

Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and their Descendants: a History of Frederick County, Virginia, by T. K. Cartmell, is announced for early publication by the author (Winchester, Virginia). According to this announcement the work has been constructed mainly from original records, and will be published in one volume of about five hundred pages.

The second volume of Charles L. Coon's documentary history of *Public Education in North Carolina*, published by the North Carolina Historical Commission, covers the years 1832-1839, and contains much interesting material such as governors' messages, reports and proceedings of the legislative committees on education, editorials and communications in newspapers of the time, petitions, proceedings of the Literary Board, etc.

The April number of the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* contains additional letters from Commodore Gillon of 1778 and 1779, and an article by Mr. D. E. Huger Smith on the related matter of the Luxembourg claims; likewise further abstracts, 1692-1700, from the records of the court of ordinary of the province of South Carolina.

Documents relating to the History of South Carolina during the Revolutionary War, edited by A. S. Salley, Jr., has been issued by the Historical Commission of South Carolina.

A work that should prove of great interest and appeal to a wide circle of readers is *The Life and Times of Robert Y. Hayne*, by Theodore D. Jervey, which has just been issued by the Macmillan Company. Mr. Jervey has made large use of newspaper material, which has enabled him to present with greater clearness and liveliness the figure of Hayne, already growing obscure, and also to restore something of the atmosphere in which he moved.

The American Book Company have issued in their series of state histories a *History of Georgia*, by Lawton B. Evans.

The "Horseshoe Bend Battle Commission", created by the state of Alabama in 1907, has presented a memorial to Congress praying for the establishment of a military park on the site of the battle of March 27, 1814, between the Americans and the Creek Indians. The memorial, which is presented as *Senate Document 756*, 60 Cong., 2 sess., includes, besides extracts concerning the battle, the official despatches and reports, taken mainly from *Niles's Register*.

Volume X. of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*

contains principally the papers read at the decennial celebration of the society, held more than a year ago, a diary of a Mississippi slave-owner and planter from 1840 to 1863, and a general index to all of the publications of the Mississippi Historical Society to date.

A recent act of the legislature of Texas, effective March 19, 1909, created the Texas Library and Historical Commission, to be composed of the head of the school of history of the University of Texas, the superintendent of public instruction and three other members appointed by the governor. The functions of the commission are similar to those of such commissions established in other states, and include the administration of the state library. Professor G. P. Garrison is the present chairman of the commission and Mr. E. W. Winkler, librarian of the Texas State Library, is *ex officio* the secretary.

The *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association for January contains two valuable articles, "The Navy of the Republic of Texas", by Alexander Dienst, and Mr. C. W. Ramsdell's third paper on "Presidential Reconstruction in Texas", treating of the restoration of state government. Of interest for the educational history of Texas is an account, by Mattie Austin Hatcher, of Stephen F. Austin's plan for an institute of modern languages at San Felipe de Austin. Besides two letters of Austin, February and March, 1829, relating to the subject, a draft of his scheme, translated from the Spanish, is here printed.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its semi-annual meeting at St. Louis, in the rooms of the Missouri Historical Society, June 17-19. The programme was specially marked by attention to the physiographical and ethnological aspects of history in the Mississippi valley. Conferences of historical societies and of teachers also took place, and there were papers on the Second Missouri Compromise, by Professor Frank H. Hodder of Kansas State University, on the Attack on St. Louis in 1780, by Professor James A. James of Northwestern University, on Early Banking in Kentucky, by Professor Elmer C. Griffith of William Jewell College, etc.

Apropos of the approaching centennial anniversary of Miami University the *Quarterly Publication* of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio devotes its two latest issues to selections from the James McBride manuscripts relating to the university. James McBride was officially connected with Miami University during practically the entire first half-century of its existence and left a considerable body of manuscripts which came into the possession of the Historical and Philosophical Society.

The April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* contains a long article on Little Turtle, but is mainly devoted to material appropriate to the centennial of the death of David Zeisberger. The exercises of the centennial, held at Sharon, Goshen and New

Philadelphia, Ohio, are described by Mr. E. O. Randall; his paper is accompanied by addresses and articles on Zeisberger and by a detailed account of the Moravian records by Professor Archer B. Hulbert of Marietta College.

The *Autobiography and Correspondence of Allen Trimble, Governor of Ohio*, by Mrs. Mary McA. T. Tuttle and Mr. Henry B. Thompson, has been reprinted from the *Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly* in a volume of 240 pages. The autobiography is a very interesting record of pioneer life and Ohio politics, chiefly between 1794 and 1818; the letters extend to 1868, but are chiefly of the period 1812-1832.

It is much to be regretted that the legislature of Indiana failed, in its recent session, to provide for a continuation of the work of the Archives Department of the Indiana State Library. It is hoped that this is not to be interpreted as a definite abandonment of systematic work in connection with the historical material in possession of the state.

The Illinois State Historical Library will issue next year a volume of letters written by George Morgan, trader, the representative of the Philadelphia firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, when he was in the Illinois country, 1766 to 1770. The editors are Professors C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter.

The University of Illinois is having copied in the Public Record Office a large body of manuscripts illustrating the history of the West during the years 1763 to 1775, taken especially from the Lansdowne, Dartmouth, Chatham, Board of Trade and Treasury papers.

L. E. Robinson and Irving Moore are the authors of a *History of Illinois* (pp. 288) which has been published by the American Book Company. An appendix contains a list of references, official lists, the constitution of Illinois and other data.

The Valley of Shadows: Recollections of the Lincoln Country, 1858-1863, by Francis Grierson, is an account of the author's life in Illinois and Missouri, with Lincoln and other historical figures in the background (Houghton Mifflin Company).

The *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for May includes an article on "The Great Revival of 1800", by Z. F. Smith, and one on Colonel Richard Henderson of the Transylvania Company, by Susan S. Fowles (or Foules—the name appears in both forms in the *Register*). Mr. W. W. Longmoor contributes excerpts from the Diary of John Findlay Torrence relating to a journey up the Ohio River with President-elect William Henry Harrison and his party en route to Washington for the inauguration. This diary is in the possession of Colonel William Torrence Handy of Cynthiana, Kentucky.

The *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* at its fifty-sixth annual meeting, held October 15, 1908 (Madison, 1909, pp.

272), contains, besides the usual notes of proceedings and reports concerning the various activities and departments of the society, two notable historical papers, one by Professor Clarence W. Alvord on "The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix", the other, by Professor Frederick J. Turner, entitled, "The Old West", on the general history of that "back country" which in the colonial and Revolutionary period constituted the West from the point of view of the coast settlements. The society has also issued reprints of volumes VII. and VIII. of its first series of *Collections*.

In volume XI. of the *Collections* of the Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul, pp. xx, 827) the paper which will have the widest interest for persons not resident in the state is probably the extensive account of the Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota as they were in 1834, written thirty or forty years later by the Rev. Samuel William Pond, who in 1834 began his activity as a missionary among them. It is a document of remarkable value and interest. The volume also contains an elaborate account of Minnesota journalism from 1838 to 1865, by Mr. Daniel S. B. Johnston; articles on the history of the various capitol buildings, of the university and of various matters connected with early days. Attention should also be called to the reminiscences of Little Crow, by Dr. Asa W. Daniels, and to the Civil War papers contributed by General Lucius F. Hubbard. Volume XIII. has already been issued, and noticed in these pages. A quarto volume on the archaeology of the state, by the late J. V. Brower and Alfred J. Hill, is in the press. The secretary, Mr. Warren Upham, has nearly ready his compilation of Minnesota biography, to be followed by one on Minnesota geographic names and by a history of the society.

In the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Mr. Louis Pelzer continues his studies of political parties in Iowa, treating in this paper of the period from 1857 to 1860. The study is valuable from a national as well as from a state point of view, for the slavery question was at the centre even of state politics. Mr. K. W. Colgrove's paper on "The Delegates to Congress from the Territory of Iowa" is a valuable contribution to the history of territorial relations to the federal government. "Proposed Constitutional Amendments in Iowa, 1836-1837", by J. Van der Zee, throws interesting side-lights on the constitutional history of the state.

The *Ninth Biennial Report* of the Historical Department of Iowa, prepared by Edgar R. Harlan, assistant and acting curator, contains a list of the letters and other manuscripts in the department and also a list of the department's newspaper files.

At the instance of the Arkansas Historical Association, the legislature has created a permanent history commission composed of the chief justice, the president of the State University, the president of the State

Normal College, and six members to be appointed by the governor for a term of twelve years. The commission is given a salaried secretary with headquarters at the state capitol. His duties in brief are, to care for the archives of the state, to collect in the state capitol building a library of material bearing on the history of the state and an art gallery of Arkansas history, to take charge of the excavations of mounds in the state and build up a museum of Arkansas history, and to prepare a roster of Arkansas soldiers in all wars in which Arkansas forces have taken part.

The last legislature of Kansas gave the State Historical Society \$200,000 for a separate historical building and additional employees.

Volume I. of the *Collections* of the State Historical Society of North Dakota was published by the state in 1906, and contained, among other pieces, the census of 1850, and a number of studies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians. Volume II., lately issued (Grand Forks, Ontario Store), contains a history of the Selkirk settlement, by Rev. Mr. Gunn, with a carefully edited reproduction of the McLeod Journal of 1811 and a reprint of Lord Selkirk's prospectus of the Red River country; articles on the Fisk expeditions to the Idaho-Montana gold mines, 1862-1866; C. J. Atkins's Missouri River steamboat logs, 1863-1868, a remarkable record of experiences on the river during the Civil War; and a number of papers on the Indian life of the region. The discussion of village types among the Missouri River Indians is well illustrated by surveys and Indian drawings. Incidentally the endeavor is made to show that the conventional accounts of the Verendrye explorations in the Missouri valley are seriously in error both as to the routes taken by these explorers and as to the Indians they visited. The society is making special efforts to co-operate with the teachers of history throughout the state.

The Lewis Publishing Company of Chicago have issued a *History of the State of Oklahoma*, by Luther B. Hill.

Professor Edmond S. Meany's *History of the State of Washington* (Macmillan) is now out.

The pages of the December issue of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are mainly occupied with Mr. G. W. Davenport's second and concluding paper on "The Slavery Question in Oregon". In the section devoted to documents is printed the speech in the United States Senate, January 25, 1844, of Senator Semple of Illinois, on the resolution introduced by him for the abrogation of the treaty of joint occupation of the Oregon country.

Dr. J. A. Munk has issued a new and enlarged edition of his bibliography of Arizona books under the title *Arizona Bibliography: a Private Collection of Arizoniana*. The collection, which now runs to nearly three thousand titles, includes works relating to New Mexico and California and also to Old Mexico.

The History of Sulu, by Hajeeb M. Saleeby, is part II. of volume IV. of the *Publications of the Philippine Bureau of Science*, Division of Ethnology, of which part I. was *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion* (1906). The present study relates mainly to the period 1578 to 1899. A considerable quantity of documentary material is presented, much of which has not hitherto been published.

The Panama Canal and its Makers, by Vaughan Cornish, while treating mainly of the geographical and engineering aspects of the canal (the writer is a British geographer) contains also something of its inception and history.

The thirteenth volume of Messrs. Wrong and Langton's *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* (Toronto, Morang and Company, pp. xii, 198) covers the publications of the year 1908 with the same degree of fullness as its predecessors, and perhaps with even greater excellence of judgment in the reviewing of individual books. Among the important volumes here noted and not previously described in the pages of this journal are: Mr. Frank B. Tracy's *Tercentenary History of Canada* (three vols., Macmillan), M. Lucien Schöne's *La Politique Coloniale sous Louis XV. et Louis XVI.* (Paris, Challamel), Professor Shortt's *Lord Sydenham* and Dr. Parkin's *Sir John A. Macdonald*, both in the *Makers of Canada* series (Toronto, Morang), Dr. A. G. Doughty's *The Cradle of New France* (Montreal, Cambridge Corporation), Miss Agnes C. Laut's *The Conquest of the Great Northwest* or history of the Hudson's Bay Company (two vols., New York, Outing Company), and Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee's *The Search for the Western Sea* (Toronto, Musson Book Company).

The Journal of an Expedition across Venezuela and Colombia, 1906-1907, by Dr. Hiram Bingham (New Haven, Yale Publishing Association, pp. viii, 287), is not primarily a book of history, but a very entertaining and well illustrated book of travels; but it falls well within our province to notice it because the object of this journey through difficult and almost untravelled regions was historical, to trace the route of Bolivar's celebrated march of 1819 and to examine the battle-fields of Boyacá and Carabobo, and because valuable though brief dissertations on the latter topic are embraced in the volume.


Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L.-A. Prud'homme, *La Verendrye: Son Œuvre*, cont. (*Revue Canadienne*, April); H. R. McIlwaine, *The Revolutionary War in the Virginia State Library* (*Southern Educational Review*, December-January); Arthur Little, *William Whipple, the Signer* (*Magazine of History*, May)*; Gaillard Hunt, *History of the State Department*, III. (*American Journal of International Law*, January); Captain I. L. Hunt, *Federal Relations of the Organized Militia* (*Journal of the United States Infantry Association*, January); Captain C. E. Hampton, *History of the Twenty-first U. S. Infantry*, cont. (*ibid.*,

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